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BY
FRANZ BOAS

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WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

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SIR: I have the honor to submit for publication, subject to your approval, as Bulletin 40, Part 2, of this Bureau, the manuscript of a portion of the Handbook of American Indian Languages, prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. Franz Boas.

Yours, respectfully,

F. W. HODGE,
Ethnologist in Charge.

Dr. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTH- WESTERN OREGON

BY

EDWARD SAPIR

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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON

BY EDWARD SAPIR

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The language treated in the following pages was spoken in the southwestern part of what is now the state of Oregon, along the middle portion of Rogue river and certain of its tributaries. It, together with an upland dialect of which but a few words were obtained, forms the Takilman stock of Powell. The form "Takelma" of the word is practically identical with the native name of the tribe, *Dā^agelma'^{en}* THOSE DWELLING ALONG THE RIVER (see below, § 87, 4); there seems to be no good reason for departing from it in favor of Powell's variant form.

The linguistic material on which this account of the Takelma language is based consists of a series of myth and other texts, published by the University of Pennsylvania (Sapir, *Takelma Texts, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum*, vol. II, no. 1, Philadelphia, 1909), together with a mass of grammatical material (forms and sentences) obtained in connection with the texts. A series of eleven short medicine formulas or charms have been published with interlinear and free translation in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (xx, 35-40). A vocabulary of Takelma verb, noun, and adjective stems, together with a certain number of derivatives, will be found at the end of the "Takelma Texts." Some manuscript notes on Takelma, collected in the summer of 1904 by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, for the Bureau of American Ethnology, have been kindly put at my disposal by the Bureau; though these consist mainly of lexical material, they have been found useful on one or two points. References like 125.3 refer to page and line of my *Takelma Texts*. Those in parentheses refer to forms analogous to the ones discussed.

The author's material was gathered at the Siletz reservation of Oregon during a stay of a month and a half in the summer of 1906, also under the direction of the Bureau of American Ethnology. My informant was Mrs. Frances Johnson, an elderly full-blood Takelma woman. Her native place was the village of *Dak'ts!asiñ* or *Daldani'k'*, on Jump-off-Joe creek (*Dīp!ōlts!i'lda*), a northern affluent of Rogue river, her mother having come from a village on the upper course of Cow creek (*Hagwāl*). Despite her imperfect command of the English language, she was found an exceptionally intelligent and good-humored informant, without which qualities the following study would have been far more imperfect than it necessarily must be under even the very best of circumstances.

In conclusion I must thank Prof. Franz Boas for his valuable advice in regard to several points of method and for his active interest in the progress of the work. It is due largely to him that I was encouraged to depart from the ordinary rut of grammatical description and to arrange and interpret the facts in a manner that seemed most in accordance with the spirit of the Takelma language itself.¹

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-24)

§ 2. Introductory

In its general phonetic character, at least as regards relative harshness or smoothness of acoustic effect, Takelma will probably be found to occupy a position about midway between the characteristically rough languages of the Columbia valley and the North Californian and Oregon coast (Chinookan, Salish, Alsea, Coos, Athapascan, Yurok) on the one hand, and the relatively euphonious languages of the Sacramento valley (Maidu, Yana, Wintun) on the other, inclining rather to the latter than to the former.

From the former group it differs chiefly in the absence of voiceless *l*-sounds (*L*, *l*,² *L'*) and of velar stops (*q*, *g*, *q'*); from the latter,

¹ What little has been learned of the ethnology of the Takelma Indians will be found incorporated in two articles written by the author and entitled Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., ix, 251-275; and Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xx, 33-49.

² In the myths, *l* is freely prefixed to any word spoken by the bear. Its uneuphonious character is evidently intended to match the coarseness of the bear, and for this quasi-rhetorical purpose it was doubtless derivatively borrowed from the neighboring Athapascan languages, in which it occurs with great frequency. The prefixed sibilant *s* serves in a similar way as a sort of sneezing adjunct to indicate the speech of the coyote. *Gwi'di* WHERE? says the ordinary mortal; *lgwi'di*, the bear; *sgwi'di*, the coyote.

in the occurrence of relatively more complex consonantic clusters, though these are of strictly limited possibilities, and hardly to be considered as difficult in themselves.

Like the languages of the latter group, Takelma possesses clear-cut vowels, and abounds, besides, in long vowels and diphthongs; these, together with a system of syllabic pitch-accent, give the Takelma language a decidedly musical character, marred only to some extent by the profusion of disturbing catches. The line of cleavage between Takelma and the neighboring dialects of the Athapascan stock (Upper Umpqua, Applegate Creek, Galice Creek, Chasta Costa) is thus not only morphologically but also phonetically distinct, despite resemblances in the manner of articulation of some of the vowels and consonants. Chasta Costa, formerly spoken on the lower course of Rogue river, possesses all the voiceless *l*-sounds above referred to; a peculiar illusive *q!*, the fortis character of which is hardly as prominent as in Chinook; a voiced guttural spirant *ɣ*, as in North German *Tage*; the sonants or weak surds *dʒ* and *z* (rarely); a voiceless interdental spirant *ç* and its corresponding fortis *tç!*; and a very frequently occurring *u* vowel, as in English HUT. All of these are absent from Takelma, which, in turn, has a complete labial series (*b*, *p'*, *p!*, *m*), whereas Chasta Costa has only the nasal *m* (labial stops occur apparently only in borrowed words, *bōç'i'* CAT < *pussy*). The fortis *k!*, common in Takelma, seems in the Chasta Costa to be replaced by *q!*; the Takelma vowel *ü*, found also in California, is absent from Chasta Costa; *r* is foreign to either, though found in Galice Creek and Shasta. Perhaps the greatest point of phonetic difference, however, between the Takelma and Chasta Costa languages lies in the peculiar long (doubled) consonants of the latter, while Takelma regularly simplifies consonant geminations that would theoretically appear in the building of words. Not enough of the Shasta has been published to enable one to form an estimate of the degree of phonetic similarity that obtains between it and Takelma, but the differences can hardly be as pronounced as those that have just been found to exist in the case of the latter and Chasta Costa.

This preliminary survey seemed necessary in order to show, as far as the scanty means at present at our disposal would allow, the phonetic affiliations of Takelma. Attention will now be directed to the sounds themselves.

Vowels (§§ 3-11)

§ 3. *General Remarks*

The simple vowels appear, quantitatively considered, in two forms, short and long, or, to adopt a not inappropriate term, pseudo-diphthongal. By this is meant that a long vowel normally consists of the corresponding short vowel, though generally of greater quantity, plus a slight parasitic rearticulation of the same vowel (indicated by a small superior letter), the whole giving the effect of a diphthong without material change of vowel-quality in the course of production. The term PSEUDO-DIPHTHONG is the more justified in that the long vowel has the same absolute quantity, and experiences the same accentual and syllabic treatment, as the true diphthong, consisting of short vowel + *i*, *u*, *l*, *m*, or *n*. If the short vowel be given a unitary quantitative value of 1, the long vowel (pseudo-diphthong) and ordinary diphthong will have an approximate value of 2; while the long diphthong, consisting of long vowel + *i*, *u*, *l*, *m*, or *n*, will be assigned a value of 3. The liquid (*l*) and the nasals (*m* and *n*) are best considered as forming, parallel to the semi-vowels *y* (*i*) and *w* (*u*), diphthongs with preceding vowels, inasmuch as the combinations thus entered on are treated, similarly to *i*- and *u*-diphthongs, as phonetic units for the purposes of pitch-accent and grammatic processes. As a preliminary example serving to justify this treatment, it may be noted that the verb-stem *bilw*-, *bilu*- JUMP becomes *bilau*- with inorganic *a* under exactly the same phonetic conditions as those which make of the stem *k!em**n*- MAKE *k!ema**n*-. We thus have, for instance:

bilwa'*εs* jumper; *bila*'*uk*' he jumped

k!emna'*εs* maker; *k!ema*'*nk*' he made it

From this and numberless other examples it follows that *au* and *an*, similarly *ai*, *al*, and *am*, belong, from a strictly Takelma point of view, to the same series of phonetic elements; similarly for *e*, *i*, *o*, and *ü* diphthongs.

§ 4. *System of Vowels*

The three quantitative stages outlined above are presented for the various vowels and diphthong-forming elements in the following table:

I. Short.	II. Long.	Short diphthong.	III. Long diphthong.
<i>a</i>	<i>āa</i> , (<i>ā</i>)	<i>ai</i> , <i>au</i> , <i>al</i> , <i>am</i> , <i>an</i>	<i>āi</i> , <i>āu</i> , <i>āal</i> , <i>āam</i> , <i>āan</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ēe</i> , (<i>ē</i>)	<i>ei</i> , <i>eu</i> , <i>el</i> , <i>em</i> , <i>en</i>	<i>ēi</i> , <i>ēu</i> , <i>ēel</i> , <i>ēm</i> , <i>ēen</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>īi</i> , (<i>ī</i>)	<i>iu</i> , <i>il</i> , <i>im</i> , <i>in</i>	<i>īu</i> , <i>īl</i> , <i>īm</i> , <i>īn</i>
<i>o</i> , (<i>u</i>)	<i>ōu</i> , (<i>ō</i>)	<i>oi</i> , <i>ou</i> , <i>ol</i> , <i>om</i> , <i>on</i> (<i>ōu</i>) (<i>ul</i>) (<i>um</i>) (<i>un</i>)	<i>ōi</i> , <i>ōu(w)</i> , <i>ōul</i> , <i>ōum</i> , <i>ōun</i>
<i>ū</i>	<i>ūu</i> , (<i>ū</i>)	<i>ui</i> , <i>ūw</i> , <i>ūl</i> , <i>ūm</i> , <i>ūn</i> (<i>ūu</i>)	<i>ūi</i> , <i>ūu(w)</i> , <i>ūul</i> , <i>ūum</i> , <i>ūun</i>
<i>ü</i>	<i>üü</i> , (<i>ü</i>)	<i>üi</i> , <i>üw</i> , <i>ül</i> , <i>üm</i> , <i>ün</i> (<i>üü</i>)	<i>üi</i> , <i>üü(w)</i> , <i>üül</i> , <i>üüm</i> , <i>üün</i>

It is to be understood, of course, that, under proper syllabic conditions, *i* and *u* may respectively appear in semivocalic form as *y* and *w*; thus *ō^u* and *ū^u* appear as *ōw* and *ūw* when followed by vowels; e. g., in *k!ūwū^u*- THROW AWAY, *ūw* and *ū^u* are equivalent elements forming a reduplicated complex entirely analogous to *-elēl-* in *helel-sing*. Similarly *ai*, *au*, *āi*, and *āu* may appear as *ay*, *aw*, *ā^ay*, and *ā^aw*; and correspondingly for the other vowels. Indeed, one of the best criteria for the determination of the length of the first element of a diphthong is to obtain it in such form as would cause the second element (*i* or *u*) to become semi-vocalic, for then the first vowel will adopt the form of a short vowel or pseudo-diphthong, as the case may be. The following phonetic (not morphologic) proportions will make this clearer:

biliut^e I jump: *biliwa^t* you jump = *he^eīu* he went away from him: *he^eīwi^{en}* I went away from him

gaik^t he ate it: *gayawa^{en}* I ate it = *gāik^t* he grew: *gā^aya^t* he will grow

gayau he ate it: *gayawa^{en}* I ate it = *hant^tgāu* over land: *Latg^tā^awa^e* one from Lat^tgāu [uplands]

Sometimes, though not commonly, a diphthong may appear in the same word either with a semivowel or vowel as its second element, according to whether it is or is not followed by a connecting inorganic *a*. A good example of such a doublet is *hayē^wwa^xdā^ada* or *hayē^uxdā^ada* IN HIS RETURNING (verb stem *yē^u-*, *yē^w-* RETURN). It is acoustically difficult to distinguish sharply between the long vowel or pseudo-diphthong *ō^u* and the *u*-diphthongs of *o* (both *ou* and *ōu* are often heard as *ō^u*), yet there is no doubt that there is an organic difference between *ō^u*, as long vowel to *o*, and *ō^u* = *ou*, *ōu*. Thus, in *lohō^una^{en}* I CAUSE HIM TO DIE, and *lohonaⁿ* I SHALL CAUSE HIM TO DIE, *ō^u* and *o* are related as long and short vowel in parallel

fashion to the \bar{a}^a and a of $y\bar{a}^ana't'$ YOU WENT, and $yanada'^e$ YOU WILL GO. On the other hand, the \bar{o}^u of $p'\bar{o}^up'au-$ (aorist stem) BLOW is organically a diphthong ($\bar{o}u$), the \bar{o}^u of the first syllable being related to the au of the second as the i^u of $k'iuk'au-$ (verb stem) BRANDISH is to its au . Similarly, the $-\bar{o}^u-$ of $s'\bar{o}^{us}k'\hat{o}p'$ - (verb stem) JUMP is organic shortened ou , related to the $-owo-$ of the aorist stem $s'o'wo^ek'\hat{o}p'$ - as the $-e^i-$ of $he'^{ie}x-$ (verb stem) BE LEFT OVER is to the $-eye-$ of $heye^ex-$ (aorist stem). A similar acoustic difficulty is experienced in distinguishing $\bar{u}^{\bar{u}}$, (\bar{u}^u) as long vowel from the u - diphthongs of \bar{u} , (\bar{u}).

Examples of unrelated stems and words differing only in the length of the vowel or diphthong are not rare, and serve as internal evidence of the correctness, from a native point of view, of the vowel classification made:

gai- eat, but *gāi-* grow

verb-prefix *dā^a-* ear, but *da-* mouth

wā^axa his younger brother, but *wa'xa* at them

It may happen that two distinct forms of the same word differ only in vocalic quantity; $y\bar{a}^ada'^et'$ HE WILL SWIM, $yada'^et'$ HE SWIMS.

It is, naturally enough, not to be supposed that the long vowels and diphthongs always appear in exactly the same quantity. Speed of utterance and, to some extent, withdrawal of the stress-accent, tend to reduce the absolute quantities of the vowels, so that a normally long vowel can become short, or at least lose its parasitic attachment. In the case of the i - and u - diphthongs, such a quantitative reduction means that the two vowels forming the diphthong more completely lose their separate individuality and melt into one. Quantitative reduction is apt to occur particularly before a glottal catch; in the diphthongs the catch follows so rapidly upon the second element (i or u) that one can easily be in doubt as to whether a full i - or u - vowel is pronounced, or whether this second vowel appears rather as a palatal or labial articulation of the catch itself. The practice has been adopted of writing such diphthongs with a superior i or u before the catch: a^{ie} , a^{ue} , e^{ue} , and similarly for the rest. When, however, in the course of word-formation, this catch drops off, the i or u that has been swallowed up, as it were, in the catch reasserts itself, and we get such pairs of forms as:

naga'^ie he said; but *naga'ida^e* when he said

sgele'^us he shouted; but *sgele'uda^e* when he shouted

On the other hand, vowels naturally short sometimes become long when dwelt upon for rhetorical emphasis. Thus *ga* THAT sometimes appears as *gā^a*:

gā^a loho't'e^e in *that* case I shall die

gā^a ga^aa'l for *that* reason

As regards the pronunciation of the vowels themselves, little need be said. The *a* is of the same quality as the short *a* of German MANN, while the long *ā^a* (barring the parasitic element) corresponds to the *a* of HAHN.

A labial coloring of the *a* (i. e., *ô* as in German VOLL) frequently occurs before and after *k'w*:

gūhōk'w planted, sown

īk'wā'a'k'wōk' he woke him up

But there were also heard:

sēk'ak'w shot

malāk'wa he told him

The *e* is an open sound, as in the English LET; it is so open, indeed, as to verge, particularly after *y*, toward *a*.¹ Also the long vowel *e^e* is very open in quality, being pronounced approximately like the *ei* of English THEIR (but of course without the *r*-vanish) or the *ê* of French FÊTE; *e^e*, though unprovided with the mark of length, will be always understood as denoting the long vowel (pseudo-diphthong) corresponding to the short *e*; while *ē* will be employed, wherever necessary, for the long vowel without the parasitic *-e*. The close *ē*, as in German REH, does not seem to occur in Takelma, although it was sometimes heard for *i*; in the words *lā^alēⁱ* HE BECAME, *lā^alē^tam* YOU BECAME, and other related forms, *ē* was generally heard, and may be justified, though there can be small doubt that it is morphologically identical with the *īⁱ* of certain other verbs.

The *i* is of about the same quality as in English HIT, while the long *īⁱ* is closer, corresponding to the *ea* of English BEAT. Several monosyllables, however, in *-i*, such as *gwi* WHERE, *di* interrogative particle, should be pronounced with a close though short vowel (cf. French FINI). This closer pronunciation of the short vowel may be explained by supposing that *gwi*, *di*, and other such words are rapid pronunciations of *gwiⁱ*, *dīⁱ*, and the others; and indeed the texts sometimes show such longer forms.

¹ The word *yewe'is* HE RETURNED, e. g., was long heard as *yawe'is*, but such forms as *yēu* RETURN! show this to have been an auditory error.

The *o* is a close vowel, as in German SOHN, as far as the quality is concerned, but with the short quantity of the *o* of VOLL. This closeness of pronunciation of the *o* readily explains its very frequent interchange with *u*:

its'!o'p'al sharp-clawed

dets'!ugu't' sharp-pointed

and also the *u*-quality of the parasitic element in the long close vowel \bar{o}^u . The short open \bar{o} , as in German VOLL, never occurs as a primary vowel, but is practically always a labialized variant of *a*. Thus in Takelma, contrary to the parallelism one ordinarily expects to find in vocalic systems, *e*-vowels are open in quality, while *o*-vowels are close.

The vowel \bar{u} is close, as in the English word RUDE, the long mark over the *u* being here used to indicate closeness of quality rather than length of quantity. The \bar{u} is not identical with the German \bar{u} , but is somewhat more obscure in quality and wavers (to an un-Indian ear) between the German short \bar{u} of MÜTZE and *u* of MUSS; sometimes it was even heard with the approximate quality of the short \bar{o} of GÖRZ. The long \bar{u}^u is, in the same way, not exactly equivalent to the long \bar{u} of the German SÜSS, but tends in the direction of \bar{u}^u , with which it frequently varies in the texts. It is somewhat doubtful how far the two vowels \bar{u} and \bar{u}^u are to be considered separate and distinct; it is quite possible that they should be looked upon as auditory variants of one sound. Before or after *y* or *w*, \bar{u} is apt to be heard as \bar{u} , — *k!ūwū'ε* THEY RAN AWAY, *ūyū'εs* HE LAUGHED, *īgūyūgī'isī*, HE KEEPS NUDGING ME, — otherwise often as *u*.

The only short vowel not provided for in the table is \bar{u} (as in English SUN), which, however, has no separate individuality of its own, but is simply a variant form of *a*, heard chiefly before *m*:

he^εīle'me^εxām he killed us off (for *-am*)

xām in water (for *xam*)

The absence of the obscure vowel *ε* of indeterminate quality is noteworthy as showing indirectly the clear-cut vocalic character of Takelma speech. Only in a very few cases was the *ε* heard, and in the majority of these it was not a reduced vowel, but an intrusive sound between *m* and *s*:

dak't'be'εk't'bagames he tied his hair up into top-knot (in place of *-ams*).

Even here it may really have been the strongly sonantic quality of the *m* in contrast to the voiceless *s* that produced the acoustic effect of an obscure vowel. The exact pronunciation of the diphthongs will be better understood when we consider the subject of pitch-accent.

§ 5. *Stress and Pitch-Accent*

Inasmuch as pitch and stress accent are phonetic phenomena that affect more particularly the vowels and diphthongs, it seems advisable to consider the subject here and to let the treatment of the consonants follow. As in many Indian languages, the stress-accent of any particular word in Takelma is not so inseparably associated with any particular syllable but that the same word, especially if consisting of more than two syllables, may appear with the main stress-accent now on one, now on the other syllable. In the uninterrupted flow of the sentence it becomes often difficult to decide which syllable of a word should be assigned the stress-accent. Often, if the word bears no particular logical or rhythmic emphasis, one does best to regard it as entirely without accent and as standing in a proclitic or enclitic relation to a following or preceding word of greater emphasis. This is naturally chiefly the case with adverbs (such as *he^εne* THEN) and conjunctive particles (such as *ganēhi^ε* AND THEN; *agas'i^ε* AND SO, BUT THEN); though it not infrequently happens that the major part of a clause will thus be strung along without decided stress-accent until some emphatic noun or verb-form is reached. Thus the following passage occurs in one of the myths:

ganēhi^ε dewenxa lā^alē hono^ε p'ele'xa^ε, literally translated, And then to-morrow (next day) it became, again they went out to war

All that precedes the main verb-form *p'ele'xa^ε* THEY WENT OUT TO WAR is relatively unimportant, and hence is hurried over without anywhere receiving marked stress.

Nevertheless a fully accented word is normally stressed on some particular syllable; it may even happen that two forms differ merely in the place of accent:

naga'-ida^ε when he said, but

naga-ida'^ε when you said

The important point to observe, however, is that when a particular syllable does receive the stress (and after all most words are normally

accented on some one syllable), it takes on one of two or three musical inflections:

(1) A simple pitch distinctly higher than the normal pitch of unstressed speech ($\hat{}$).

(2) A rising inflection that starts at, or a trifle above, the normal pitch, and gradually slides up to the same higher pitch referred to above (\simeq).

(3) A falling inflection that starts at, or generally somewhat higher than, the raised pitch of (1) and (2), and gradually slides down to fall either in the same or immediately following syllable, to a pitch somewhat lower than the normal (\frown).

The "raised" pitch ($\hat{}$) is employed only in the case of final short vowels or shortened diphthongs (i. e., diphthongs that, owing to speed of utterance, are pronounced so rapidly as to have a quantitative value hardly greater than that of short vowels; also secondary diphthongs involving an inorganic *a*); if a short vowel spoken on a raised pitch be immediately followed by an unaccented syllable (as will always happen, if it is not the final vowel of the word), there will evidently ensue a fall in pitch in the unaccented syllable, and the general acoustic effect of the two syllables will be equivalent to a "falling" inflection (\frown) within one syllable; i. e. (if — be employed to denote an unaccented syllable), ($\hat{}$) + — = (\frown). The following illustration will make this clearer: YOU SANG is regularly accented *helela't'*, the *a'* being sung on an interval of a (minor, sometimes even major) third above the two unaccented *e*-vowels. The acoustic effect to an American ear is very much the same as that of a curt query requiring a positive or negative answer, DID HE GO? where the *i* of DID and *e* of HE correspond in pitch to the two *e*'s of the Takelma word, while the *o* of GO is equivalent to the Takelma *a'*. The Takelma word, of course, has no interrogative connotation. If, now, we wish to make a question out of *helela't'*, we add the interrogative particle *di*, and obtain the form *helela't'idi* DID HE SING? (The *i* is a weak vowel inserted to keep the *t'* and *d* apart.) Here the *a'* has about the same pitch as in the preceding word, but the *i* sinks to about the level of the *e*-vowels, and the *di* is pronounced approximately a third below the normal level. The Takelma interrogative form thus bears an acoustic resemblance to a rapid English reply: SO HE DID GO, the *o* of so and

e of *HE* corresponding in pitch to the unaccented *e*-vowels of the Takelma, the *i* of *DID* resembling in its rise above the normal pitch the *a'*, and the *o* of *GO* sinking like the *i* of the interrogative particle.¹ If the normal level of speech be set at A, the two forms just considered may be musically, naturally with very greatly exaggerated tonal effect, represented as follows:



The “rising” pitch (\approx) is found only on long vowels and short or long diphthongs. The rising pitch is for a long vowel or diphthong what the raised pitch is for a short vowel or shortened diphthong; the essential difference between the two being that in the latter case the accented vowel is sung on a single tone reached without an intermediate slur from the lower level, whereas in the case of the rising pitch the affected vowel or diphthong changes in pitch in the course of pronunciation; the first part of the long vowel and the first vowel of the diphthong are sung on a tone intermediate between the normal level and the raised pitch, while the parasitic element of the long vowel and the second vowel (*i* or *u*) of the diphthong are hit by the raised tone itself. It is easy to understand that in rapid pronunciation the intermediate tone of the first part of the long vowel or diphthong would be hurried over and sometimes dropped altogether; this means that a long vowel or diphthong with rising pitch (\tilde{a} , $\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$) becomes a short vowel or shortened diphthong with raised pitch (a' , $a'\tilde{i}$).² Diphthongs consisting of a short vowel + *l*, *m*, or *n*, and provided with a rising pitch, ought, in strict analogy, to appear as $a\tilde{n}$, $a\tilde{l}$, $a\tilde{m}$; and so on for the other vowels. This is doubtless the correct representation, and such forms as:

nañk' he will say, do

gwalt' wind

dasmayañ he smiled

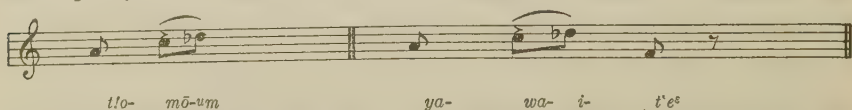
wułx enemy, Shasta

were actually heard, the liquid or nasal being distinctly higher in pitch than the preceding vowel. In the majority of cases, however,

¹ It is curious that the effect to our ears of the Takelma declarative *helela't* is of an interrogative *DID YOU SING?* while conversely the effect of an interrogative *helela't'idi* is that of a declarative *YOU DID SING*. This is entirely accidental in so far as a rise in pitch has nothing to do in Takelma with an interrogation.

² A vowel marked with the accent \approx is necessarily long, so that the mark of length and the parasitic vowel can be conveniently omitted.

these diphthongs were heard, if not always pronounced, as shortened diphthongs with raised pitch (*a'n*, *a'l*, *a'm*). The acoustic effect of a syllable with rising pitch followed by an unaccented syllable is necessarily different from that of a syllable with falling pitch (\frown), or of a syllable with raised pitch followed by an unaccented syllable, because of the steady rise in pitch before the succeeding fall. The tendency at first is naturally to hear the combination — \simeq — as — \frown —, and to make no distinction in accent between *yewe'ida*^s WHEN HE RETURNED and *yeweŋt'e*^s I RETURNED; but variations in the recorded texts between the rising and falling pitch in one and the same form are in every case faults of perception, and not true variations at all. The words *t!omōm* HE KILLED HIM and *yawaŋt'e*^s I SPOKE may be approximately represented in musical form as follows:



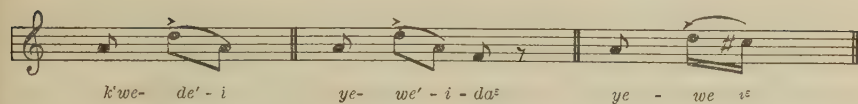
The falling pitch (\frown) affects both long and short vowels as well as diphthongs, its essential characteristic being, as already defined, a steady fall from a tone higher than the normal level. The peak of the falling inflection may coincide in absolute pitch with that of the rising inflection, though it is often somewhat higher, say an interval of a fourth above the ordinary level. The base (lowest tone) of the fall is not assignable to any definite relative pitch, the gamut run through by the voice depending largely upon the character of the syllable. If the accent hits a long vowel or diphthong not immediately followed by a catch, the base will, generally speaking, coincide with the normal level, or lie somewhat below it. If the long vowel or diphthong be immediately followed by an unaccented syllable, the base is apt to strike this unaccented syllable at an interval of about a third below the level. If the vowel or diphthong be immediately followed by a catch, the fall in pitch will be rapidly checked, and the whole extent of the fall limited to perhaps not more than a semitone. As soon, however, as the catch is removed (as often happens on the addition to the form of certain grammatical elements), the fall runs through its usual gamut. The words

k'wede'i his name

yewe'ida^s when he returned

yewe'ie^s he returned

will serve to illustrate the character of the falling pitch.



The pronunciation of the diphthongs is now easily understood. A shortened diphthong (*a'i*, *a'ie*) sounds to an American ear like an indivisible entity, very much like *ai* and *au* in HIGH and HOW; a diphthong with falling pitch (*a'i*) is naturally apt to be heard as two distinct vowels, so that one is easily led to write *naga'-ida*^s instead of *naga'ida*^s WHEN HE SAID; a diphthong with rising pitch (*ai*) is heard either as a pure diphthong or as two distinct vowels, according to the speed of utterance or the accidents of perception. All these interpretations, however, are merely matters of perception by an American ear and have in themselves no objective value. It would be quite misleading, for instance, to treat Takelma diphthongs as "pure" and "impure," no regard being had to pitch, for such a classification is merely a secondary consequence of the accentual phenomena we have just considered.

One other point in regard to the diphthongs should be noted. It is important to distinguish between organic diphthongs, in which each element of the diphthong has a distinct radical or etymological value, and secondary diphthongs, arising from an *i*, *u*, *l*, *m*, or *n* with prefixed inorganic *a*. The secondary diphthongs (*ai*, *au*, *al*, *am*, *an*), being etymologically single vowels or semivowels, are always unitonal in character; they can have the raised, not the rising accent. Contrast the inorganic *au* of

bila'uk' (= **biłw'k'*,¹ not **bilaũk'*) he jumped; cf. *biłwa'εs* JUMPER with the organic *au* of

gayaũ he ate it; cf. *gayawa'εn* I ate it

Contrast similarly the inorganic *an* of

k!ema'nk' (= **k!emn'k'*, not **k!emaũk'*) he made it; cf. *k!emna'εs* maker

with the organic *am* of

dasmayaĩ he smiled; cf. *dasmayama'εn* I smiled

Phonetically such secondary diphthongs are hardly different from shortened organic diphthongs; etymologically and, in consequence, in morphologic treatment, the line of difference is sharply drawn.

¹ Non-existent or theoretically reconstructed forms are indicated by a prefixed asterisk.

It was said that any particular syllable, if accented, necessarily receives a definite pitch-inflection. If it is furthermore pointed out that distinct words and forms may differ merely in the character of the accent, and that definite grammatical forms are associated with definite accentual forms, it becomes evident that pitch-accent has a not unimportant bearing on morphology. Examples of words differing only in the pitch-accent are:

se'el black paint, writing; *sēl* kingfisher

lā'ap leaves; (1) *lāp* he carried it on his back, (2) *lāp* become (so and so)!

sā'at his discharge of wind; *sāt* mash it!

wil'i his house; *wil* house, for instance, in *dak'wil* on top of the house

he'el song; *hēl* sing it!

Indeed, neither vowel-quantity, accent, nor the catch can be considered negligible factors in Takelma phonology, as shown by the following:

waya knife

wayā'a his knife

waya'e he sleeps

wayān he put him to sleep

k!wāya (= *k!wā'a*) just grass

It is impossible to give any simple rule for the determination of the proper accent of all words. What has been ascertained in regard to the accent of certain forms or types of words in large part seems to be of a grammatic, not purely phonetic, character, and hence will most naturally receive treatment when the forms themselves are discussed. Here it will suffice to give as illustrations of the morphologic value of accent a few of the cases:

(1) Perhaps the most comprehensive generalization that can be made in regard to the employment of accents is that a catch requires the falling pitch-accent on an immediately preceding stressed syllable, as comes out most clearly in forms where the catch has been secondarily removed. Some of the forms affected are:

(a) The first person singular subject third person object aorist of the transitive verb, as in:

t!omoma'en I kill him

t!omoma'nda as I killed him

(b) The third person aorist of all intransitive verbs that take the catch as the characteristic element of this person and tense, as in:

ya'ε he went

yā'adaε when he went

(c) The second person singular possessive of nouns whose ending for this person and number is *-εt'*, as in:

t!i'iet' your husband

ela'εt' your tongue

Contrast: .

t!it'k' my husband

ela't'k' my tongue

There are but few exceptions to this rule. A certain not very numerous class of transitive verbs, that will later occupy us in the treatment of the verb, show a long vowel with rising pitch before a catch in the first person singular subject third person object aorist, as in:

k!emēεn I make it

dīt!ügūεn I wear it

The very isolation of these forms argues powerfully for the general correctness of the rule.

(2) The first person singular subject third person object future, and the third person aorist passive always follow the accent of 1a:

dō^uma'n I shall kill him

t!omoma'n he was killed

Contrast:

xō^uma'n he dried it

Like *k!emēεn* in accent we have also:

k!emēn it was made

(3) The first person singular possessive of nouns whose ending for that person and number is *-t'k'* shows a raised or rising pitch, according to whether the accented vowel is short or long (or diphthongal):

k'wedēit'k' my name

p!ānt'k' my liver

t!ibagwa'nt'k' my pancreas

Contrast:

k'wedē'i his name

p!a'ant' his liver

t!ibagwa'n his pancreas

(4) The verbal suffix *-ald-* takes the falling pitch:

sgelewa'lda^εn I shouted to him

sgelewa'tt' he shouted to him

Contrast:

gwałt' wind

Many more such rules could be given, but these will suffice at present to show what is meant by the "fixity" of certain types of accent in morphological classes.

This fixity of accent seems to require a slight qualification. A tendency is observable to end up a sentence with the raised pitch, so that a syllable normally provided with a falling pitch-accent may sometimes, though by no means always, assume a raised accent, if it is the last syllable of the sentence. The most probable explanation of this phenomenon is that the voice of a Takelma speaker seeks its rest in a rise, not, as is the habit in English as spoken in America, in a fall.¹

Vocalic Processes (§§ 6-11)

§ 6. VOWEL HIATUS

There is never in Takelma the slightest tendency to avoid the coming together of two vowels by elision of one of the vowels or contraction of the two. So carefully, indeed, is each vowel kept intact that the hiatus is frequently strengthened by the insertion of a catch. If the words *ya'p!a* MAN and *a'nĩ^ε* NOT, for instance, should come together in that order in the course of the sentence, the two *a-* vowels would not coalesce into one long vowel, but would be separated by an inorganic (i. e., not morphologically essential) catch *yap!a^εa'nĩ^ε*. The same thing happens when two verbal prefixes, the first ending in and the second beginning with a vowel, come together. Thus:

de- in front

xā^a- between, in two

+ *ĩ-* with hand

generally appear as:

de^εĩ-

xā^{aε}ĩ-

respectively. The deictic element *-a'*, used to emphasize preceding

¹ Those familiar with Indogermanic phonology will have noticed that my use of the symbols (^ε), (^ε), and (^ε) has been largely determined by the method adopted in linguistic works for the representation of the syllabic pitch-accents of Lithuanian; the main departures being the use of the (^ε) on short as well as on long vowels and the assignment of a different meaning to the (^ε).

nouns, pronouns, and adverbs, is regularly separated from a preceding vowel by the catch:

ma'ªa` but you, you truly

bõªa` nowadays indeed

If a diphthong in *i* or *u* precedes a catch followed by a vowel, the *i* or *u* often appears as *y* or *w* after the catch:

k!wãªya` just grass (= *k!wãi* + *-a`*)

ãªya` just they (= *ãi*- they + *-a`*)

haªwĩ- (= *ha-u-* under + *ĩ-* with hand)

If the second of two syntactically closely connected words begins with a semivowel (*w* or *y*) and the first ends in a vowel, a catch is generally heard to separate the two, in other words the semivowel is treated as a vowel. Examples are:

geª wõk` (= *ge'* + *wõk`*) there he arrived

beª wãªdĩ'ª (= *beª* + *wãªdĩ'ª*) day its-body = all day long

geª yãªahi (= *ge* + *yãªahi*) just there indeed

Such cases are of course not to be confounded with examples like:

meªwõk` HE ARRIVED HERE, and

meªyẽu COME HERE!

in which the catch is organic, being an integral part of the adverb *meª* HITHER; contrast:

meªgini'ªk` HE CAME HERE, with

ge gini'ªk` HE WENT THERE.

The same phonetic rule applies even more commonly when the first element is a noun or verb prefix:

haªwinĩ'ªda inside of him; but *habeªbini`* at noon

deªwiliwia'ª they shouted; but *dexebeªn* he said so

abaiªwaªyewẽnhi he returned inside with him; but *abaigini'ªk`* he went inside

wiªwã my younger brother; but *wiha`m* my father

It is interesting to note that the catch is generally found also when the first element ends in *l*, *m*, or *n*, these consonants, as has been already seen, being closely allied to the semivowels in phonetic treatment:

alªwãªdidẽ to my body; but *alsªõªma`l* to the mountain

alªyowoª he looked; but *alxĩ'ªk`* he saw him

bãªge'lªyo he lay belly up; but *gelk!iyi'ªk`* he turned to face him

gwenªwat'geits!ik`wa his (head) lay next to it; but *gwenliwila'ª* he looked back

yĩwinª wõk'ªiª (= *yĩwin* speech + *wõk'ªiª* without) without speech

It goes without saying that the catch separates elements ending in *l*, *m*, or *n* from such as begin with a vowel:

s'in^εilats!agi'^εn I touch his nose

al^εit' бага't'bak' he struck them

§ 7. DISSIMILATION OF *u*

A diphthong in *u* tends, by an easily understood dissimilatory process, to drop the *u* before a labial suffix (*-gw-*, *-p'*, *-ba^ε*). Thus we have:

wahawaxi'gwa'^εn I rot with it, for **xiugwa'^εn*

Compare:

hawaxi'^{uε} he rots

wahawaxiwigwa'n I shall rot with it

Similarly:

bilik'^w he jumped having it, for **biliūk'^w* (stem *biliu-*)

wilik'^w he proceeded with it, for **wiliūk'^w* (stem *wiliu-*)

Observe that, while the diphthong *iu* is monophthongized, the original quantity is kept, *i* being compensatively lengthened to *ī*. In the various forms of the verb *yèu-* RETURN, such dissimilation, wherever possible, regularly takes place:

yēk'^w he returned with it, for **yèūk'^w* (= *yèū- gw- k'*)

mēyēp' come back! (pl.), but sing. *mēyèū*

yēba'^ε let us return! for **yèuba'^ε*

It is interesting to note how this *u-* dissimilation is directly responsible for a number of homonyms:

yēk'^w bite him!

(*al*) *yēp'* show it to him!

A similar dissimilation of an *-u-* after a long vowel has in all probability taken place in the reduplicating verb *lā^{al}liwi'^εn* I CALL HIM BY NAME (*le^εla'usi* HE CALLS ME BY NAME) from **lāuliwi'^εn* (**lèula'usi*).

§ 8. I- UMLAUT

Probably the most far-reaching phonetic law touching the Takelma vowels is an assimilatory process that can be appropriately termed "*i-* umlaut." Briefly stated, the process is a regressive assimilation of a non-radical *-a-* to an *-i-*, caused by an *-i-* (*-ī-*) in an immediately following suffixed syllable, whether the *-i-* causing the umlaut is an original *-i-*, or itself umlauted from an original *-a-*; the *-i-* of the

pronominal endings *-bi-* THEE, *-si-* HE TO ME, *-xi-* HE ME, fails to cause umlaut, nor does the law operate when the *-i-* is immediately preceded by an inorganic *h*. The following forms will make the applicability of the rule somewhat clearer:

wak!ayayini'εn I caused him to grow with it (but *k!ayayana'εn*
I caused him to grow, with preserved *-a-*, because of following
-a'εn, not *-i'εn*)

wak!eyeya'nxi he caused me to grow with it

wak!ayaya'nxbi'εn I caused thee to grow with it

iyulu'yili'εn I rub it (from *-yali'εn*)

iyulu'yalhi he rubs it

It should be carefully noted that this *i-* umlaut never operates on a radical or stem-vowel, a fact that incidentally proves helpful at times in determining how much of a phonetic complex belongs to the stem, and how much is to be considered as belonging to the grammatical apparatus following the stem. In:

wā^agiwi'εn I brought it to him (from *-awi'εn*; cf. *wā^aga'sbi'εn*
I brought it to you)

the *-a-* following the *g* is shown to be not a part of the aoristic stem *wā^ag-* by the *i-* umlaut that it may undergo; on the other hand, the corresponding future shows an un-umlauted *-a-*:

wagawi'n I shall bring it to him

so that the future stem must be set down as *waga-*, as is confirmed by certain other considerations.

It would take us too far afield to enumerate all the possible cases in which *i-* umlaut takes place; nevertheless, it is a phenomenon of such frequent recurrence that some of the more common possibilities should be listed, if only for purposes of further illustration:

- (1) It is caused by the aoristic verb suffix *-i-* denoting position:

s'as:inī he stands (cf. *s'a's:ant'ā^a* he will stand)

t!obigī he lies as if dead (cf. future *t!obaga'sdā^a*)

- (2) By an element *-i-* characteristic of certain nouns, that is added to the absolute form of the noun before the possessive pronominal endings:

bū^ubinī't'k' my arm (cf. *bū^uba'n* arm)

t'ga'lt'gilixdek' my belly (for * *t'galt'gali-*)

- (3) By the common verbal "instrumental" vowel *-i-*, which, for one reason or another, replaces the normal pre-pronominal element

-a-, and often serves to give the verb an instrumental force. This instrumental -i- may work its influence on a great number of preceding elements containing -a-, among which are:

(a) The -a- that regularly replaces the stem-vowel in the second member of a duplicated verb:

al^εit'baga't'bigi^εn I beat him (cf. -*t'baga't'bak'* he beat him)

ts'!ele'ts'!ili^εn I rattle it (cf. *ts'!ele'ts'!alhi* he rattles it)

ismili'smili^εn I swing it (cf. *ismi'lsmal* swing it!)

(b) The causative element -an-:

wap!ā^agini'^εn I cause him to swim with it (cf. *p!ā^agana'^εn* I cause him to swim)

See above:

wak!ayayini'^εn I cause him to grow

(c) The element -an- added to transitive stems to express the idea of FOR, IN BEHALF OF:

wat!omomini'^εn I kill it for him with it (cf. *t!omomana'^εn* I kill it for him)

(d) The pronominal element -am-, first personal plural object:

alxī'ⁱximi^s one who sees us (cf. *alxī'ⁱxam* he sees us)

4. By the suffixed local element -dīⁱ ON TOP OF added to the demonstrative pronoun *ga* THAT to form a general local postposition:

gidīⁱ on top of it, over (so and so)

Compare the similarly formed:

gada'k' above

gada'l among

and others.

5. By the pronominal element -ig- (-ik'), first personal plural subject intransitive:

t!omōxinik' we kill each other (cf. *t!omōxaⁿ* they kill each other)

dāxinigam we shall find each other (cf. *dāxan^εt'* they will find each other)

This list might be greatly extended if desired, and indeed numerous other examples will meet us in the morphology. Examples of a double and treble *i*-umlaut are:

lohō^uninini'^εn I caused him to die (i. e., killed him) for him (cf.

lohō^unana'nhi he killed him for him)

ik!ūmininini'nk' he will fix it for him (compare *ik!ū^uma'n* he fixed it)

The semivowel corresponding to *i*, namely *y*, is also capable, under analogous circumstances, of causing the *i*-umlaut of a preceding non-radical *a*. Examples are:

daxoyo'xiya^{en} (= *-xaya^{en}*) I scare them around; *daxoyo'xi* (= *-xiy*
= *-xay*) he scares them around
al^εit'ge'it'giyak^w (= *-t'gay-*) rolled up
alhūyū'hīⁱx (= *-hiyx* = *-hayx*) he used to hunt
saniya' (= *sanaya'*) to fight him
dō^wmk'wiya (= *-k'waya*) to kill him; and numerous other infinitives in *-k'wiya* (= *-k'waya*)

§ 9. K- SOUNDS PRECEDED BY U- VOWELS

An *u*-vowel (*o*, *u*, *ü*, and diphthongs in *-u*) immediately preceding a *k*-sound (i. e., *g*, *k'*, *k!*, *x*) introduces after the latter a parasitic *-w*-, which, when itself followed by a vowel, unites with the *k*-sound to form a consonant-cluster (*gw*, *k'w*, *k!w*, *xw*), but appears, when standing after a (word or syllabic) final *k'*, as a voiceless *-^w*. The introduction of the excrescent *w* simply means, of course, that the labial rounding of the *u*-vowel lingers on after the articulation of the *k*-sound, a phonetic tendency encouraged by the fact that the production of the guttural consonant does not, as in the labials and dentals, necessitate a readjustment of the lips. A few examples will illustrate the phonetic process:

gelgulugwa^{en} I desire it
gelgulu'k^w he desires it (contrast *gelgula'k'* he desired it, without the labial affection of the *-k'* because of the replacement of the *-u-* by an *-a-*)
gūxwīⁱ his heart
dū^ugwi't'gwa her dress
dūk^w woman's garment
yō^wk!wā^a his bones

As also in the upper Chinook dialects (Wasco, Wishram), where exactly the same process occurs, the *w*-infection is often very slight, and particularly before *u*-vowels the *-w-* is, if not entirely absent, at least barely audible:

yōk!^wōyā^{en} I know it
yō'k'yān I shall know it

In one very common word the catch seems to be treated as a *k*-sound in reference to a preceding *u* when itself followed by an *-i-*:

s^wu^εwilz he sits; but
s^wu^εalt^aā^a he will sit

The first form was, for some reason or other, often heard, perhaps misheard, as *s'i^sulʔ*.

§ 10. INORGANIC *a*

It frequently happens in the formation of words that a vowel present in some other form of the stem will drop out, or, more accurately expressed, has never been inserted. Consonant-combinations sometimes then result which are either quite impossible in Takelma phonetics, or at any rate are limited in their occurrence to certain grammatical forms, so that the introduction of an "inorganic" *-a-*, serving to limber up the consonant-cluster, as it were, becomes necessary. Ordinarily this *-a-* is inserted after the first consonant; in certain cases, after the two consonants forming the cluster. The theoretical future of *gini'k'de^e* I GO SOMEWHERE should be, for example, **gink'de^e*; but, instead of this somewhat difficult form, we really get *gina'k'de^e*. That the *-a'-* is here really inorganic, and not a characteristic of the future stem, as was at first believed, is clearly shown by the imperative *gi'nk'* (all imperatives are formed from the future stem). Similarly:

k!iya'k'de^e I shall go, come; aorist, *k!iyi'k'de^e*

alzik!a'lhik' (=theoretical **alzik!lik'*) he kept looking at him;

aorist first person *alzik!lhiⁿ* I keep looking at him

k!ema'n make it! (=theoretical **k!emn*); cf. *k!emna'n* I shall make it

ba'i^eye^ewa'n drive out sickness!; aorist, *-yewēn* he drove out sickness

sgela'ut'e^e I shall shout (=theoretic **sgelwt'e^e*); aorist second person, *sgelewa't'* you shouted

As an example of an inorganic *-a-* following a consonantic cluster may be given:

wisma't'e^e I shall move (stem *wism-*); aorist, *wits'!i^ñt'e^e* I moved¹

The exact nature of the processes involved in the various forms given will be better understood when stem-formation is discussed. Here

¹ Such an *-a* may stand as an absolute final; e. g., *ba-imasga'* START IN SINGING! (stem *masg-*), aorist third person, *-mats!a'k'*. The form *masga'* well illustrates the inherent difficulty of delimiting the range of a phonetic law without comparative or older historical material to aid in determining what is due to regular phonetic development, and what is formed on the analogy of other forms. The final cluster *-sk'* does occur in Takelma; e. g., *dink!a'sk'* (long object) lay stretched out; so that a phonetic irregularity must exist in one of the two forms. Either we should have **ma'sk'*, or else **dink!asa'k'* or **dink!asga'* is to be expected. On closer examination it is found that the *-k'* in forms like *dink!a'sk'* is a grammatical element added on to the future stem *dink!as-*; whereas in *masga'* the *-g-* belongs in all probability to the stem, and is no added suffix; at least is not felt as such. It seems evident, then, that the quasi-mechanical juxtaposition of grammatical elements does not entirely follow the same phonetic lines as organic sound-complexes.

it will suffice to say that there are three distinct sorts of inorganic or secondary *a*-vowels: the regular *inorganic a* first illustrated above, inserted between two consonants that would theoretically form a cluster; the post-consonantal *constant a* of certain stems (such as *wism-* above) that would otherwise end in more or less impracticable consonant clusters (this *-a* appears as *-i* under circumstances to be discussed below); and a *connecting a* employed to join consonantal suffixes to preceding consonants (such suffixes are generally directly added to preceding vowels or diphthongs). The varying treatment accorded these different secondary *a* vowels will become clearer in the morphology.

§ 11. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE DIPHTHONGS

By a double diphthong is meant a syllable consisting of an ordinary diphthong (long or short) followed by a semivowel (*y*, *w*) or by *l*, *m*, or *n*. Such double diphthongs are, for instance, *aiw*, *āiw*, *auy*, *āuy*, *ain*, *āin*, *alw*, *ā^alw*; those with initial short vowel, like *ain*, have, like the long diphthongs (e. g. *ā^an*), a quantitative value of 3 morae, while those with initial long vowel, like *āin*, have a quantitative value of 4 morae and may be termed over-long diphthongs. Double diphthongs may theoretically arise when, for some reason or other, a connecting or inorganic *a* fails to lighten the heavy syllable by reducing it to two (see particularly § 65 for a well-defined class of such cases). Double diphthongs, however, are nearly always avoided in Takelma; there is evidently a rhythmic feeling here brought into play, a dislike of heavy syllables containing three qualitatively distinct sonantic elements.

In consequence of this, double diphthongs are regularly simplified by the loss of either the second or third element of the diphthong; in other words, they are quantitatively reduced by one mora (the simple double diphthongs now have a value of 2 morae, the over-long diphthongs 3 morae like ordinary long diphthongs), while qualitatively they now involve only two sonantic elements. An exception seems to be afforded by double diphthongs in *-uy* (e. g. *-auy*), which become dissyllabic by vocalizing the *y* to *i*, in other words, *-auy* becomes *-awi*:

ts!awi'k' he ran fast; cf. *ts!a-uya'ēs* fast runner, *ts!awayat'*
(aorist) you ran fast
yawi't'e^e I shall talk; cf. *yawayat'* (aorist) you talked

The *-awi-* (=theoretic *-awy-*) of these forms is related to the *-away-* of the aorist as the *-ilw-* of *bilwa'εs* JUMPER to the *-iliw-* of the aorist *biliwa't'* YOU JUMPED.

Such double diphthongs as end in *-w* (e. g. *-aiw*, *-ā'lw*) simply lose the *-w*:

gaī eat it! (= **gaīw*); *gaīk'* he ate it (= **gaīwk'*); compare *ga-iwa'n* I shall eat it

Other examples of this loss of *w* are given in § 18, 2. All other double diphthongs are simplified by the loss of the second vowel (*i*, *u*) or consonant (*l*, *m*, *n*); a glottal catch, if present after the second vowel or consonant, is always preserved in the simplified form of the double diphthong. Examples of simplified double diphthongs with initial short vowel are:

gelhewe'haεn (= **-hauεn*) I think; compare *gelhewe'hau* he thinks
imi'haεn (= **-hamεn*) I sent him; compare *imi'ham* he sent him
mo'loεmaεn (= **malεn*) I stir it up; *mo'lεman* (= **-maln*) I shall stir it up; compare parallel forms with connecting *a*: *mo'loεmalaεn*, *mo'lεmalan*, and third person aorist *mo'loεmal*
mā'anma'εn (= **-manεn*) I count them; compare *damā'anmini'εn* (umlauted from *-man-i'εn*) I counted them up
k!emxa't'eε (= **k!emnxa't'eε*) I shall make; compare *k!emna'εs* maker and *k!ema'n* make it! (with inorganic *a* because accent is not thrown forward)

Examples of simplified over-long diphthongs are:

dā'alđi'n (= **dāildđi'n*) I shall go to him for food; compare *dāit'eε* I shall go for food
ēī t'gēlxī (= **t'gēilxī*) wagon (literally, rolling canoe); compare *t'ge°ya'lx* it rolls
dat!agāεn (= **t!agāīεn*) I build a fire; compare *dat!agāī* he builds a fire
k!emēεn (= **k!emēīεn*) I make it; compare *k!emēī* he makes it
oyōεn (= **oyōnεn*) I give it; compare third person *oyōn* he gives it

In the inferential, less frequently passive participle and imperative, forms of the verb, double diphthongs, except those ending in *w*, generally fail to be simplified. If coming immediately before the inferential *-k'* the double diphthong is preserved, for what reason is not evident (perhaps by analogy to other non-aorist forms in which the last element of the double diphthong belongs to the following syllable):

ts'!aĩmk' (but also *ts'!ayàm k'*) he hid it; compare *ts'!a-ima'n* I shall hide it

oĩnk' he gave it; compare *oina'n* I shall give it

If the inferential *-k'* does not immediately follow, an inorganic *a* seems to be regularly inserted between the second and third elements of the diphthong:

gelts'!aya'mxamk'na^ε since he concealed it from us

Examples of other than inferential forms with unsimplified double diphthong are:

ts'!aĩmhak'^w hidden

oĩn give it! (yet *ts'!aya'm* hide it! with inorganic *a*)

Consonants (§§ 12–24)

§ 12. System of Consonants

The Takelma consonant system is represented in the following table:

	Aspirated tenuis.	Voiceless media.	Fortis.	Spirant.	Lateral.	Nasal.
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p'</i>	v. unv. <i>w</i> - ^{'w}		<i>m</i>
Dental	<i>t^ε</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t'</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>
Sibilant			<i>ts', ts'!</i>	<i>s, s'</i>		
Palatal				<i>y</i>	(<i>l</i>)	
Guttural	<i>k^ε</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>x</i>		
Faucal			<i>ε</i>	<i>h</i>		

The spirants have been divided into two groups, those on the left-hand side of the column (labeled *v.*) being voiced, while those on the right-hand side (labeled *unv.*) are unvoiced. The rarely occurring palatal lateral *l* (see § 2, footnote) is also voiceless. Every one of the consonants tabulated may occur initially, except the voiceless labial spirant *-^{'w}*, which occurs only with *k* at the end of a syllable. Properly speaking, *-k'^w* should be considered the syllabic final of the labialized guttural series (*k'^w*, *gw*, *k'w*); a consideration of the consonant-clusters allowed in Takelma shows that these labialized consonants must be looked upon as phonetic units. The catch (*ε*) as organic consonant is found only medially and finally; the *l* only

initially. In regard to the pronunciation of the various consonants, *w*, *s*, *y*, *h*, *l*, *m*, and *n* do not differ materially from the corresponding sounds in English.

The first two series of stops—*tenuis* (*p'*, *t'*, *k'*) and *media* (*b*, *d*, *g*)—do not exactly correspond to the surd and sonant stops of English or French. The aspirated *tenuis* are, as their name implies, voiceless stops whose release is accompanied by an appreciable expulsion of breath. The voiceless *mediae* are also stops without voiced articulation; but they differ from the true *tenuis* in the absence of aspiration and in the considerably weaker stress of articulation. Inasmuch as our English *mediae* combine sonancy with comparatively weak stress of articulation, while the *tenuis* are at the same time unvoiced and pronounced with decided stress, it is apparent that a series of consonants which, like the Takelma voiceless *mediae*, combine weak stress with lack of voice will tend to be perceived by an American ear sometimes (particularly when initial) as surds, at other times (particularly between vowels) as sonants. On the other hand, the aspirated *tenuis* will be regularly heard as ordinary surd-stops, so that an untrained American ear is apt to combine an uncalled-for differentiation with a disturbing lack of differentiation. While the Takelma *tenuis* and *media* are to a large extent morphologically equivalent consonants with manner of articulation determined by certain largely mechanical rules of position, yet in a considerable number of cases (notably as initials) they are to be rigidly kept apart etymologically. Words and stems which differ only in regard to the weak or strong stress and the absence or presence of aspiration of a stop, can be found in great number:

dā^an- ear; *t'ā^an* squirrel

bō^u now; *p'ō^u-* to blow

ga that; *k'a* what

dīⁱ- on top; *t'īⁱ-* to drift

bō^ud- to pull out hair; *p'ō^ud-* to mix

dā^ag- to build fire; *dā^ag-* to find; *t'ā^ag-* to cry

gai- to eat; *k'ai-* thing, what ¹

¹ These two series of stops are not at all peculiar to Takelma. As far as could be ascertained, the same division is found also in the neighboring Chasta Costa, a good example of how a fundamental method of phonetic attack may be uniformly spread over an area in which far-reaching phonetic differences of detail are found and morphologic traits vary widely. The same series of stops are found also in Yana, in northern California. Farther to the east the two series are apparently found, besides a series of true sonant stops, in Ponca and Omaha (J. O. Dorsey's *p*, *t*, *k*, and *d*, *ɣ*, *ɣ*). The Iroquois also (as could be tested by an opportunity to hear Mohawk) are, as regards the manner of articulating the two series, absolutely in accord with the Takelma. A more accurate phonetic knowledge of other languages would doubtless show a wide distribution in America of the voiceless *media*.

The fortes (*p!*, *t!*, *k!*, *ts!* [= *ts'!*], and ϵ , which has been put in the same series because of its intimate phonetic and morphologic relation to the other consonants) are pronounced with the characteristic snatched or crackly effect (more or less decided stress of articulation of voiceless stop followed by explosion and momentary hiatus) prevalent on the Pacific coast. From the point of view of Takelma, *p!*, *t!*, and *k!* are in a way equivalent to p^ϵ , t^ϵ , and k^ϵ , respectively, or rather to b^ϵ , d^ϵ , and g^ϵ , for the fortes can never be aspirated. In some cases it was found difficult to tell whether a fortis, or a voiceless stop followed by a glottal stricture, was really heard:

yap!a' and *yap ϵ a'* man

gā'p!ini' and *gā'p ϵ ini'* two

In fact, a final tenuis + a catch inserted, as between vowels, to prevent phonetic amalgamation, regularly become, at least as far as acoustic effect is concerned, the homorganic fortis:

āk!a' he indeed (= *āk'* he + deictic $\epsilon a'$; cf. *ma' ϵ a'* you indeed)

sāk!eīt' you shot him (= *sāk'* he shot him + (ϵ)*eīt'* you are)

māp!a' just you [pl.] (= *māp'* you [pl.] + $\epsilon a'$)

Nevertheless, p^ϵ , t^ϵ , k^ϵ are by no means phonetically identical with *p!*, *t!*, *k!*; in Yana, for instance, the two series are etymologically, as well as phonetically, distinct. One difference between the two may be the greater stress of articulation that has been often held to be the main characteristic of the fortes, but another factor, at least as far as Takelma (also Yana) is concerned, is probably of greater moment. This has regard to the duration of the glottal closure. In the case of p^ϵ , t^ϵ , and k^ϵ the glottis is closed immediately upon release of the stop-contact for *p*, *t*, and *k*. In the case of *p!*, *t!*, and *k!* the glottis is closed just before or simultaneously with the moment of consonant contact, is held closed during the full extent of the consonant articulation, and is not opened until *after* the consonant release; the fortis *p!*, e. g., may be symbolically represented as $^\epsilon p^\epsilon$ (or $^\epsilon b^\epsilon$, better as $^\epsilon b^\epsilon$, i. e., a labial unaspirated stop immersed in a glottal catch). As the glottis is closed throughout the whole extent of the fortis articulation, no breath can escape through it; hence a fortis consonant is necessarily unaspirated. This explains why fortes are so apt to be misheard as voiceless mediae or even voiced mediae rather than as aspirated tenues (*p!*, e. g., will be often misheard as *b* rather than *p*). The cracked effect of the fortes, sometimes quite incorrectly

referred to as a click, is due to the sudden opening of the closed chamber formed between the closed glottis and the point of consonant contact (compare the sound produced by the sudden withdrawal of a stopper from a closed bottle); the hiatus generally heard between a fortis and a following vowel is simply the interval of time elapsing between the consonant release and the release of the glottal closure.¹ That the fortis consonant really does involve an initial glottal catch is abundantly illustrated in the author's manuscript material by such writings as:

dülü'et!ili^εn = *dülü't!ili^εn* I stuff it

dü't^ε!ilin = *dü't!ilin* I shall stuff it

leme'k!ia-uda^ε = *leme'k!ia-uda^ε* as they go off

Many facts of a phonetic and morphological character will meet us later on that serve to confirm the correctness of the phonetic analysis given (see §13, end; also §§ 30,4; 40,6; 40,13a, p. 113; 40,13b). Here it is enough to point out that *p!*, *t!*, *k!*, *ts!* are etymologically related to *b*, *d*, *g*, *s*: as are *i^ε*, *u^ε*, *εl*, *εm*, *εn* to *i*, *u*, *l*, *m*, *n*.

There is no tenuis or media affricative (*ts*—*dz*; *ts*·, *tc*—*dz*·, *dj*) corresponding in Takelma to the fortis *ts!*, *ts*·, though it seems possible that it originally existed but developed to *x* (cf. *yegwēxi* they bite me [upper Takelma *yegwe'tci*]; *ts!*·*xi* dog [from original **ts!*·*its*·*i*?]). Morphologically *ts!*, *ts*· stand in the same relation to *s*, *s*· that *p!*, *t!*, and *k!* stand in to *b*, *d*, *g*. For example,

Aorist stems:

t!omom- kill, *p!ügüg*- start (war, basket), *k!olol*- dig—are related to their corresponding

Future stems:

dō^um-, *bü^üg*-, *gō^ul*-,—as are the

Aorist stems:

ts!·*adad*- mash, *ts!*·*elel*- paint—to their corresponding

Future stems:

s·*ād*-, *s*·*ēl*-

Of the other consonants, only *x*, -*ʷ*, and *s*, *s*· call for remark. *x* is equivalent to the *ch* of German DACH, though generally pronounced further forward (*x*). It frequently has a *w* tinge, even when no *u*-vowel or diphthong precedes, particularly before *i*; examples are *hā'px^wi* CHILD and *hax^wiya*· (ordinarily *haxiya*·) IN THE WATER. -*k*·*ʷ*,

¹ Doctor Goddard writes me that an examination of tracings made on the Rousselot machine leads to substantially the same phonetic interpretation of the fortis as has been given above.

² See Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., ix, 257.

in which combination alone, as we have seen, -^u occurs, is the aspirated tenuis *k'* followed by a voiceless labial continuant approximately equivalent to the *wh* of English WHICH, more nearly to the sound made in blowing out a candle. *s* is the ordinary English *s* as in SELL; while *s'* is employed to represent a sibilant about midway in place of articulation between *s* and *c* (= *sh* in English SHELL), the fortes *ts!* and *ts'!* corresponding, respectively, in place of articulation to *s* and *s'*. The two sounds *s* and *s'* have been put together, as it is hardly probable that they represent morphologically distinct sounds, but seem rather to be the limits of a normal range of variation (both *sal-* WITH FOOT and *s'al-*, e. g., were heard). The only distinction in use that can be made out is that *s* occurs more frequently before and after consonants and after ^ε:

s'a's'ant'e^ε I shall stand
ogu's'i he gave it to me, but *ogu'sbi* he gave it to you
lō^us'v'i his plaything 110.6
īlasgi'n I shall touch it
le^εpsi feathers
yōls steel-head salmon
ha-uhana'εs it stopped (raining)

§ 13. Final Consonants

By a "final" consonant will always be meant one that stands at the end of a syllable, whether the syllable be the last in the word or not. Such a final position may be taken only by the aspirated tenues, the voiceless spirants, the catch, the liquid (*l*), and the nasals, not by the voiceless mediae, fortes, and semivowels (*y* and *w*); *h* occurs as a final only very rarely:

la'h excrement
lohlahan'k' he always caused them to die

A final semivowel unites with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong:

gayaū he ate it (cf. *gayawa'εn* I ate it)
gāī grow! (cf. *gā^aya'εt'* he will grow)

A final voiceless media always turns into the corresponding aspirated surd; so that in the various forms of one stem a constant alternation between the two manners of articulation is brought about:

se^εba'εn I roasted it; *sēp'* he roasted it
xebe'εn he did it; *xēp'ga^ε* I did it
xuduma'lda^{εn} I whistle to him; *xuduma'lt'*, *xuduma'lt'gwa* he whistles to him
t!ayaga'εn I found it; *t!aya'k'* he found it, *dāk'na^ε* since he found it

A final fortis also becomes the corresponding aspirated surd (-*ts*! becoming -*ʰs*), but with a preceding catch by way of compensation for the loss of the fortis character of the consonant. This process is readily understood by a reference to the phonetic analysis of the fortes given above (§ 12). Final *p*!, for instance, really *ʰb*(*ʰ*), is treated in absolutely parallel fashion to a final *b*; the final media implied in the *p*! must become an aspirated surd (this means, of course, that the glottal closure is released at the same time as the stop, not subsequently, as in the ordinary fortis), but the glottal attack of the *ʰb* still remains. Examples are:

wasgā'p!in I shall make it tight; *wasgā'ʰp* make it tight
k'ap!a'k'ap'naʰn I throw them under (fire, earth); future, *k'aʰp'-k'a'p'nan*
bāʰxō't!an I shall win over him; *bāʰxō'ʰt* win over him! *bāʰxō'ʰtgaʰ*
 I won over him
alxī'k!in I shall see him; *alxī'ʰk* see him! (contrast *alxī'ʰgiʰn* I saw him; *alxī'ʰk* he saw him)
haʰwīha'nts!in I shall cause it to stop (raining); *haʰwīha'nʰs*
 make it stop raining!
nō'ts!at'gwan next door to each other; *nō'ʰʰs* next door
haʰīmī'ts!adan t!eīmī'ʰs six times 100; *haʰīmī'ʰs* six

Consonant Combinations (§§ 14-17)

§ 14. GENERAL REMARKS

Not all consonant combinations are allowable in Takelma, a certain limited number of possibilities occurring initially, while a larger number occur as finals. Medial combinations, as we shall see (§17), are simply combinations of syllabic final consonants or permissible consonant combinations and syllabic initial consonants or permissible consonant combinations.

§ 15. INITIAL COMBINATIONS

If, as seems necessary, we regard *gw* as a single labialized consonant, the general rule obtains that no combinations of three or more consonants can stand at the beginning of a word or syllable. The following table shows all the initial combinations of two consonants possible in Takelma, the first members of the various combinations being disposed in vertical columns and the second members, with which the first combine, being given in horizontal lines. Examples fill the spaces thus mapped out. Inasmuch as the mediae and fortes,

the liquid, nasals, semivowels, and *h* never appear, or with very few exceptions, as the first members of initial combinations, it was not considered necessary to provide for them in the horizontal row. Similarly the *tenuis* and *fortes* never occur as second members of initial combinations. A dash denotes non-occurrence.

	<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>b</i>	—	<i>t'bbāg-</i> hit	—	<i>sbīn</i> beaver	?
<i>d</i>	—	—	—	<i>s-dō'i s-dagwa-</i> put on style	<i>xdēit'</i> flute
<i>g</i>	—	<i>t'geib-</i> roll	—	<i>sgt'si</i> coyote	—
<i>gw</i>	—	<i>t'gwa'</i> thunder	—	<i>sgwini'</i> raccoon	—
<i>s</i> <i>x</i> }	—	—	—	—	—
<i>l</i>	—	—	—	?	<i>zliwi</i> war feathers
<i>m</i>	—	<i>t'mila'px</i> smooth	—	<i>sma-im-</i> smile	?
<i>n</i>	—	—	—	<i>s-nā</i> mamma!	<i>xni'k'</i> acorn mush
<i>y</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>w</i>	—	<i>t'wap!at'wap'-</i> blink	[<i>k' w ā a g w</i> - awaken]	<i>swat'g-</i> pursue	?

It will be noticed that only *t'* (*p'* and *k'* were given mainly for contrast) and the two voiceless spirants *s* and *x* combine with following consonants (*k'w-* is not to be analyzed into *k' + w*, but is to be regarded as a single consonant, as also *gw-* and *k'w-*, both of which frequently occur as initials); furthermore that *s*, *x*, and *y* never combine with preceding consonants. The general law of initial combination is thus found to be: *tenuis* (*t'*) or voiceless spirant (*s*, *x*) + *media* (*b*, *d*, *g*) or *voiced continuant* (*l*, *m*, *n*, *w*).¹ Of the combinations above tabulated, only *t'b-* *t'g-*, *sb-*, *sg-*, and perhaps *sgw-* and *sw-*, can be considered as at all common, *t'm-*, *t'w-*, *sd-*, *sn-*, *xd-*, *xl-*, and *xn-* being very rare. *sl-*, *sb-*, *xm-*, and *xw-* have not been found, but the analogy of *xl-* for the first, and of *sb-*, *sm-*, and *sw-* for the others, make it barely possible that they exist, though rarely; there may, however, be a distinct feeling against the combination *x + labial* (*b*, *m*, *w*).

Only two cases have been found of *fortis* or *media + consonant*:

t!wep!e't!wapx they fly about without lighting; future *dwep'-dwa'pxdā^a*

This may possibly serve to explain why the affricative *ts'* (to correspond to *ts'!*) is not found in Takelma.

§ 16. FINAL COMBINATIONS

Final consonant combinations are limited in possibility of occurrence by the fact that only aspirated tenues and voiceless spirants (*p'*, *t'*, *k'*, *k'w*, *s*, and *x*) can stand as absolute finals after other consonants. The following table will give examples of all final combinations of two or three consonants that have been discovered in the available material.

	<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>p'</i>	—	<i>ɛit'p'</i> yeare	—	<i>bɛlp'</i> swan	—	<i>s'a's'ɛnp'</i> stand! (pl.)	—	—
<i>t'</i>	—	—	—	<i>sgelewa't'</i> he shouted to him	<i>ts'elela'mt'</i> he paints it	<i>p'lā'ant'</i> his liver	—	—
<i>k'</i>	<i>xɛp'k'</i> he did it	<i>p'ima't'k'</i> my salmon	—	<i>a'lk'</i> silver-side salmon	<i>xa'mk'</i> grizzly bear	<i>dōwma'nk'</i> he will kill him	<i>mīla'sk'</i> he loved her	<i>k'wā'as'xk'</i> he's awake
<i>k'w</i>	—	—	—	<i>t'gwe'lk'w</i> rat	?	<i>yānk'w</i> he took it along	—	—
<i>p'k'</i>	—	—	—	<i>s'u'ɛalp'k'</i> he sat	—	<i>se'nsanp'k'</i> he whooped	—	—
<i>t'k'</i>	—	—	—	<i>dōwma't'k'</i> my testicles	<i>xāla'mt'k'</i> my urine	<i>bilga'nt'k'</i> my breast	—	—
<i>s</i>	<i>la'ps</i> blanket	—	—	<i>bīls</i> moss	<i>gūms</i> blind	<i>p'e'ns</i> squirrel	—	—
	<i>t'geya'px</i> round	—	—	<i>t'geeya'lx</i> it rolls	<i>ya'mx</i> grease	<i>bānx</i> hunger	—	—
<i>xk'</i>	<i>des'ipxk'</i> it closed	—	—	<i>gū'lk'!olxk'</i> it was blazing	<i>dats'!ā'mxk'</i> it hurt	<i>ūgwa'nxxk'</i> he drank	—	—
<i>px</i>	—	—	—	<i>sgī!lp'x</i> warm your back!	—	?	—	—

No examples of *-mk'w* and *-npx* have been found, but the analogy of *-lp'x* makes the existence of the latter of these almost certain (*l* and *n* are throughout parallel in treatment); the former (because of the double labial; cf. the absence of *-mp'*) is much less probable, despite the analogy of *-lk'w* and *-nk'w*. It is possible also that *-lsk'*, *-msk'*, and *-nsk'* exist, though their occurrence can hardly be frequent. Of final clusters of four consonants *-nt'p'k'* has been found in *s'a's'ant'p'k'* HE STOOD, but there can be small doubt that the *-t-* is merely a dental tenuis glide inserted in passing from the dental nasal to the labial tenuis; compare the morphologically analogous form *se'nsanp'k'* HE WHOOPED. However, the combinations *-lp'xk'* and *-np'xk'* (if *-npx* exists), though not found in the available material, very probably ought to be listed, as they would naturally be the terminations of morphologically necessary forms (cf. *des'ip'xk'*). Most, if not all, of

the preceding final combinations may furthermore be complicated by the addition of ϵ , which is inserted before the first tenuis or voiceless spirant of the group, i. e., after a possible liquid or nasal:

$\bar{u}'\epsilon s \cdot k'$ he laughed

$k' o' \epsilon px$ dust, ashes.

$ts' !u' n \epsilon s$ (deerskin) cap

As compared to the initial combinations, the table of final clusters seems to present a larger number of possibilities. It is significant, however, that only those that consist of l , m , or n + single consonant can ever be looked upon as integral portions of the stem (such as $xa'mk'$ and $t'gwe'lk'w$); while those that end in $-s$ can always be suspected of containing either the verbal suffix $-s$ ($=t+x$), or the noun and adjective forming element $-s$. All other combinations are the result of the addition of one or more grammatical elements to the stem (e. g., $s'u' \epsilon al p' k' = s'u' \epsilon al + p' + k'$). Further investigation shows that only two of the combinations, $-t'p'$ (second personal plural subject aorist) and $-t'k'$ (first personal singular possessive) are suffixal units; though $-t'p'$ might be ultimately analyzed into $-t'$ (second personal singular subject aorist) + $-p'$. It is interesting to note that these clusters are at the same time the only ones, except $t'gw-$, allowed initially, $t'b-$ and $t'g-$. The constitution of the Takelma word-stem may thus be formulated as

tenuis (or voiceless spirant) + media (or voiced continuant) + vowel (or diphthong) + liquid or nasal + stop (fortis or media—tenuis),

any or all of the members of which skeleton may be absent except the vowel; h may also be found before the vowel.

§ 17. MEDIAL COMBINATIONS

A medial combination consists simply of a syllabically final combination or single consonant + an initial combination or single consonant, so that theoretically a very large number of such medial combinations may occur. Quite a large number do indeed occur, yet there is no morphologic opportunity for many of them, such as $k'-l$, $np'-m$, and numerous others. Examples of medial combinations are:

$t!omoma'n-ma \epsilon$ when he was killed

$h\acute{e}lk'-na \epsilon$ when he sang

$dak'-t'g\bar{u}'u'ba \epsilon n$ I put hollowed object (like hat) on top (as on head)

The occurrence of such clusters as *-k'n-* must not for a moment be interpreted as a contradiction of the non-occurrence of the same clusters initially or finally, as they are not, syllabically speaking, clusters at all. Had such combinations as, say, *-t'gn-* (in which *-t'* would be the final of one syllable and *gn-* the initial of the next) occurred, we should be justified in speaking of an inconsistency in the treatment of clusters; but the significant thing is, that such clusters are never found. A Takelma word can thus ordinarily be cut up into a definite number of syllables:

gaɪk'naʰ when he ate it (= *gaɪk'-naʰ*)

yo'k'yan I shall know it (= *yo'k'-yan*)

but these syllables have only a phonetic, not necessarily a morphologic value (e. g., the morphologic division of the preceding forms is respectively *gai-k'-naʰ* and *yok'y-an*). The theory of syllabification implied by the phonetic structure of a Takelma word is therefore at complete variance with that found in the neighboring Athapasean dialects, in which the well-defined syllable has at least a relative morphologic value, the stem normally consisting of a distinct syllable in itself.

One important phonetic adjustment touching the medial combination of consonants should be noted. If the first syllable ends in a voiceless spirant or aspirated surd, the following syllable, as far as initial stops are concerned, will begin with a media (instead of aspirated surd) or aspirated surd + media; i. e., for a cluster of stops in medial position, the last can be a media only, while the others are aspirated surds. As also in the case of single consonants, this adjustment often brings about a variation in the manner of articulation of the final consonant in the cluster, according to whether its position in the word is medial or final. Thus we have:

xɛp'gaʰ I did it; *xɛp'k'* he did it

Contrast, with constant *-k'-*:

alxɪ'εk'aʰ I saw it; *alxɪ'εk'¹* he saw it

the *-g-* of the first form and the *-k'* of the second being the same morphological element; the *-p'* of both forms is the syllabically final *b* of the stem *xεb-* DO, so that *xɛp'gaʰ* stands for a theoretical **xɛbk'aʰ*, a phonetically impossible form. Other examples are:

¹ This form is distinct from *alxɪ'εk'* LOOK AT IT!, quoted before. The imperative theoretically = **alxɪ'k'*! the text form = **alxɪ'k'/k'*.

ga-iwa't'ba^ε ye shall eat it; *gayawa't'p'* ye ate it
di'n^εxga^ε I (as long object) was stretching out; *di'n^εxk'* long object
 was stretching

Consonant Processes (§§ 18-24)

§ 18. DROPPING OF FINAL CONSONANTS

There is a good deal to indicate that the comparatively limited number of possible final consonant-clusters is not a primary condition, but has been brought about by the dropping of a number of consonants that originally stood at the end.

1. The most important case is the loss of every final *-t'* that stood after a voiceless spirant or aspirated surd. Its former presence in such words can be safely inferred, either from morphologically parallel forms, or from other forms of the same stem where the phonetic conditions were such as to preserve the dental. Thus *gwidi'k'^w* HE THREW IT represents an older reduplicated **gwidi'k'^wt'* (= *gwid-i-gwd-*), as proven by the corresponding form for the first person, *gwidi'k'^wda^εn* I THREW IT and *gwidi'k'dagwa* HE THREW HIM (122.13). Similarly all participles showing the bare verb stem are found to be phonetically such as not to permit of a final *-t'*, and are therefore historically identical with the other participial forms that show the *-t'*:

sāk' shooting (= **sāk't'*)
dōx gathering (= **dōxt'*)
ha-t!ūlk' following in path (= **t!ūlk't'*)
sana'p' fighting (= **sana'p't'*)

Compare:

yana't' going
loho't' dead
sebe't' roasting
dōmt' having killed
se'nsant' whooping
yi'lt' copulating with

The combinations *-k'^wt'k'* (*-k'^wt'g-*) and *-k'^wt'x-*, however, seem to lose, not the *-t'*, but the *-k'^w-*, whereupon *-t'k'* (*-t'g-*) remains, while *-t'x-* regularly becomes *-s-* (see § 20, 2):

he^εgwida't'k' (= **gwida'k'^wt'-k'*, inferential of *gwidik'^wd-*) he lost it
he^εgwida't'ga^ε (= **gwida'k'^wt'-ga^ε*) I lost it
xamgwidi'sgwide^ε (= **gwidi'k'^wt'-x-gwi-* or possibly **gwidi'k'^wt'-gwi-*) I drown myself

2. Somewhat less transparent is the former existence of a *-w* after consonants. The following examples have been found in the material at disposal:

lāl she twined basket ($= *lāl̥w$); cf. *lā^awa^εn* I twine it (that *-w* really belongs to the stem is shown by the forms *lā^awa^εn* I shall twine it; *lèūxi* twine it for me!)

k^le^l basket bucket ($= *k^le^lw$); cf. *k^lelwⁱⁱ* her bucket

k^la^l penis ($= *k^la^lw$); cf. *k^lalwⁱⁱ* his penis.

sgelē^ε ($= *sgelē^εw$) he keeps shouting; cf. *sgelēwa^t* you shout, *sgelēwa^lt^ε* I shall keep shouting

alsgālk^a^ε ($= *sgālw^k^a^ε$) I turned my head to one side to look at him; cf. *alsgā^ahwⁱⁿ* I shall turn my head to look at him

alsgelē^lxi ($= *sgelē^lw^{xi}$) he keeps turning his head to one side to look at me; cf. *alsgalā^aliwⁱ^εn* I keep turning my head to look at him, future *alsgalwa^lhwⁱⁿ*

This process, as further shown by cases like *ga^ε* EAT IT! ($= *ga^εw$), is really a special case of the simplification of double diphthongs (see § 11). Perhaps such "dissimilated" cases as *lā^a-* and *le^ε-* (for *lāu-* and *lèu-*), see § 7, really belong here.

Other consonants have doubtless dropped off under similar conditions, but the internal evidence of such a phenomenon is not as satisfactory as in the two cases listed. The loss of a final *-n* is probable in such forms as *ihēgwe^lhak^ε^w* HE WORKS, cf. *ihēgwe^lhak^ε^wna^εn* I WORK, and *ihēgwe^lhak^ε^wnana^lk^ε* WE WORK. Certain verb-forms would be satisfactorily explained as originally reduplicated like *gwidi^lk^ε^w*, if we could suppose the loss of certain final consonants:

gini^εk^ε he went somewhere ($= ?*gin-i^ε-^εk^εn$)

gelgulu^lk^ε^w he desired it ($= ?*-gul-u^l-^lk^εw^l$)

In the case of these examples, however, such a loss of consonants is entirely hypothetical.¹

§ 19. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS

Morphologically doubled consonants occur very frequently in Takelma, but phonetically such theoretic doublings are simplified into single consonants; i. e., *k^l+g* become *k^l* or *g*, and correspondingly for other consonants. If one of the consonants is a fortis, the simplified result will be a fortis or aspirated surd with preceding catch, according to the phonetic circumstances of the case. If one of the

¹ Many of the doubtful cases would perhaps be cleared up if material were available from the upper dialect, as it shows final clusters that would not be tolerated in the dialect treated in this paper; e. g. *k^lu^lwa^lks^lt^l* RELATIVES (cf. Takelma *k^lwinaxdē* MY KIN).

k-consonants is labialized, the resulting *k*-sound preserves the labial affection. Examples of consonant simplification are:

mo't'ek' my son-in-law (= *mo't'*- + *-dek'*)

lāk'wôk' he gave him to eat (= *lāg*- + *-k'wôk'*)

dek'!iya'k'i^ε if it goes on (= *dek'!iya'g*- + *-k'i^ε*)

lī'gwa'n I shall fetch them home (= *lī'g*- + *-gwan*); cf. aorist *ligigwa'εn*

dī'hila'k!wemē^εn I make him glad (= *hila'k'w* glad + *k!emē^εn* I make him)

A good example of three *k*-sounds simplifying to one is:

gināk'wi^ε if he comes (= *gināg-k'w-k'i^ε*)

The interrogative element *dī* never unites with the *-t'* of a second person singular aorist, but each dental preserves its individuality, a light *ɨ* being inserted to keep the two apart:

xemela't'ɨdī do you wish to eat? (= *xemela't'* + *dī*)

The operation of various phonetic processes of simplification often brings about a considerable number of homonymous forms. One example will serve for many. From the verb-stem *sā^ag*- SHOOT are derived:

1. Imperative *sāk'* shoot it!
2. Potential *sāk'* he can, might shoot it
3. Participle *sāk'* shooting (= **sāk't'*)
4. Inferential *sāk'* so he shot it (= **sāg-k'*)

The corresponding forms of the stem *yana*- GO will bring home the fact that we are here really dealing with morphologically distinct formations:

1. *yana'* go!
2. *yana'ε* he would have gone
3. *yana't'* going
4. *yana'k'* so he went

Another simplification of consonant groups may be mentioned here. When standing immediately after a stop, an organic, etymologically significant *h* loses its individuality as such and unites with a preceding media or aspirated tenuis to form an aspirated tenuis, with a preceding fortis to form an aspirated tenuis preceded by a glottal catch (in the latter case the fortis, being a syllabic final, cannot preserve its original form). Thus, for the *k*-series, *g* or *k' + h* becomes *k'*, *k!* (or *εk'*) + *h* becomes *εk'*; *gw* or *k'w + h* becomes *k'w*, *k!w* (or *εk'w*) + *h* becomes *εk'w*. Under suitable conditions of accent

(see § 23) the contraction product k' or $k'w$ may itself become g or gw , so that all trace of the original h seems to be lost. Examples for the k -sounds are:

$t'gunūk'i^ε$ ($=t'gunūk' + \text{quotative } -hi^ε$) it became warm, it is said
 $naganā'^ak'i^ε$ ($=naganā'^aεk' + \text{quotative } -hi^ε$; see § 22) he always said, it is said

$gwen-he'k'wā^agw-$ ($=\text{reduplicated } he'gw-hā^agw-$) relate; with accent thrown forward $gwen-hegwā'^agw-an-i-$ ($=hegw-hā'^agw-$); compare, with preserved h , $gwen-hegwe'hagw-an-i$ tell to
 $s'o'wo^εk'ôp'$ ($=s'o'wo^εk'-hap' = *s'o'wok!-hap'$) he jumps ($ô = wa$; see § 9) he jumps; compare $s'owo'k!ana^εn$ I cause him to jump

Similarly, d or $t' + h$ becomes t' , $t!$ (or $^εt'$) $+ h$ becomes $^εt'$; b or $p' + h$ becomes p' , $p!$ (or $^εp'$) $+ h$ becomes $^εp'$:

$gana't'i$ ($=gana't' + \text{emphatic } -hi$) of just that sort

$yo't'i$ ($=yo't'$ being + emphatic $-hi$) alive; compare plural $yot'i'hi$

$he'^εsgū'^ust'ôk'w$ ($=sgū'^ut!-hak'w$) cut away; compare $he'^εsgô'^ut!an$
 I shall cut it away

s' and x also generally contract with h to s' and x , e. g.:
 $nô^us'î^ε$ ($=nô^us' + -hi^ε$) next door, it is said.

§ 20. CONSONANTS BEFORE x

No stopped consonant or spirant may stand before x , except p . The dentals, guttural stops, and sibilants all simplify with x into single sounds; the fortes (including $ts!$) following the example of the ordinary stops and of the s , but leaving a trace in the vicarious ε .

1. All k -sounds (k' , g , $k!$, $k'w$, gw , $k!w$) simply disappear before x without leaving any trace of their former existence, except in so far as $k!$ and $k!w$ remain as ε ; if x is followed by a vowel, the w of the labialized k -sounds unites with x to form xw :

$alxî'ixi$ he saw me ($=al-xî'ig-xi$); cf. $alxî'igi^εn$ I saw him

$k'wā'^axde^ε$ I awoke ($=k'wā'^agw-x-de^ε$); cf. $îk'wā'^agwi^εn$ I woke him up

$gêlgulū'xbi^εn$ I like you ($=gulū'gw-x-bi^εn$); cf. $-gulūgwā'^εn$ I like him

$bā'^adinî'^εx$ (clouds) spread out on high ($=dinî'k!-x$); cf. $dî'nik!a^εn$
 I stretch it out

$lū'^εxwa'$ to trap ($=lūk!^w-xa'$); cf. $lo'k!wan$ I shall trap (deer)

$yêrxwink'$ ($=yêgw-xink'$) he will bite me; but $yêxda^ε$ ($=yêgw-x-da^ε$)
 you will bite me

2. *tx* always simplifies to *s*, *t/x* to *ʰs*. Whether the combination *tx* really spontaneously developed into *s* it is naturally impossible to say; all that can safely be stated is that, where we should by morphologic analogy expect *t + x*, this combination as such never appears, but is replaced by *s*. Examples are numerous:

lebe'saʰ she sews (= *lebe't-xaʰ*); cf., for *-t'* of stem, *lebe't'* she sewed it, for suffix *-xaʰ*, *lobo'xaʰ* she pounds

sgelewa'lsi he shouts to me (= *sgelewa'ld-xi*); cf. *sgelewa'ldaʰn* I shout to him

dāʰibodoba'saʰn they pull out each other's hair, with reduplicated stem *bodobad-* + *x-*

xāʰt'be'ʰek't'bagams it is all tied together (= *-t'bagamt-x*); cf.

xāʰt'bāʰagamdaʰn I tie it together

hansgōʰuʰs he cut across, lay over (road) (= *-sgōʰut!-x*); cf.

hansgōʰut!an I shall cut it across

This change of *tx* to *s* is brought about constantly in the course of word-formation, and will be incidentally exemplified more than once in the morphology.

3. *sx* simplifies to *s*, *ts!x* (= *ʰsx*) to *ʰs*. Examples are:

yimi's'aʰ he dreams (= *yimi's'-xaʰ*, with suffix *-xaʰ* as in *lobo'xaʰ* above

ha-uhanaʰʰs it stopped (raining) (= **-hanaʰʰsx*, stem *hanats!-* + *-x*)

§ 21. DISSIMILATION OF *n* TO *l* AND *m*

If a (generally) final *n* of a stem is immediately followed, or, less commonly, preceded by, a suffix containing a nasal, it dissimilates to *l*. The following examples have been found:

yalalana't' you lost it (cf. *yalnanadaʰ* you will lose it, with *n* preserved because it forms a consonant-cluster with *l*)

ha-gwāʰl-a'm in the road (cf. *gwān* road)

Dīdala'm Grant's Pass (probably = over [*dī-*] the rocks [*da'n*])

xāʰla'mt'k' my urine; *xala'xamt'ʰ* I urinate (cf. *xān* urine)

ba-is'in-xi'lik!wiʰn I blow my nose, with *l* due to *-n* of prefix *s'in-* nose (cf. *xīn* mucus)

s'inp'i'lʰs flat-nosed, alongside of *s'inp'i'nʰs*

The possibility of a doublet in the last example shows that the prefix *s'in-* is not as thoroughly amalgamated with the rest of the word as are the suffixes; probably, also, the analogy of forms in *-p'inʰs* with other prefixes not containing an *n* would tend to restore an anomalous-sounding *s'inp'i'lʰs* to *-p'i'nʰs*.

A suffixed *-(a)n* dissimilates to *-(a)l* because of a preceding *m* in the stem:

s'imil dew (cf. such nouns as *p'iyi'n* deer)
dak'-s'ō^uma'l on the mountain (*s'om̃* mountain)
dō^uma'lt'k' my testicles (*dō^um* testicles)

With these compare:

dā^a-ts!ā^awa'n by the ocean (*ts!āū* deep water)

In *xā^a-gulma'n* AMONG OAKS, the *l* immediately preceding the *m* seems to have prevented the dissimilation of the *-an* to *-al*.

It is practically certain that the *-am* of *hagwā^ala'm*, *Dīdala'm*, and *xā^ala'mt'k'* is at bottom phonetically as well as functionally identical with the suffix *-an* (*-al*), seen in *xā^a-gulma'n* (*gulu'm* OAK) and *dak'-s'ō^uma'l*, and rests on a second dissimilation of the nasal lingual (*n*) of the suffix to a labial nasal (*m*), because of the lingual (*l*) of the stem. The history of a word like *hagwā^ala'm* is in that event as follows: An original **hagwā^ana'n* IN THE ROAD (stem *gwā^an-* + nominal characteristic *-an*) becomes first **hagwā^ala'n* by the dissimilation of the first *n* because of the following *n*, then *hagwā^ala'm* by the dissimilation of this second *n* because of the preceding *l*. Similarly *Dīdala'm* and *xā^ala'mt'k'* would go back to **Dīdana'n* and **xā^ana'nt'k'* respectively; with the second form compare the reduplicated verb *xala'xam-* (*=*xanaxan-*) URINATE. The probability of such a dissimilation of *n* to *m* is greatly strengthened by the fact that nearly all nouns with an evidently suffixal noun-forming element *-(a)m* have an *l* in the stem as compared to an *-(a)n* of nouns not so affected. Contrast:

<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>
<i>he'la'm</i> board (cf. <i>dī'he'liya</i> sleeping on wooden platform)	<i>daga'n</i> turtle
<i>gela'm</i> river	<i>wigīn</i> red lizard
<i>ts!ela'm</i> hail (cf. stem <i>ts!el-</i> rattle)	<i>p'iyi'n</i> deer (<i>-n</i> here as suffix shown by <i>p'iya'x</i> fawn)
<i>xila'm</i> sick, ghost	<i>yūt!u'n</i> white duck (cf. <i>yut!-u'yidi^{en}</i> I eat it greedily)
<i>ts'!ū'lm</i> wart ¹	<i>yū'xgan</i> trout
<i>habila'm</i> empty	<i>xdān</i> eel (cf. <i>hā^{en}-xdā'^axdagwa^{en}</i> I throw something slippery far away)
<i>lap'ām</i> frog	<i>wō^up!uⁿ</i> eyebrows

¹ No other example of final *-lm* is known, so that this form was probably misheard for *ts'!ūlū'm* (cf. *gulu'm* OAK).

<i>yulu'm</i> eagle (also <i>yula'm</i> is found)	<i>dā^a- n-</i> ear
<i>gulu'm</i> oak	<i>bebe'n</i> rushes
<i>k'ülūm</i> fish (sp.?)	<i>ga'k'an</i> house ladder
<i>legem-</i> kidney	<i>gwit'in-</i> wrist

It should not be concealed that a few words (such as *hülūn* OCEAN, *t!aga'm* LAKE, and *yuk!um-a-* BONES) do not seem to conform to the phonetic law implied by the table; but more exact knowledge of the etymology of these and similar words would doubtless show such disagreement to be but apparent. It is probable that in *delga'n-* BUTTOCKS, *bilga'n-* BREAST, and *do'lk'in-i-* ANUS, the *g*, (*k'*) immediately following upon the *l* prevented the expected dissimilation of *n* to *m*; in *le'k'wan-* ANUS the dissimilation was perhaps thwarted by a counter-tendency to dissimilate the two labials (*k^w* and *m*) that would thus result. **yalan-an-* LOSE (tr.), dissimilated, as we have seen, to *yalal-an-*, fails to be further dissimilated to **yalal-am-* because, doubtless, there is a feeling against the obscuring of the phonetic form of the causative suffix *-an-*. The great probability of the existence of a dissimilatory tendency involving the change of *n* to *m* is clinched by the form *do'lk'im-i-* ANUS alongside of *do'lk'in-i-*.

A dissimilation of an original *l* to *n* (the reverse of the process first described), because of an *l* in the stem, is found in

yil'inma'ēn I keep asking for it (= original **yil'ilma'ēn* [*l* inserted as repetition of stem *-l-* in iterative formation from *yilima'ēn* I ask him])

le'ba'nxde^ē I am carrying (object not specified) (= original **le'ba'lxde^ē*); cf. identical suffix *-al-x-*, e. g., *gayawa'lxde^ē* I eat.

In *ū^ugwa'nxde^ē* I DRINK (stem *ūgw-*), it hardly seems plausible that *-an-x-* is at all morphologically different from the *-al (-an) -x-* of these words, yet no satisfactory reason can be given here for a change of the *l* to *n*.

§ 22. CATCH DISSIMILATION

If to a form with a glottal catch in the last syllable is added a syntactic (conjunctive) element, itself containing a catch, the first catch is lost, but without involving a change in the character of the pitch-accent; the loss of the catch is frequently accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel (or rather, in many cases, a restoration of the original length). This phonetic process finds its most frequent

application in the subordinate form of the third person aorist intransitive:

yā'ada^ε when he went (cf. *ya'*^ε he went)
gini'ik'da^ε when he went to (cf. *gini'ek'*^ε he went to)
yawa'ida^ε when he spoke (cf. *yawa'ie*^ε he spoke)
loho'ida^ε when he died (cf. *loho'ie*^ε he died)

The connectives *-hi*^ε IT IS SAID, and *-s'i*^ε BUT, AND are, in regard to this process, parallel to the *-da*^ε of the preceding forms:

naga'ih^ε he said, it is said (cf. *naga'ie*^ε he said)
nō's'i^ε but, so (he went) next door (cf. *nō'us'*^ε next door).
a'nīs'i^ε but not (cf. *a'nē*^ε not)
ē's'i's'i^ε but no matter how (often) (cf. *ē's'i*^ε even if)
dal'wi's'i^ε but some (cf. *dal'wi*^ε sometimes; *-wi'i's'i*^ε is related to *-wi*^ε as is *yā'ada*^ε to *ya'*^ε)

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF PLACE AND KIND OF ACCENT ON MANNER OF ARTICULATION

The general phonetic rule may be laid down that an aspirated surd, when not immediately followed by another consonant, can, with comparatively few exceptions, be found as such medially only when the accent immediately precedes, provided that no consonant (except in certain circumstances *l*, *m*, and *n*) intervene between the accented vowel and the aspirated surd; under other conditions it appears as a media. This phonetic limitation naturally brings about a constant interchange between the aspirated surd and the corresponding media in morphologically identical elements. Thus we have as doublets *-da* and *-t'a*, third person possessive pronoun of certain nouns:

bēm't'ā^a his stick
se'elt'ā^a his writing
wila'ut'ā^a his arrow
ga'lt'ā^a his bow
mo't'ā^a his son-in-law; but
da'gaxda his head

and numerous other nouns with *-x*. This consonant in itself, as we have seen, demands a following media. Another pair of doublets is *-de*^ε and *-t'e*^ε, first person singular subject intransitive aorist (*-de*^ε and *-t'e*^ε to correspond in future):

p'ele'xade^ε I go to fight; *p'elxa't'e*^ε I shall go to war
yānt'e^ε I go; *yana't'e*^ε I shall go
naga'tt'e^ε I say; *na't'e*^ε I shall say

but:

wits'!ismade^e I keep moving; future *wits'!e'smade*^e (contrast *wits'!iñt'e*^e I move and *wisma't'e*^e I shall move)

Other examples of interchange are:

sgō^{ut}t'sga't'i he cut them to pieces; *sgō^{ut}t'sgidiⁿ* I cut them to pieces

ts'!ümūmt'aⁿ I boil it, *s'ūmt'an* I shall boil it (stem *s'ū^mm-t'a-*); *s'omodaⁿ* I boil it, *s'omda'n* I shall boil it (evidently related stem *s'om-d-*)

s'as'inīp'ik' we stand; *e'bi'k'* we are

This phonetic rule must not be understood to mean that a media can never appear under the conditions given for the occurrence of a surd. The various grammatical elements involved are not all on one line. It seems necessary to assume that some contain a surd as the primary form of their consonant, while others contain an organic media. The more or less mechanical changes in manner of articulation, already treated of, have had the effect, however, of so inextricably interlocking the aspirated surds and mediae in medial and final positions that it becomes difficult to tell in many cases which manner of articulation should be considered the primary form of the consonant. Some of the medially occurring elements with primary tenuis are:

-t'a, third person possessive

-t'a, exclusive (as in *k!wa'lt'a* young, not old; younger one)

-t'e^e, first person intransitive aorist (future, -t'e^e)

-t'ek', first person singular possessive (as in *ga'lt'ek'* my bow)

Such elements show an aspirated consonant whether the preceding accent be rising or falling; e. g., *bēmt'a* like *he'lt'a*. Some of those with primary media are:

-da, third person possessive with preceding preposition (corresponding not to first person -t'ek', -dek', but to -dē)

-a'ld- and -a'md- indirect object

-da^e, subordinating element

This second set regularly keep the media whether the accent immediately precedes or not. The first two of these generally, if not always, require the preceding accent to be a falling one:

dak'wil'i'da on his house

hat'gā'a'da in his country

xā^asa'lda between his toes

xā^aha'mda on his back

hawa'nda under him
sgelewa'ldaⁿ I shout to him
ts!elela'mdaⁿ I paint it

The third retains its primary character as media when the preceding verb form has the falling accent:

yewe'ida^e when he returned
naga'-ida^e when he said
ba^xa'mda^e when he came
hele'lda^e when he sang
xebe'nda^e when he did it

On the other hand it appears as an aspirate tenuis when preceded by the rising accent:

lā^alēt'a^e as it became
s'as'inīt'a^e when he stood

The rule first given, when interpreted in the light of a reconstructed historical development, would then mean that a rising accent preserved an immediately following aspirated surd (including always those cases in which *l*, *m*, or *n* intervened), and caused the change of a media to an aspirated surd; while a falling accent preserved a similarly situated media or aspirated surd in its original form. That the change in the phonetic circumstances defined of an original media to an aspirated surd is indeed conditioned by a preceding rising accent, is further indicated by such rather uncommon forms as *hadedil-t'a* EVERYWHERE. Here the *-t'a* is evidently the same as the *-da* of *hawilī'ida* IN HIS HOUSE, and the difference in manner of articulation is doubtless in direct relation to the difference of accent.

A modification of the general phonetic rule as first given remains to be mentioned. After *l*, *m*, or *n* an original aspirated tenuis retains its aspiration even if the accent falls on the preceding syllable but one; also after a short vowel preceded by *l*, *m*, or *n*, provided the accented vowel is short. Examples are:

alwe'k!alt'e^e I shall shine; *alwe'k!alp'igam* we shall shine; *alwe'-k!alk'wa* to shine
k'e'p'alt'e^e I shall be absent; *k'e'p'alk'wa* to be absent
wülü'hamt'e^e I have menstrual courses for the first time
xala'xamt'e^e I urinate
ī'mhamk'am he was sent off (*ī* is short, though close in quality;
 contrast *dōmhigam* he was killed)
īmi'hamk'wit' he sent himself

ts'!ümü'ts'!amt'aⁿ I always boil it (cf. *s'omoda'eⁿ* I boil it)
s'a's.ant'e^e I shall stand; *s'a's.anp'igam* we shall stand; *s'a's.an-*
k'wa to stand
sene'sant'e^e I whoop; *se'nsant'e^e* I shall whoop
de'iwī'igank'wide^e I spread (it) out for myself
dasga'lit'ā^a (grain) will lie scattered about

With *-t'ā^a* and *-t'e^e* above contrast the morphologically identical elements *-dā^a* and *-de^e* of the following examples, in which the same accentual condition prevails but with a consonant other than *l, m, or n* preceding the affected dental:

t'ge'its'!idā^a (round object) will lie (there)
s'u'k'didā^a (string) will lie curled up
dak't'ek!e'xade^e I smoke (but future *-xa't'e^e* because of immediately preceding accent)

§ 24. INORGANIC *h*

Whenever two morphologically distinct vowels come together within the word (verbal prefixes and postposed particles, such as deictic *-a'*, are not considered as integral parts of the word), the first (accented) vowel is separated from the second by an "inorganic" *-h-*:

īt!ana'hiⁿ I hold it (aorist stem *t!ana-* + instrumental *-i-*), but future *īt!ani'n* (stem *t!an-*)
dak'-da-hala'hin I shall answer him (future stem *hala-* + instrumental *-i-*), but aorist *dak'-da-hā^ali'ⁿ* (stem *hā^al-*)

This inorganic *h* is found also immediately following an *m, n, or l* preceded by the accent:

wayānhaⁿ I put him to sleep (cf. same form with change of accent *wa-yā^ana'ⁿ*)
dā^aagānhiⁿ I used to hear about it (cf. *-agani'ⁿ* I hear it)
liwīlhaut'e^e I kept looking (cf. *liwila'ut'e^e* I looked)
xa-īt'gīlt'ga'lhī he broke it in two (cf. with identical *-i-* suffix *xā^asalt'gwi't'gwili* he broke [somebody's arm] by stepping)
ī'mhamk'am he was sent off (also in aorist stem *īmiham-*)
wadōmhik' he killed him with it (stem *dō^um-* + *-i-*)

It will be observed that the insertion of the *h* is practically the same phonetic phenomenon as the occurrence of an aspirated tenuis instead of a media after an accented vowel. The vowel, nasal, or liquid may appropriately enough be considered as having become aspirated under the influence of the accent, just as in the case of the mediae.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25-114)**§ 25. Introductory**

Takelma conforms to the supposedly typical morphology of American languages in that it is thoroughly incorporating, both as regards the pronominal, and, though somewhat less evidently, the nominal object. If by "polysynthetic" is merely meant the introduction into the verb-complex of ideas generally expressed by independent elements (adverbs or the like), then Takelma is also polysynthetic, yet only moderately so as compared with such extreme examples of the type as Eskimo or Kwakiutl. The degree of intimacy with which the pronominal objective elements on the one hand, and the nominal objective and polysynthetic (instrumental and local) elements on the other, are combined with the internal verb-structure is decidedly different. The former combine as suffixes to form an indissoluble part, as it were, of the verb-form, the subjective elements of the transitive verb, though in themselves absolutely without independent existence, being secondarily attached to the stem already provided with its pronominal object. The latter vary in degree of independence; they are strung along as prefixes to the verb, but form no integral part of its structure, and may, as far as grammatical coherence is concerned, fall away entirely.

The polysynthetic character of the Takelma verb (and by discussing the verb we touch, as so frequently in America, upon the most vital element of the sentence) seems, then, a comparatively accidental, superimposed feature. To use the term "polysynthetic" as a catch-word for the peculiar character of Takelma, as of many another American language, hardly hits the core of the matter. On the other hand, the term "incorporation," though generally of more value as a classificatory label than "polysynthesis," conveys information rather as to the treatment of a special, if important, set of concepts, than as to the general character of the process of form-building.

If we study the manner in which the stem unites in Takelma with derivative and grammatical elements to form the word, and the vocalic and consonantic changes that the stem itself undergoes for grammatical purposes, we shall hardly be able to find a tangible difference

in general method, however much the details may vary, between Takelma and languages that have been dignified by the name "inflectional." It is generally said, in defining inflection, that languages of the inflectional as contrasted with those of the agglutinative type make use of words of indivisible psychic value, in which the stem and the various grammatical elements have entirely lost their single individualities, but have "chemically" (!) coalesced into a single form-unit; in other words, the word is not a mere mosaic of phonetic materials, of which each is the necessary symbol of some special concept (stem) or logical category (grammatical element).

In support of the actual existence of this admired lack of a one-to-one correspondence between a grammatical category and its phonetic expression is often quoted the multiplicity of elements that serve to symbolize the same concept; e. g., Lat. *-ī, -ae, -a, -ēs, -ūs*, all indicate that the idea of a plurality of subjects is to be associated with the concrete idea given by the main body of the words to which they are attached. Furthermore, variability of the stem or base itself is frequently adduced as a proof of its lack of even a relative degree of individuality apart from the forms from which by analysis it has been abstracted; e. g., German *bind-, band-, bund-, bünd-, bünd-*. These two characteristics are very far indeed from constituting anything like a definition of inflection, but they are often referred to as peculiar to it, and hence may well serve us as approximate tests.

As regards the first test, we find that just such a multiplicity of phonetic symbols for the same, or approximately the same, concept, is characteristic of Takelma. The idea of possession of an object by a person or thing other than the speaker or person addressed is expressed by *-xa, -a, -da (-t'a), -t',* or *-*, all of which are best rendered by HIS, HER, ITS, THEIR (the ideas of gender and number do not here enter as requiring grammatical expression). Similarly, the idea of the person speaking as subject of the action or state predicated by the main body of the verb is expressed by the various elements *-t'e^ε (-de^ε), -t'e^ε (-de^ε), -^εn, -n, -k'a^ε (-ga^ε)*, all of which are best rendered in English by "I." *-t'e^ε* is confined to the aorist of intransitive verbs; *-t'e^ε* is future intransitive; *-^εn* is aorist transitive; *-n* is future transitive; and *-k'a^ε* is used in all inferential forms, whether transitive or intransitive.

As for the second test, it soon appears that the Takelma stem may undergo even more far-reaching changes than we are accustomed to in German or Greek. As examples may serve:

dō^um-, *dū^um-*, *t!omom-* (*t!omō^u-*), *t!ümü^u-* kill
nā^ag-, *ne^e-*, *naga-*, *nege-* say to

The first form in each of these sets is the verb-stem, properly speaking, and is used in the formation of all but the aorist forms. The second is employed in non-aorist forms when the incorporated object of the verb is a first person singular, and in several derivative formations. The third is characteristic of the aorist. The fourth is used in the aorist under the same conditions as determine the use of the second form of the stem in other groups of forms. It needs but a moment's thought to bring home the general psychic identity of such stem-variability and the "ablaut" of many German verbs, or the Latin stem-variation in present and perfect:

frang- : *frēg-* break
da- : *ded-* give

If the typical verb (and, for that matter, noun) form of Takelma is thus found to be a firm phonetic and psychic unit, and to be characterized by some of the supposed earmarks of inflection, what is left but to frankly call the language "inflectional"? "Polysynthetic" and "incorporative" are not in the slightest degree terms that exclude such a designation, for they have reference rather to the detailed treatment of certain groups of concepts than to morphologic method. Everything depends on the point of view. If chief stress for purposes of classification is laid on the relative importance and fulness of the verb, Takelma is polysynthetic; if the criterion of classification be taken to be whether the verb takes the pronominal object within its structure or not, it is incorporating; if, finally, stress be laid on the general method of building up the word from smaller elements, it is inflective. Not that Takelma is in the least thereby relegated to a peculiar or in any way exceptional position. A more objective, unhampered study of languages spoken in various parts of the world will undoubtedly reveal a far wider prevalence than has been generally admitted of the inflectional type. The error, however, must not be made of taking such comparatively trivial characteristics as sex gender, or the presence of cases, as criteria of inflection. Inflection has reference to method, not to subject-matter.

Grammatical Processes (§§ 26-32)

§ 26. General Remarks

There are four processes employed in Takelma for purposes of grammatical modification and word-formation: affixation (pre-, in-, and suffixation), reduplication, vocalic change (ablaut), and consonant change (consonant ablaut). Pitch-accent is of grammatical importance, but is most probably a product of purely phonetic causes. Of the processes mentioned, suffixation is by far the most important, while the presence of infixation will have to be allowed or denied according to the definition given of it.

§ 27. Prefixation

Prefixation is either of the loose polysynthetic type already referred to, or of the more firmly knit inflective type. Loose prefixation is extremely common, nominal objects, instruments, and local ideas of one kind or another finding admittance into the word-complex, as we have seen, in this manner. Examples of such loose prefixation are:

gwen-^s*a'l-yowo*^s he looked back (*gwen*- in back; *al*- is difficult to define, but can perhaps be best described as indicative of action away from one's self, here with clear implication of sight directed outward; *yowo*^s he was, can be used as independent word)

s'in-ī-lats!agi'^{en} I touched his nose (*s'in*- nose; *ī-* with hand; *lats!agi'*^{en} I touched him, as independent word)

gwent'ge'm black necked (*gwen*- nape, neck; *t'ge'm* black)

The first example shows best the general character of loose prefixation. The prefixed elements *gwen*-, *al*-, *s'in*-, and *ī-* have no separate existence as such, yet in themselves directly convey, except perhaps *al*-, a larger, more definitely apperceived, share of meaning than falls to the lot of most purely grammatical elements. In dealing with such elements as these, we are indeed on the borderland between independent word and affix. The contrast between them and grammatical suffixes comes out strongest in the fact that they may be entirely omitted without destroying the reality of the rest of the word, while the attempt to extract any of the other elements leaves an unmeaning remainder. At the same time, the first example well illustrates the point that they are not so loosely attached but that they may entirely alter the concrete meaning of the word. Prefixation of the inflective type is very rare. There is only one

such prefix that occurs with considerable frequency, *wi-*, first person singular possessive of nouns of relationship:

wiha'm my father

hami'et your father

§ 28. Suffixation

Suffixation is the normal method employed in building up actual forms of nouns and verbs from stems. The suffixes in themselves have for the most part very little individuality, some of them being hardly evident at all except to the minute linguistic analyst. The notions they convey are partly derivational of one kind or other. In the verb they express such ideas as those of position, reciprocal action, causation, frequentative action, reflexive action, spontaneous activity, action directed to some one, action done in behalf of some one. From the verb-stem such adjectival and nominal derivations as participles, infinitives, or abstract nouns of action, and nouns of agent are formed by suffixation. In the noun itself various suffixed elements appear whose concrete meaning is practically nil. Other suffixes are formal in the narrower sense of the word. They express pronominal elements for subject and object in the verb, for the possessor in the noun, modal elements in the verb. Thus a word like *t!omōxinik'* WE KILL ONE ANOTHER contains, besides the aorist stem *t!omō-* (formed from *dō^um-*), the suffixed elements *-x-* (expressing general idea of relation between subject and object), *-in-* (unlauted from *-an-* (element denoting reciprocal action [*-x-in-* = EACH OTHER, ONE ANOTHER])), and *-ik'* (first personal plural subject intransitive aorist). As an example of suffixation in the noun may be given *t!ibagwa'n-t'k'* MY PANCREAS. This form contains, besides the stem *t!iba-*, the suffixed elements *-gw-* (of no ascertainable concrete significance, but employed to form several body-part nouns; e. g., *t!iba'k'^w* PANCREAS 47.17), *-an-* (apparently meaningless in itself and appearing suffixed to many nouns when they are provided with possessive endings), and *-t'k'* (first personal singular possessive).

§ 29. Infixation

Infixation, or what superficially appears to be such, is found only in the formation of certain aorist stems and frequentatives. Thus the aorist stem *mats!ag-* (from *masg-* PUT) shows an intrusive or

infixed *-a-* between the *s* (strengthened to *ts!*) and *g* of the stem. Similarly the aorist stem *wits!im-* (from *wism-* MOVE) shows an infixed *i*. Infixation in frequentative forms is illustrated by:

yonoina'n I always sing (aorist stem *yono-*)

ts!ayaɾk' he used to shoot them (cf. *ts!aya'k'* he shot them)

On examination it is found that the infixed element is invariably a repetition of part of the phonetic material given by the stem. Thus the infixed *-a-* and *-i-* of *mats!ag-* and *wits!im-* are repetitions of the *-a-* and *-i-* of the stems *masg-* and *wism-*; the infixed *-i-* of *yonoim-* and *ts!ayaig-* are similarly repetitions of the *y-* of *yono-* and *-y-* of *ts!ayag-*. It seems advisable, therefore, to consider all cases of infixation rather as stem-amplifications related to reduplication. An infixed element may itself be augmented by a second infixation. Thus we have:

Verb stem	Aorist stem	Frequentative
<i>hemg-</i> take out	<i>hemeg-</i>	<i>heme'mg-</i>
<i>ts!a-im-</i> hide	<i>ts!ayam-</i>	<i>ts!aya-im-</i>
<i>masg-</i> put	<i>mats!ag-</i>	<i>mats!ā^asg-</i>
<i>yawī-</i> talk	<i>yawa-i-</i>	<i>yāwa-iy-</i>
<i>baxm-</i> come	<i>baxam-</i>	<i>baxā^axm-</i>

§ 30. Reduplication

Reduplication is used in Takelma as a grammatical process with surprising frequency, probably as frequently as in the Salish languages. The most interesting point in connection with it is probably the fact that the reduplicating increment follows the base, never, as in most languages (Salish, Kwakiutl, Indo-Germanic), precedes it. It is, like the infixation spoken of above, employed partly in the formation of the aorist, partly to express frequentative or usitative action. Some nouns show reduplicated stems, though, as a process, reduplication is not nearly as important in the noun as in the verb. Some verbs, including a number that do not seem to imply a necessary repetitive action, are apparently never found in unreduplicated form. Four main types of reduplication, with various subtypes, occur:

1. A partial reduplication, consisting of the repetition of the vowel and final consonant of the stem:

aorist *helel-* (from *he^{el}-* sing)

aorist *t!omom-* (from *dō^um-* kill)

The reduplicated vowel is lengthened in certain forms, e. g., *hele^{el}-*, *t!omō^um-*.

1 *a.* A subtype of 1 is illustrated by such forms as exhibit an unreduplicated consonant after the reduplicated portion of the word, the second vowel in such cases being generally long

aurist *ts'!ümü'mt'a-* (from *s'ü'mt'a-* boil)

usitative aurist *t!ülü'lg-* (from verb stem *t!ü'lg-*, aurist *t!ülüg-* follow trail)

usitative aurist *gin'ing-* (from verb stem *ging-*, aurist *ginig-* go to; *ging-*, *ginig-* itself is probably reduplicated from *gin-*)

2. A complete reduplication, consisting of the repetition of the entire base with a change of the stem-vowel to *a*:

aurist *t!ëut!au-* (from *t!ëu-* play shinny)

aurist *bot'bad-* (from *bō'ud-* pull out one's hair)

aurist *bā^a- sal- xo(x)xag* come to a stand (pl.); aurist *sal-xog-ī-* stand (pl.)

3. A complete reduplication, as in 2, with the addition of a connecting vowel repeated from the vowel of the stem:

aurist *yuluyal-* (cf. verb stem *yulyal-* rub)

aurist frequentative *hogohag-* keep running (from *hō'ug-* run)

aurist frequentative *s'wilis'wal-* tear to pieces; verb stem *s'wil-s'wal-* (from aurist *s'wī'ls'wal-* tear; verb stem *s'wī'l-*)

If the stem ends in a fortis consonant, the reduplicating syllable regularly shows the corresponding media (or aspirated tenuis):

sgot!osgad- cut to pieces (from verb stem *sgō't!-*, aurist *sgō'ud-* cut)

3 *a.* A subgroup of 3 is formed by some verbs that leave out the *-a-* of the reduplicating syllable:

gwidik'ud- throw (base *gwid-*)

4. An irregular reduplication, consisting of a repetition of the vowel of the stem followed by *-(^ε)a-* + the last and first (or third) consonants of the stem in that order:

frequentative aurist *t!omoamd-*, as though instead of **t!omo-t!am-*; cf. non-aurist *dō'mdam-* (from aurist *t!omom-* kill)

frequentative aurist *k!eme^εamg-* (from *k!eme-n-* make; verb stem *k!em-n-*)

frequentative aurist *p!ūwū^εaug-*, as though instead of **p!ūwūp!aug-* (from aurist *p!ūwūk!-* name)

It will be noticed that verbs of this type of reduplication all begin with fortis consonants. The glottal catch is best considered a partial representative of the initial fortis; in cases like *k!eme^εamg-* an original

-*k!am* (i. e., -*εgam*) may be conceived of as undergoing partial metathesis to -*εamg*.

Other rarer reduplications or stem-amplifications occur, and will be treated in speaking of aorist formations and frequentatives.

§ 31. *Vowel-Ablaut*

Vowel-ablaut consists of the palatalization of non-palatal stem-vowels in certain forms. Only *o* and *a* (with corresponding long vowels and diphthongs) are affected; they become respectively *ü* (*ū*) and *e*. In sharp contradistinction to the *i*-umlaut of an original *a* to *i*, this ablaut affects only the radical portion of the word, and thus serves as a further criterion to identify the stem. Thus we have *we^εga'si* HE BROUGHT IT TO ME (from stem *wā^ag-*, as shown also by *wā^ag-iwi'^εn* I BROUGHT IT TO HIM), but *wege'sink'* HE WILL BRING IT TO ME (from stem *waga-*, as shown also by *waga-wi'n* I'LL BRING IT TO HIM), both *i*-umlaut and stem-ablaut serving in these cases to help analyze out the stems. Vowel-ablaut occurs in the following cases:

1. Whenever the object of the transitive verb or subject of the passive is the first person singular:

mele'xi he told it to me 172.17, but *mala'xbi'^εn* I told it to you (162.6)

nege's'i he said to me 186.22, but *naga'sam* he said to us (178.12)
dūmxina^ε I shall be slain (192.11), but *dōmxbina^ε* you will be slain (178.15)

gel-lūhūigwa'si he avenges me, but *-lohoigwa'^εn* I avenge him (148.3)

Not infrequently vowel-ablaut in such cases is directly responsible for the existence of homonyms, as in *yeweyagwa'si* HE TALKS ABOUT ME (from *yaway*-talk), and *yeweyagwa'si* HE RETURNS WITH ME (from *yewei*-return).

2. With the passive participial endings -*ak'^w*, -*ik'^w*:

wase^εgi'k'^w wherewith it is shot (from *sā^ag-* shoot)

me'xak'^w having father (from *ma'xa* his father)

wa^ε-i-dūxik'^wdek' my gathered ones (= I have been gathering them) (from *dō^wx-* gather)

dal^ε-wa-p'ū't!ik'^w mixed with (from *p'ōt!-* mix) 178.5

3. In some verbs that have the peculiar intransitive-forming suffix -*x-*, by no means in all:

geyewa'lxde^ε I eat (136.15) (cf. *gayawa'^εn* I eat it 30.11)

le^εba'n^x he carries 178.6 (stem *lā^ab-*)

dīdā^at'be'^εk't'bcg-ams (= *-amtx*) they had their hair tied on sides of head (from base *t'bā^ag-*) 142.17; cf. *-t'bā^agamdaⁿ* I tie his hair (27.1)

No satisfactory reason can be given why most verbs in *-x-* do not show this stem-palatalization. It is quite possible that its occurrence is confined to a restricted number of such verbs; at any rate, there is some limitation in its employment, which the material at hand has not been found extensive enough to define.

4. In nouns ending in *-xap'* (*-s-ap' = -t-x-ap'*), probably derived from such verbs in *-x-* as were referred to under 3:

xā^alc'^εsap' belt (cf. *xā^alā^adaⁿ* I put it about my waist)

halū^{'uε}xôp' (= *-x^wap'*) shirt (cf. *halō^{'uε}k'* she put on [her dress])

5. In verbs provided with the suffix *-xa-*, which serves to relieve transitive verbs of the necessity of expressing the object:

lū^{'ε}xwagwadinin (= *lūk!⁻xa-*) I'll trap for him (stem *lōk!^{w-}*)

ilū[']pxagwank' she shall pound with (stone pestle) (cf. *lōbō[']p'* she pounds them)

k!^εedeixade^ε I was out picking (cf. *k!^εadāⁿ* I pick them, *k!^εadāⁱ* he picks them)

ts!^εeyē[']mxade^ε I hide things (cf. *ts!^εayama^{'ε}n* I hide it)

6. In reflexive verbs ending in *-gwi-* or *-k'wa-* (*-gwa-*):

k!^εt'gwi[']p' pick them for yourself! (stem *k!^εā^ad-*)

alts!^εeyēk'^{wit'} he washed himself with it (cf. *alts!^εayāp'* he washed his own face)

ilats!^εek'^{wide^ε} I touch myself (cf. *ilats!^εagi^{'ε}n* I touch him)

k!^εedē[']k'^{waⁿ} I pick them for myself (aorist stem *k!^εadāⁱ⁻*)

alnū^{'u}k'^{wa} he painted his own face (stem *nō^ugw-*)

Yet many, perhaps most, reflexive verbs fail to show the palatal ablaut:

p!^εagā[']nk'^{wit'} he bathed himself

t'^εgwā^axa'^{nt'}gwide^ε I shall tattoo myself (but *lū^{'u}gwant'^{gwide^ε}* I trap deer for myself)

xā^a-sgō^{'ut'}gwide^ε I cut myself

igaxaga[']xgwaⁿ I scratch myself

We have here the same difficulty as in 3. Evidently some factor or factors enter into the use of the ablaut that it has not been found possible to determine.

7. Other cases undoubtedly occur, but there are not enough of them in the material gathered to allow of the setting up of further groups. All that can be done with those cases that do not fall

within the first six groups is to list them as miscellaneous cases. Such are:

gwel-leĩsde I shall be lame (cf. *gwel-la'is k'lemna'n* I shall make him lame)

le^epsi' wing (if derived, as seems probable, from stem *lā^ab-* carry)

!emeya'nwĩa^{us} people go along to see her married 178.1 (cf.

!amayana'^{en} I take her somewheres to get her married [148.5])

Palatal ablaut, it should be noted, does not affect the *-a-* of the second member of reduplicated verbs:

t'gā^alt'ga'l it bounced from her 140.8

t'ge^eltg'a'lsi it bounced from me

The connecting vowel, however, of verbs reduplicated according to the third type always follows the stem-vowel:

dak'da-hele'halxade^e I am accustomed to answer (stem *-hā^al-*)

It is difficult to find a very tangible psychic connection between the various cases that require the use of the palatal ablaut, nor is there the slightest indication that a phonetic cause lies at the bottom of the phenomenon. If we disregard the first group of cases, we shall find that they have this in common, they are all or nearly all intransitives derived from transitives by means of certain voice-forming elements (*-x-*, *-xa-*, *-gwi-*, *-k'wa-*), or else nominal passives or derivatives of such intransitives (*-ak'^{us}*, *-x-ap'*); *-k'wa-*, it is true, takes transitive pronominal forms; but it is logically intransitive in character in that it indicates action in reference to something belonging to the subject. The only trait that can be found in common to the first group and the remaining is that the action may be looked upon as self-centered; just as, e. g., a form in *-xa-* denotes that the (logically) transitive action is not conceived of as directed toward some definite outside object, but is held within the sphere of the person of central interest (the subject), so, also, in a form with incorporated first person singular object, the action may be readily conceived of as taking place within the sphere of the person of central interest from the point of view of the speaker. No difficulty will be found in making this interpretation fit the other cases, though it is not conversely true that all forms implying self-centered action undergo palatalization. The explanation offered may be considered too vague to be convincing; but no better can be offered. In any event, the palatal ablaut will be explained as the symbolic expression of some general mental attitude rather than of a clear-cut grammatical concept.

Besides these regular interchanges of non-palatal and palatalized vowels, there are a number of cases of words showing differing vowels, but whose genetic relationship seems evident. These vocalic variations have not been brought into the form of a rule; the number of examples is small and the process apparently touches rather the lexical material than the morphology. Variations of this character between *a* and *e* are:

gala-b-a'εn I twist it; *p!i'wa-gele-g-i'εn* I drill for fire with it (88.12), *dī'εal-gelegal-a'mdaεn* I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)

dā-dala-g-a'mdaεn I pierce his ear (22.1); *dā^a-dele-b-i'εn* I stick it through his ear

la'' excrement 122.2; *le'-k'w-an-t'k'* my anus

Variations between *o* (*u*) and *ü* are:

s'omoda'εn I boil it (58.10); *ts'!ümümt'aεn* I boil it (170.17)

xuma' food 54.4; *xümü'k'deε* I am sated (130.18)

An *a-ü* variation is seen in:

hau-hana'εs it stopped (raining) 196.8; *p!ai-hunü'uεs* he shrank 33.16

Variations between *a* and *i* are:

yawait'eε I talk (132.3); *yiwīya'ut'eε* I keep talking, I converse (194.5); *yīwin* talking, (power of) speech 138.4

laba'n I shall carry it (124.5); *libin* news (what is carried about from mouth to mouth[?]) 194.9

Of *o* (*u*)—*e* variations there have been found:

lohoit'eε I die 184.18; *leheit'eε* I drift dead ashore (75.5)

xā^a-huk!u'hak'naεn I breathe; *xā^a-hege'hak'naεn* I breathe (79.2)

t!os'ō'u little 180.20; *al-t!e's'i't'* little-eyed 94.3

An *e-i* variation is found in the probably related:

p!eyēnt'eε I lie 71.5 (future *p!è't'eε* [146.9]); *gwen-p!iyi'nk'waεn* I lie on pillow (future *gwen-p!ik'wan*)

t'ge'ya'lx it rolls; *a'l-t'gī'ya'lx* tears rolled from (his) eyes 138.25

§ 32. Consonant-Ablaut

Consonant-ablaut, ordinarily a rare method of word-formation, plays a rather important part in the tense-formation (aorist and non-aorist) of many verbs. The variation is in every case one between fortis and non-fortis; i. e., between *p!*, *t!*, *k!*, *ts!*, and *b*, *d*, *g*, *s*, respectively. Three main types of grammatical consonant change are to be recognized:

1. An initial fortis in the aorist as opposed to an initial media in non-aorist forms:

aorist *k!olol-* (stem *gō^wl-* dig)

aorist *t!ebe-* (stem *de^eb-* arise)

aorist *t!ayag-* (stem *dā^ag-* find)

2. A medial fortis followed by a vowel in the aorist as opposed to a medial tenuis followed by a consonant in non-aorist forms:

aorist *lop!od-* (stem *lop'd-* rain, snow, or hail)

aorist *lats!ag-* (stem *lasg-* touch)

3. A medial media in the aorist as opposed to a medial fortis in the remaining forms:

aorist *nū^wd-* (stem *nū^wt!-* drown)

aorist *wīⁱg-* (stem *wīk!-* spread)

Needless to say, this consonant-ablaut has absolutely nothing to do with the various mechanical consonant-changes dealt with in the phonology.

A few examples of consonant-ablaut not connected with regular grammatical changes have also been found:

s'omod- boil; *ts'!imüümt'a-* boil

hau-gwen-yut!uyad-i- swallow down greedily (like duck or hog)
126.10; *hau-gwen-yunu^eyan-i-* dit.

The second example illustrates an interchange not of fortis and non-fortis (for *n^e* is related to *n* as is *t!* to *d*), but of non-nasal stop and nasal.

I. The Verb (§§ 33-83)

§ 33. *Introductory*

The verb is by far the most important part of the Takelma sentence, and as such it will be treated before the independent pronoun, noun, or adjective. A general idea of the make-up of the typical verb-form will have been gained from the general remarks on morphology; nevertheless the following formula will be found useful by way of restatement:

Loosely attached prefixes + verb-stem (*or* aorist stem derived from verb-stem) + derivational suffixes + formal elements (chiefly pronominal) + syntactic element.

This skeleton will at the same time serve to suggest an order of treatment of the various factors entering into verb morphology.

Before taking up the purely formal or relational elements, it seems best to get an idea of the main body or core of the word to which these relational elements are attached. The prefixes, though not entering into the vital grammatical structure of the verb, are important for the part they play in giving the whole verb-form its exact material content. They may, therefore, with advantage be taken up first.

1. Verbal Prefixes (§ § 34-38)

§ 34. GENERAL REMARKS

Verbal prefixes may be classified into four groups when regard is mainly had to their function as determined largely by position with respect to other prefixes: incorporated objects, adverbial (including local) elements, incorporated instrumentals, and connective and modal particles. These various prefixes are simply strung along as particles in the same order in which they have been listed. Inasmuch as the exact function of a prefix is to a considerable extent determined by its position, it follows that the same prefix, phonetically speaking, may appear with slightly variant meanings according as it is to be interpreted as an object, local element, or instrument. Thus the prefix *ī-* always has reference to the hand or to both hands; but the exact nature of the reference depends partly on the form of the verb and partly on the position of the prefix itself, so that *ī-* may be translated, according to the circumstances of the case, as

HAND(s):

ī-p!īⁱ-nō^uk'wa^εn I warm my hands

WITH THE HAND:

ī-εō^udini'^εn I hunt for it with the hand (= I am feeling around for it)

IN THE HAND:

p'im-ī-hō^ugwagwa'^εn I run with salmon in my hand

In the first of these three examples the *ī-* as object precedes the incorporated instrumental *p!īⁱ* FIRE, so that the form means literally I WARM MY HANDS WITH FIRE. In the third form the *ī* as local element follows the incorporated object *p'im* SALMON. Such a triplicate use is found only in the case of incorporated nouns, particularly such as refer to parts of the body. These incorporated elements are to be kept distinct from certain other elements that are used in an

adverbial sense only, and regularly occupy the second position. The line between these two sets of prefixes is, however, difficult to draw when it comes to considering the place to be assigned to some of the prefixed elements. It is doubtful whether we are fully justified in making absolutely strict distinctions between the various uses of the body-part prefixes; at any rate, it is certainly preferable, from a native point of view, to translate the three examples of *ĩ-* incorporation given above as:

I-hand-fire-warm (-as-regards-myself)

I-hand-hunt-for-it

I-salmon-hand-run-with

leaving in each case the exact delimitation in meaning of the element HAND to be gathered from the general nature of the form. The following examples will render the matter of position and function of the various prefixes somewhat clearer:

Object.	Locative adverb.	Instrument.	Modal.	Verb proper.
<i>bēm</i> - sticks	<i>wa</i> - together	<i>ẽ-</i> hand		<i>t'oxo'xi^{en}</i> I gather (them) (= I gather sticks together)
	<i>he^{ee}</i> - away	<i>wa</i> - with it		<i>wāagiwi'n</i> she is bought (= she is brought with it) 176.17
<i>gwān</i> - road	<i>ha</i> - in		<i>yaxa</i> -continuously	<i>t'ūlū'wga^{en}</i> I follow (it) (= I keep following the trail)
<i>dan</i> - rocks	<i>bāa</i> - up	<i>ẽ-</i> hand		<i>sget.le' sgi^{di}^{en}</i> I lifted (them) (= I lifted up the rocks)
	<i>han</i> - across	<i>waya</i> - knife		<i>swilswa'lhi</i> he tore him (= he tore him open with a knife) 73.3
	<i>dak'</i> - above	<i>da</i> - mouth	<i>wala'^{es}ina</i> - truly	<i>hāali'nda^s</i> I answering him (= I did answer him)
	<i>xa</i> - between, in two	<i>ĩ</i> - hand	<i>mĩ' i^swa</i> - probably	<i>sgĩ' i^si^{en}</i> I cut him (= I'll probably cut him through) 31.13

If two adverbial (local) elements are used, the body-part prefix follows that which is primarily adverbial in character; thus:

ba-ide' ẽdidi'nik!at' did you stretch it out? (= *ba-i*-out + *de*-lip, in front + *di* interrogative particle + *di'nik!at'* you stretched it)

In general it may be said that instances of a body-part prefix preceding a primarily adverbial element (like *ba-i-*, *bāa-*, *he^{ee}-*, and others) are rare or entirely lacking.

From what has been said it might seem that the connective and modal elements (like *yaxa*, *mĩ' i^swa*, and *di*) are more closely associated with the verb form than are the other elements, yet this is only apparently the case. Properly speaking all these modal elements are post-positives that normally attach themselves to the first word of

the sentence, no matter what part the word plays in the sentence. Thus in a form like *me'ε-di-giniga't* DID YOU COME? (= *me'ε*- HITHER + *di*- interrogative particle + *giniga't* YOU WENT TO), the modal (interrogative) element *di* regularly stands nearest the verb; but as soon as another word is introduced before the verb, the interrogative particle shoves back a step, and we have a form of sentence like, e. g., *hoida'εs di me'εginiga't* DID YOU COME AS SINGER, i. e., TO SING? From this it becomes fairly evident that the *di* in the first example is not properly a verbal prefix at all, but merely a post-positive particle depending upon the preceding *me'ε*, in the same way that, in the second example, it depends upon the noun *hoida'εs* SINGER. This inference is clinched by a form like *giniga't'ɔ̃di* DID YOU GO (SOMEWHERE)? for here the *di* is evidently an enclitic element, not a prefix.

In sharp contradistinction to such movability, the body-part and adverbial prefixes occupy rigidly fixed positions before the verb; they therefore belong to a class quite distinct from the modal particles. These latter are verbal prefixes only in so far as their post-positive tendency may force them to become embedded in the verb-complex, in which case they seem to cut loose the incorporated object, adverbial prefix, and instrumental element from the verb. Diagrammatically the last form tabulated may be represented by *xa-ĩ- [m̃'εwa] -sg'ɔ̃biεn*. We may then dismiss the modal elements from our consideration of verbal prefixes, to return to them when speaking of connective and adverbial particles.

§ 35. INCORPORATED NOUNS

It may seem strange at first sight to interpret in the examples given above such elements as *bēm* STICKS, *gwān* ROAD, and *da'n* ROCKS as incorporated objects, when they occur as absolute nouns in that form as well, though a faint suggestion of incorporation is given by *gwān-ha-yaxa-t'ũliũlga'εn* I KEEP FOLLOWING THE TRAIL, in that the modal post-positive *yaxa* follows not *gwān*, but rather *ha*-, as though the direct object were not quite felt to be an element independent of the verb. Without laying particular stress on this latter point, there are, it would seem, good reasons for considering the nouns referred to as incorporated, though in any event the incorporation must be called a loose one, and not at all comparable with the Iroquois usage.

1. In the first place it is evident from such examples as *ĩ-p!ĩi-nō'u'k'wa'ēn* I WARM MY HANDS and *han-way-a-swilswa'łhi* HE TORE HIM OPEN WITH A KNIFE, that nouns (in these cases *p!ĩi* FIRE and *waya* KNIFE) occur as incorporated instrumentals, for such elements as *ĩ-* and *han-* can not possibly be isolated from the verb (*han-* does not occur as independent adverb, but only as prefix; *ĩ-* is inconceivable as independent noun); furthermore, if, in the forms just quoted, *p!ĩi* and *waya* be looked upon as absolutely independent nouns, they lose all semblance of grammatical form, there being, indeed, nothing but a definite position in a verb-complex that could here suggest the notion of instrumentality. It is also possible to isolate *waya*, but that would involve considerable readjustment of the verbal structure. To be stamped as an instrumental, *waya* must in that case be followed by a postposition *wa* WITH, so that the sentence then reads, *han-swilswa'łhi wa'ya wa'* (the phrase *wa'ya wa'* may also precede).

If we wish to incorporate the instrumental idea into the verb, and yet keep the noun outside of the verb-structure, we may let the *wa*, which seems properly to denote WITH IT, occupy the place of the incorporated *waya*, which, as an appositive of *wa*, then either precedes or follows the verb-form, *wa'ya han-wa-swilswa'łhi*, or *han-wa-swilswa'łhi wa'ya* HE-ACROSS-WITH-IT-TORE-HIM (it, i. e.), THE-KNIFE. This construction is identical with the well-known appositional structure of Nahua or Chinook (e. g., I-IT-KILLED THE-DOG), except that the incorporated element is here instrumental and not objective in character. The noun and its representative can not both be incorporated in the verb, such a form as *han-way-a-wa-swilswa'łhi*, for instance, being quite impossible.

It becomes clear, therefore, that an incorporated instrumental noun like *wa'ya* is quite analogous to an instrumental body-part prefix like *ĩ-* HAND, with the difference that *wa'ya* may be isolated in that form, while *ĩ-* must, when isolated, be provided with a possessive pronominal element. The form *han-ĩ-swilswa'łhi* I TORE HIM OPEN WITH MY HAND is strictly analogous to *han-way-a-swilswa'łhi*; the sentence *ĩũxde'k' han-wa-swilswa'łhi* MY-HAND I-ACROSS-WITH-IT-TORE-HIM corresponds to *wa'ya han-wa-swilswa'łhi*; and, finally, *han-swilswa'łhi* *ĩũxde'k' wa'* I-ACROSS-TORE-HIM MY-HAND WITH (-IT) is parallel to *han-swilswa'łhi wa'ya wa'*. Whatever is true morphologically of *ĩ-* must be true of *wa'ya*; the evident

incorporation of *ī*- involves the incorporation of *wa'ya* in the analogous form.

As the incorporation of the noun as an instrument seems a rather important trait of Takelma, a number of further examples may be given:

xā^a-be^e-nō^uk'wa^εn I warm my back in (really = with) the sun (be^e sun); cf. 188.20

he^{εε}-xi-le'me^εk'i he destroyed them with water (*xi* water)

he^{εε}-p!iⁱ-leme^εk'i he destroyed them with fire (*p!iⁱ* fire) 98.12

xa-dan-t'gīⁱlt'ga'łhi he broke it with a rock (*dan* rock) 24.4

gwen-waya-sgō^ut'i he cut their necks off with his knife (*wayā^a wa'* with his knife, apart from verb-structure) 144.5, 22

xā^a-be^εm-k!wō^ut'k!widi^εn I broke it with a stick (be^εm stick)

dā^a-he^εl-yebebi^εn I sing for him, literally, I engage (?) his ears with song (he^εl song; *al-yebeb-ī-* show to)

dā^a-t'mū^ugal-lewe^εliwi^εn I shake my ears with twisted shells (attached to them) (*t'mū^ugal* twisted shell) 122.1

dīⁱ-k'al-p'ili'p'ili^εn I squash them with my penis (*k'al* penis) 73.14

de-ye't'-baxamagwana'k' we came crying, literally, we came having (our) mouths with tears (*yet'* tears)

yap!a-dauyā^a-ts!aya'k'i he shot people with his shaman's spirit (*dauyā^aak'^uda* his shaman-spirit, apart from verb-structure); cf. 164.14

All these, except the last, begin with elements (*xā^a-*, *he^{εε}-*, *gwen-*, *dā^a-*, *dīⁱ-*, *de*) that can not be isolated from the verb.

Instrumentals, whether nouns or body-part prefixes, can occur only in transitive verbs. The forms *noxwa' yana-wa-lobobi^εn* I POUND ACORNS WITH A PESTLE and *noxwa'-ī-loboxagwa^εn* I POUND WITH A PESTLE, as compared with *lōbō'xade^ε* I POUND, will serve to illustrate this. The first sentence reads, when literally translated, PESTLE (*noxwa'*) I-ACORNS (*yana'*) -WITH-IT-POUND. The logical instrument (*noxwa'*) stands outside the verb-complex and is in apposition with its incorporated instrumental representative (*wa-*), *yana'* being the direct (incorporated) object. The form *lōbō'xade^ε* I POUND is made intransitive by the element *-xa-* (hence the change in pronominal form from transitive *-^εn* to intransitive *-dē^ε*), and allows of no instrumental modification; a form like *ī-lobō'xade^ε* could hardly mean I POUND WITH THE HAND; at most it could signify I POUND IN THE HAND. If we wish, however, to express the logical instrument in some manner, and yet neglect to specify the object, we must get around the difficulty by making a secondary transitive of

the intransitive in *-xa-*. This is done by the suffixed element *-gw-* HAVING, ATTENDED BY. The grammatical object of a transitive verb in *-gw-* is never the logical object of the action, but always dependent upon the comitative idea introduced by this suffix. Hence the second form is not provided with a true instrumental (WITH A PESTLE), but takes the logical instrument (*noxwa'*) as a direct object, while the *ī-* is best rendered by IN THE HAND; to translate literally, the form really means I POUND HAVING A PESTLE IN THE HAND.

It sometimes happens that a verb form has two instrumentals, one, generally *ī-* WITH THE HAND, expressing indefinite or remote instrumentality, the second, a noun or demonstrative, expressing the actual instrument by means of which the action is accomplished. In such cases the second instrument is expressed outside of the verb-complex, but may be represented in the verb by the incorporated *wa* WITH IT following the first instrumental element (*ī-*). Examples of such double instrumentals are:

gwalt' bā^{a-ε}ī-wa-xō'ut'i wind he-up-hand-with-it-caused-them-to-fall, i. e., he caused them to fall by means of a wind (that he made go up) 168.2

ga^εī-wa-molo^εma'łhi that she-hand-with-it-stirs-it-up, i. e., she stirs it up with that (incidentally, of course, she uses her hand too) 170.16

dan (object) *k!ama* (instr.) *p!ai^εī-wa-sgā^ak'sgigi^εn* rocks tongs down-hand-with-it-pick-up, i. e., I pick up the rocks with the tongs (and put them) down

2. The noun as instrument has been shown to act in a manner entirely analogous to the instrumental body-part prefix. The latter can, without phonetic change, become the direct object of the verb by occupying the proper position:

s'in-ī-lats!agi^εn I touched his nose with my hand (*s'in-* nose)

but, theoretically at least,

ī-s'in-lats!agi^εn I touched his hand with my nose

If we bear in mind that such elements as *s'in-* and *ī-* are really nothing but nouns in their stem form (with possessive pronoun: *s'in-ī-x-da* HIS NOSE; *ī'-ū-x-da* HIS HAND), the parallelism with such noun-objects as *bēm* and *gwān* (see examples on p. 65) becomes complete. The fact that they may occur independently, while *s'in-* and *ī-* never do, is really irrelevant to the argument, as a body-part noun must necessarily be associated with some definite person. Entirely

analogous to the nominal elements $-i^t-x-$ and $-ũ-x-$ of *s'inĩxda* and *i'ũxda* is, e. g., the $-am-$ of *gwā^al-a'm-t'k'* MY ROAD. Just as they drop off when the body-part nouns are incorporated, whether as object or instrument, into the verb, so, also, the $-am-$ of *gwā^al-am-* (= *gwā^an-an-*) drops off when the noun is used without pronominal or prepositional modification. That the $-am-$ has nothing per se to do with the pronominal affix, but is really a noun-forming element added to the stem, is proven by forms like *ha-gwā^ala'm* IN THE ROAD. Thus:

- object *bēm*, in *bēm-wa^e-i-t!oxo'xi^{en}* I gather sticks, is related to
- object *s'in-*, in *s'in-i-lats!agi'^{en}* I touch his nose, as
- instrument *bēm*, in *xā^a-be^em-k!wō^ut'k!widi^{en}* I broke it with a stick, to
- instrument *s'in-*, in *s'in-t!ayagi'^{en}* I find it with my nose (= I smell it)

In view of the complete parallelism of noun and body-part element and the transparent incorporation of the noun as instrument, nothing remains but to look upon the simple noun without pronominal affixes, when placed immediately before the local and instrumental prefixes of the verb, as itself a loosely incorporated object. Examples of noun-objects in such form and position are to be found in great number; in fact, the regularity with which the object is put before the verb, as contrasted with the freely movable subject, argues further for the close relation of the noun-object to the verb.

A few further examples of incorporated noun-objects are given by way of illustration:

he^el-gel-gulugwa'^{en} I desire to sing (literally, I-song-breast-desire; *he^el* song)

he^el-yununa'^{en} I sing a song (106.7)

wili-wa-i-t!a'nida^e you shall keep house (literally, you-house-together-hand-will-hold; *wili* house) 28.13

abai^e xuma-k!emna'^s cook (literally, in-the-house food-maker; *xuma* food) 54.3

wai-s'ügü's'üxgwa^{en} I am sleepy (literally, I-sleep-am-confused?-having; *wai* sleep)

p!iⁱ-da-t!agāi he built a fire (*p!iⁱ* fire) 96.17

p!iⁱ-bā^a-yānk'^w he picked up the fire (literally, he-fire-up-went-having) 96.25

xi^e-ūgwa'nk' he will drink water (*xi* water) 162.17

s'ix-ligi'k'^w he brought home venison (*s'ix* venison) 134.4

In none of these would the placing of the object after the verb-form be at all idiomatic; in some (as in *he^l-gel-gulugwa'^{en}* and *wai-s'ügü's'üxgwa'ⁿ*) it would be quite inconceivable. The incorporation must be considered particularly strong in those cases in which the object is what might be called a root-noun identical in form with a verb-stem of corresponding significance:

wai¹ sleep, to sleep

he^l- song, to sing

se^l- black paint, to paint

likewise where the object gives special color to the verb, determining the concrete significance of the form, as in *xuma-k!^{emna'}es* and *wili-wa-ī-t!^{a'nida'}*.

3. Besides being used as instrumentals and direct objects, a few incorporated nouns are found employed in set phrases, apparently as subjects. Such are:

bā^a-be^e-k!^{iyyi'^kda^e} forenoon (literally, up-sun-going, or when-it-goes) (*bā^a*- is never used as independent adverb, so that *be^e*-sun must here be considered part of the verb-complex)

nō^u-be^e-k!^{iyyi'^kda^e} afternoon (literally, down-river [i. e., west]-sun-going)

mot'-wō^k as son-in-law he visits wife's parents (= *mot'*- son-in-law + *wō^k* , probably identical with *wō^k* 'he arrived') 17.13, in which *mot'*- must be considered an integral part of the verb, because unprovided with pronominal affix (cf. *mo't'ā^a* his son-in-law), and, further, because the whole form may be accompanied by a non-incorporated subject (e. g., *bo'mxi mot'wō^k* 'Otter visited his wife's parents, literally, something like: Otter son-in-law-arrived')

4. Several verb-forms seem to show an incorporated noun forming a local phrase with an immediately preceding local prefix; in such cases the whole phrase must be considered an incorporated unit, its lack of independence being evidenced either by the fact that it is itself preceded by a non-independent verbal prefix, or else differs in phonetic form from the corresponding independent local phrase. Examples are:

dā^a-ts'!elei-sgalawi'^{en} I looked at them out of the corners of my eyes (literally, I-alongside-eye-looked-at-them)²; cf. *dā^a-ts'!e-leidē* alongside my eyes

¹*wai*- indeed could not be obtained as an independent noun, its existence as substantive being inferred from forms such as that cited above.

²It may be, however, that this form is to be interpreted as I-ASIDE- (WITH-THE-) EYE-LOOKED-AT-THEM, *ts'!elei*- being in that case an incorporated instrumental noun.

ha-t'gā^a-gwidī'k^w he threw it into the open (literally, he-in-earth-threw-it); cf. *ha-t'gāū* in the earth

ba-i-dak'-wili-t!ā^adī'ēn I ran out of the house (*ba-i-* out, adverbial prefix + *dak'-* on top of + *wili* house) 24.13; cf. *dak'-wili* on top of the house

ha-yau-t'ge'nets!aⁿ I put it about my waist (literally, I-in [under?]-rib-put-it-about); cf. *ha-yawadē* inside my ribs

Such verbs with incorporated local phrases are naturally not to be confused with cases in which a local prefix is followed by an incorporated (instrumental) noun with which it is not, however, directly connected. Thus the *ha-* of *ha-tgā^a-gwidī'k^w* is not directly comparable to the *ha-* of a form like:

ha-p!īⁱ-ts!ū'lūk!īⁿ I set it on fire (*p!īⁱ* with fire) 73.9

Here *ha-p!īⁱ-* cannot be rendered IN THE FIRE.

Some verb-forms show an evidently incorporated noun that has so thoroughly amalgamated with the stem that it is difficult to make out its exact share in the building up of the material content of the verb. For example:

s'omlohoya'ldaⁿ I doctor him as *s'omloho'lxas*

doubtless contains the incorporated noun *s'om̃* MOUNTAIN; but the implied allusion is not at all evident, except in so far as the protecting spirits of the *s'omloho'lxas* are largely mountain-spirits. The verb itself is probably a derivative of the verb-stem *loho-* DIE (aorist *lohoi-*).

§ 36. BODY-PART PREFIXES

Having disposed of the modal prefixes, which on analysis turned out to be verbal prefixes only in appearance, and of incorporated nouns, which one would hardly be inclined to term prefixes in the narrower sense of the term, there remain for our consideration two important sets of genuine prefixes, body-part elements and adverbial, chiefly local, prefixes. The former will be taken up first. By "body-part prefix" is not meant any body-part noun in its incorporated form (many of these, such as *ts'!elei-* EYE, *t!iba-* PANCREAS, not differing morphologically from ordinary incorporated nouns), but only certain etymologically important monosyllabic elements that are used to indicate in a more general way what body-part is concerned in a particular action, and which may be regarded as in some degree verbal classifiers. With the exception of *ī-* HAND and *s'in-* NOSE, classed with the rest

because of their very extended use, they differ fundamentally from other body-part nouns in that they have, besides their literal, also a more formal, local value; in this capacity they are regularly employed, also, as the first element of noun and pronoun local phrases, and, some of them, as the second element of local postpositions. In the following list the second column gives the literal body-part significance; the third, the generalized local meaning; the fourth, the corresponding independent noun (in a few cases, it will be observed, there is no such corresponding noun); and the fifth column, an example of a local phrase:

Prefix.	Body.	Local.	Noun.	Phrase.
<i>da-k'</i> { <i>da-</i> , <i>de-</i> <i>de-</i>	head mouth, lips	over, above in front	<i>da'g-ax-dek'</i> my head <i>dēx-dek'</i>	<i>dak-wilī</i> over the house <i>dēt' gwa</i> in front of himself
<i>dā-</i> <i>s'in-</i> <i>gwen-</i>	ear nose neck, nape	alongside in back, behind	<i>dāa-n-x-dek'</i> <i>s'in-īi-x-dek'</i> <i>[bo'k' dan-x-dek']</i>	<i>dāa-gela'm</i> along the river <i>gwen-t' gāū</i> on east side of the land
<i>ī-</i> <i>xā-</i> <i>dī-</i> <i>gel-</i> <i>dī-</i>	hand back, waist back breast anus	 between, in two on top of facing in rear	<i>ī-ū-x-dek'</i> <i>xā-ha'm-t'k'</i> — <i>gēl-x-dek'</i> , [<i>bilg-an-x-dek'</i>] <i>[dēlg-a'n-t'k']</i>	 <i>xā-gwel'dē</i> between my legs <i>dī-īū'dē</i> over my hand <i>gēldē</i> facing, in front of me <i>dī-t' gāū</i> on west side of the land
<i>ha-</i> <i>gwel-</i> <i>la-</i> <i>sal-</i> <i>al-</i>	woman's private parts leg belly foot eye, face	in under down, below to, at	<i>haū-x-dek'</i> <i>gwēl-x-dek'</i> <i>?lāa-</i> excrement <i>sal-x-dek'</i> <i>[ts' l' elē-t'k'</i> my eye] <i>[li'ugw-ax-dek'</i> my face <i>dī-t'a'l-t'k'</i>	<i>ha-xiya'</i> in the water <i>gwel-xiya'</i> under water <i>La-t' gāū</i> Uplands (= ? front of the country) <i>al-s' ōu ma'l</i> to the mountain
<i>dī-t'al-</i> <i>gwenha-u-</i>	forehead (= above eye) nape (= neck under)	 	 <i>gwenha-u-x-dek'</i>	 <i>dī-t'a'l'da</i> at his forehead <i>gwenha-udē</i> at my nape

The last two are evidently compounded; the first of *dī-* ABOVE and *al-* EYE, FACE, the second of *gwen-* NECK and probably adverbial prefix *ha-u-* UNDER. The noun *ha-u-x* WOMAN'S PRIVATE PARTS may possibly be connected with this prefix *ha-u-*, though, in view of the fact that *ha-* appears as the incorporated form of the noun, it seems more probable that the resemblance in form and meaning is accidental. It is possible that other rarer body-part prefixes occur, but those listed are all that have been found.

In not a few cases, where the body-part prefix evidently has neither objective nor instrumental meaning, it may yet be difficult to see a clearly local idea involved. This is apt to be the case particularly

with many intransitive verbs, in which the share of meaning contributed by the body-part prefix is apparent enough but where the logical (syntactic) relation of its content to that of the verb proper is hardly capable of precise definition. Thus, from *yowo'*^ε HE IS are formed by means of body-part prefixes:

al-^εyowo'^ε he-eye-is, i. e., he looks 62.6

dā^{a-ε}yowo'^ε he-ear-is, i. e., he listens, pays attention 96.9

bā^{a-}gel-^εyowo'^ε he-up-breast-is, i. e., he lies belly up 140.5

In these cases it is obviously impossible, *yowo-* being an intransitive verb not implying activity, to translate *al-*, *dā^{a-}*, and *gel-* as instrumentals (WITH THE EYE, EAR, BREAST); nor is there any clear idea of location expressed, though such translations as AT THE EYE, EAR, BREAST would perhaps not be too far fetched. In many verbs the body-part prefix has hardly any recognizable meaning, but seems necessary for idiomatic reasons. In a few cases prefixes seem to interchange without perceptible change of meaning, e. g., *al-* and *dak'* in:

aldēmxiḡam we shall assemble (186.7)

dak'dēmxiā^{uεt'} people (indef.) will assemble (136.11)

Where two body-part prefixes occur in a verb form, they may either both retain their original concrete significance, the first prefix being generally construed as object, the second as instrument (e. g., *s'al-^εlats!agi^{εn}* I-FOOT-HAND-TOUCH-HIM, i. e., I TOUCH HIS FOOT WITH MY HAND); or the first prefix may have its secondary local significance, while the second is instrumental in force (e. g., *de-^εl-wi'ⁱgi^{εn}* I-FRONT-HAND-SPREAD-IT, i. e., I SPREAD IT OUT); or both prefixes may have secondary local or indefinite significance (e. g., *gwel-ge'l-^εyowo^ε* HE-LEG-BREAST-IS, i. e., HE FACES AWAY FROM HIM); rarely do we find that two body-part prefixes are concrete in significance and absolutely coordinated at the same time (see footnote to 12 below).

To illustrate the various uses of the body-part prefixes it seems preferable to cite examples under each separate prefix rather than to group them under such morphologic headings as objective, instrumental, and local, as by the former method the range of usage taken up by the various prefixes is more clearly demonstrated. The examples are in each case divided into two groups: (a) literal signification (objective, instrumental, or local) and (b) general adverbial (local) signification.

1. *dak'*-

(a) HEAD, WITH HEAD, IN HEAD:

dak'ts!ayāp'de^ε I washed my head (literally, I washed in my head)

dak't'bā'agamt' he tied together (their head hair) 27.1

dak'īlats!agi'ēn I touched top of his head

dak'hagāit'e^ε I felt thrill in my head (as when sudden cold tremor goes through one)

aldak'sā^amsa'm he bumped (with) his head against it 79.7

dak'k'iwī'k'auk'wa^εn I brandish it over my head

(b) ON TOP OF, ABOVE:

dak't'gū'ūba^εn I put rounded scooped-out object (like hat or canoe) on top (of head) (61.9)

dak't'ek!e'xade^ε I smoke (literally, I raise [sc., tobacco-smoke] over [one's head]) (96.23)

dak'limīm^agwat' it (i. e., tree) falls on you (108.12)

dak'wā'ga'ēn I finish it (literally, I bring it on top) (110.17)

wīli dak'yā'ngwa'ēn I pass house (?literally, I go with house above me) (150.8)

dak'dahā^ali'ēn I answer him (61.6; 180.18)

dak't!emērik' we assembled together (43.9; 136.11)

dak'hene^ada'ēn I wait for him

The last three or four examples can hardly be said to show a transparent use of *dak'*-. Evidently the meaning of the prefix has become merged in the general verbal content, becoming unrecognizable as such; cf. UNDER in English UNDERSTAND, UNDERGO.

2. *da-*, *de-*

It seems possible that we have here two distinct prefixes to begin with, *da-* INSIDE OF MOUTH (cf. *dats!ayāp'* HE WASHED HIS MOUTH) and *de-* LIPS (cf. *de^εts!ayāp'* HE WASHED HIS LIPS and noun *de^ε-x-* LIPS), from the second of which developed the general local significance of IN FRONT; contrast also *hada't'-gwa* IN HIS OWN MOUTH with *dēt'gwa* in front of himself. The strict delimitation of the two, however, is made difficult by the fact that *da-*, alone in this respect among non-radical verbal elements, undergoes palatal ablaut (thus becoming *de-*) whenever the stem shows a palatal vowel, whether primary or itself due to ablaut; observe also the stem-change from *da-* to *de-* in *hada't'gwa* 170.2 and *hadedē* IN MY MOUTH. These

apparently secondary *de-* prefixes will be listed together with and immediately following the *da-* prefixes, while the true, chiefly local, *de-*, (*da-*) prefixes will be put by themselves.

(a¹) *da-*, (*de-*) MOUTH, IN MOUTH, WITH MOUTH, LIPS, TEETH, TONGUE:

- da^εogor̥hi* he gave him to eat (lit., he mouth-gave him) (186.25)
de^εügü's̥i he gave me to eat 186.2
dat!aya'a^ε he went to get something to eat 75.9
dada'k'dā^εk' sharpen your teeth! 126.18; 128.23
dats!ala'ts!ili^εn I chew it
aldat!ele't!ili^εn I lick it
dalats!agi^εn I taste it (literally, I mouth-touch it)
aldap'öp'iw̄i^εn I blow at it (194.1)
dadama'^εx he was out of wind 26.5
dasmayama'^εn I smile
hada^εyowo'u^uda^ε (creek) going into (river) (literally, in-mouth-being)
dalō^ul^ε he lied (literally, he mouth-played) 110.23; 156.14
delūnhixi he lied to me
daywo'wō's he suddenly stopped (singing, talking) (literally, he mouth-started, as in fright) 138.23
dak'dahā^εli'^εn I answer him (180.18)
dak'dehēlsi he answers me

(a²):

- he^εdele'lek!^εn* I finished (story, talking) 50.4
delūmü'sgade^ε I tell truth (184.3)
dexebena't you said it (literally, you mouth-did it) 14.10; 15.6
aldets'ü'lük!^εn I suck it
dedets'ü'lük!^εn I kiss her (first *de-* as object, her lips; second *de-* as instrument, with my lips)
dehememi'^εn I taste it (cf. *ī-hemem-* wrestle)
ba-idehenena't you are through eating (literally, you are out-mouth-done) (136.16)
deligia'lda^εn I fetch it for him to eat (130.9)
dehe'yek!^εn I left food over

da- can not stand before *ī-* HAND, because of the palatal timbre of the latter. Examples of *de^εī-*:

- de^εida'mk!ink'* it will get choked
de^εīlats!agi'^εn I touched his mouth (*de-* = *da-* as object; *ī-* as instrument. Contrast above *da-lats!agi'^εn* I tasted it, with *da-* as instrument)

Similarly other palatal non-radical elements cause a change of *da-* to *de-*:

de-his-gulu-gwa'εn I want it in my mouth (=I desire to eat [his = trying])

(b) *de-*, (*da-*) IN FRONT, AHEAD, AT DOOR OF HOUSE:

de'ik!ala'k'ilin (house) was scratched on door 154.1, 2, 3

de'ise'εk' he opened door of house (cf. *alse'εk'* he bowed to him) 63.12

de'ip'owo'εk' he bent it

bāde'εyeweya'k'w he started traveling again (literally, he up-ahead-went-again-with it) 22.4; 24.9; 25.6

dewiliwa'lsi she is fighting me 27.3

de'gwidik'w he stuck (threw) it into (fire) 27.8

dek'iwik'auk'waεn I brandish it before my face (172.12)

gasa'lhi de'hits!āaga'εs fast stepper (literally, quickly ahead-stepper)

ba-ide'di'nixia'εε they marched by in regular order (literally, they out-ahead-stretched) 144.14

de'εwī'i'gi'εn I spread it out (120.1)

t'gā de'hi k'liya'k'i'ε if the world goes on (literally, world ahead-goes-if) 146.4

damats!a'k' he put it point foremost (into their eyes) 27.8

As in the case of *dak'-*, so also here, not a few forms occur in which the meaning of the prefix *da-*, *de-* is far from being clearly in evidence:

dat!agā'εn I build a fire (96.17)

ǰaldatc!u'lū'εεk' he caught fire 98.3

ǰaldetc!ū'lū'εεxi I caught fire

degül'k!alx it glows (142.1); 188.15

aldat'guyū'εεsi (fire) blisters my face (25.11)

de'ēt'a'mak'i'εn I put out the fire

dat'ama'εx the fire goes out

dat!abaga'εn I finish it (176.6)

dasgayana'εn I lie down

As the first seven of these examples show, *da-*, *de-* sometimes imply a (probably secondary) reference to fire. ◆

3. *dāa-*

(a) EAR, WITH EAR (referring to hearing), IN EAR, CHEEK, SIDES OF HEAD:

dā'ats!ayāp' he washed his ear

dā'ēts!ama'k' he squeezed his ears

dā'ēlats!agi'εn I touched his ear, cheek

dā'εagani'εn I heard it (55.3; 108.16)

dā'dā'agi'εn I am able to hear it (literally, I can ear-find it) (100.12)

- dā^ale^alagwa^aen I listen to him (55.1; 96.2; 146.5)
 dā^ats!^aēm^axde^a I hear big noise 90.21
 anⁱē ge dā^aēyowo^a he did not listen to it (literally, he not there ear-was) 96.9
 dā^asgek!^aeīha^aen I kept listening (102.3)
 dā^ayehèr he went where he heard (noise of people singing or gambling) 106.10.
 dā^adele^ap'i he stuck it across his ear
 dā^adalaga^amt' he made holes in his ears
 dī^adā^at'be^aēk't'bagams they had their hair tied on sides of head
 (dī^adā^a- probably as incorporated phrase, over ears) 142.17
 dā^aibo^at'bidī^aen I pull out his hair (from side of head) (194.7)

(b) ALONG, ON SIDE:

- wī^alaū dā^awat^abā^agamdīna^a arrows shall be tied along (their length) with it (i. e., sinew) 28.1

4. *s'in-* NOSE, IN NOSE, WITH NOSE:

- s'in^aēgile^aēsgwa he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7
 s'int!^aayagi^aen I smell it (literally, I nose-find it) (160.20)
 s'indalaga^amt' he made holes in septum (cf. under dā^a-) 22.1
 s'inlō^a'uk'i he stuck it into nose
 s'inde^ale^ap'gwa he stuck it up into his own nose
 s'ingeya^an he turned away his nose
 s'inyuwo^aes he dodged with his nose (as when fly lights; cf. under da-)
 s'int^aūwak^ade^a I feel warm in my nose
 s'inxi^anī^axanp^ade^a I sniff
 s'inwili^a'k'ap^ade^a I blow my nose
 als'inlō^a'uxa^aen they meet each other (24.12)

5. *gwen-*

(a) NECK:

- gwensgō^a'uda^aen I cut his neck (144.2, 3, 5, 22)
 gwent!^aayaga^aen I washed his neck
 ha-ugwenyunu^a'yini^aen I swallow it greedily (cf. 126.10)
 gwenlō^a'uk'i he stuck it in his throat (cf. under s'in-) 25.4
 gwen^ailats!^aagi^aen I touched back of his neck
 gwenwayanagānhi he swung his knife over their necks 144.2

(b) BACK, BEHIND:

- gwe^an^aalyowo^a he looked back
 gwenyerwe^at'ē^a I went back (152.13; 188.19)
 gwe^anliwila^au^a he looks back (on his tracks) 59.14; 94.9
 gwenhegwā^a'agwanhi he related it to him 17.11

In *gwenā-ia*^aes GOOD SINGER, the part played by the prefix is not clear.

6. *ĩ-* HAND, IN HAND, WITH HAND

No body-part prefix, except perhaps *al-*, is used with such frequency as *ĩ-*, the scrupulousness with which verbs implying action with the hand incorporate it seeming at times almost pedantic. Only a small selection out of the great number of occurrences need here be given:

its!ayãp' he washed his hand
ĩp!ĩ'nõ'w'k'wa^{en} I warm my hands
wila'u^{en} iħoyodagwa' I dance with arrow in hand
nãx iħele'lagwa'^{en} I sing with pipe in hand
ĩgĩ'ina he took it 15.1; 31.8; 44.8; 47.9
ĩk'wã'a^{en}gwi^{en} I woke him up 16.4
ĩgaxagixi'^{en} I scratch him
ĩgis'igis'i'^{en} I tickle him
iħegwe'hak'w^{en}na^{en} I am working
xa^{en}its'!iwi't he split it open 26.6
iħeme'm he wrestled with him 26.11; 27.10,11
ĩyonõ'w'k' he pulled it
ĩguyu'k' she pushed her 55.14
s'elëk'w^{en} ilũ'p^{en}ragwank' she shall pound with acorn pestle 55.9
ħe^{en}ileme'k' he killed them off 55.1; 144.6.
it!a'ut!iwi^{en} I caught hold of her (29.12; 140.15)
it'wi'yili'^{en} I make it whirl up
al^{en}iyulu'yili'^{en} I rub it
it'gwanye'git' you enslaved her 16.14

In some cases one does not easily see the necessity for its use:

wi^{en}it'ge'ye^{en}xi they are round about me (48.5)
alĩwulũ'w^{en}xbi he ran away from you

7. *xã^a-*, (*xa-*)

(a) BACK, WAIST:

xã^ats!ayãp' he washed his back
p!ĩⁱ xã^adat'guyũ'^{en}sgwa his back got blistered 25.11
xã^{en}ĩlats!agi'^{en} I touched his back
xã^ap!ĩ'nõ'w'k'wa he warmed his back 188.20
xã^alã'^ada^{en} I put (belt) about my waist

(b) BETWEEN, IN TWO (in reference to breaking or cutting):

xã^ap!a-its'!iudi'n I shall split it by throwing (stone) down on it (140.7)
xã^awĩsã^a go-between (in settling feuds) 178.11, 13, 18
xã^asgo'w^{en}da^{en} I cut, saw it (21.2, 4)
xa^{en}ĩsgĩ'i^{en}p'sgibik'w^{en} (bodies) cut through 21.2

xā^adant'gīlt'ga'lhī he broke it with rock 24.4
xā^at'be'εk't'bagams it is all tied together 27.13
xā^asalt'gwe'lt'gwili he broke it by stepping on it 31.4, 5
xā^abe^εmk!ōut'k'idi^εn I broke it with stick

In *xahege'hak'na^εn* I BREATHE (79.2) and *xahuk!u'hak'na^εn* I BREATHE, the *xa-* may refer to the heaving motion up from the waist.

8. *dī'-*

(a) BACK:

The local uses of *xā^a* and *dī'-* (IN MIDDLE, BETWEEN, and ABOVE, respectively) would indicate that, in their more literal signification, they refer respectively to the LOWER BACK about the waist and the UPPER BACK, though no direct information was obtained of the distinction.

dī^tts!ayāp' he washed himself in back of body
dī^thāx his back is burning
dī^t'bō^uk!a'l^xde^ε I have warts on my back 102.20
dī^tdū^ugwa'nk' she will wear it (i. e., skirt) 55.9

(b) ABOVE, ON TOP:

dī^the'liya sleeping on board platform 13.2
dī^tdā^at'bā'^agamt'gwide^ε I tie my hair on sides of my head (see under *dā^a-*) (140.11; 142.17)
dī^εalgelegala'mda^εn I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)
dī^εuyu'ts!amda^εn I fool him (aorist *uyuts!-* laugh)
dī^thinxō^ugi^εn I scare him
dī^tmās (earth) is lit up (78.1)
dī^thili'gwa'^εn I am glad 22.2

dī^t- is used in quite a number of verbs of mashing or squeezing, the primary idea being probably that of pressing down on top of something:

dī^tp'ili'p'ili^εn I squash (yellow-jackets) (74.3); contrast
gel-bēm-p'ili'p'ili^εn I whip him on his breast (literally, I-breast-stick-whip-him) (cf. 76.1, 2, 3)
dī^t!iyi'si^εn I mash them
ba-idigwibi'k'wap' it popped all around 27.14
dī^tgumu't'gimi^εn I squeezed and cracked many insects (such as fleas)

In many cases, as in some of the forms given above, the primary signification of *dī^t-* is greatly obscured. It is not at all certain but that we are at times (as in *dī^εuyu'ts!amda^εn*) dealing really with the phonetically similar prefix *dī^ε-* REAR.

9. *gel-*

(a) BREAST, WITH BREAST (mental activities):

- gelts!ayāp'* he washed his breast
gel^εilats!agi'^εn I touched his breast
bā^age'l^εyo lie down with belly up! (lit., up-belly-be!) 140.4
gelgulgwa'^εn I desire, want it 32.5, 6, 7
gelhewe'hau he thought 44.11; 124.3; 142.20
gellohoigwa'^εn I avenge him (apparently = I breast-die-with him) (146.8; 148.3)
gelt!aya'k' they thought of it (see under *s'in-* and *dā^a*) 152.10
gelyalāxaldi^εn I forgot him (lit., I breast-lost him) (77.10)
gelts!aya'mxamk' she hid (certain facts) from us 158.7
geldulu'k'^{de} I am getting lazy
gelheye'^εx he is stingy (literally, he breast-leaves-remaining = keeps surplus to himself) 196.8

(b) FACING:

- gelt!ana'hi* she pushed him (?literally, she held him [away] facing her)¹ (25.10)
gelwayān he slept with her (literally, he caused her to sleep facing him) 26.4; (108.3; 190.2)
wa't'gwan gel^εyowo'^ε they faced each other (literally, to each other they breast-were) 26.15
gelk'iyi'^εk' he turned around so as to face him 170.2

10. *dī^ε-*

(a) ANUS:

- dī^εts!ayāp'* he washed his anus
ba-idī^εt'gats!a't'gisi'^εn I stick out my anus (164.19; 166.1)
dī^εhāx his anus is burning 94.13
dī^εhagāit'^ε I feel ticklish in my anus (as though expecting to be kicked) (cf. under *dak'-*) 166.1
dī^εxō'^{us} (food) is spilling out from his anus, (acorns) spill out from hopper 94.2, 4, 5

(b) IN REAR, BEHIND:

- dī^εsalyomo'hin* I shall catch up with him in running
be^ε dī^εk'!iyi'^εk' afternoon came (lit., sun went in rear) (124.15)
da^εo'l dī^εhiwiliāt'^ε I ran close behind

As happens more or less frequently with all body-part prefixes, the primary meaning, at least in English translation, of *dī^ε-* seems lost sight of at times:

- abaidī^εyowō'^uda^ε* coming into house to fight (*abai-* into house; *yowō'^uda^ε* being) 24.14

¹ Though perhaps better SHE HELD HIM WITH HER BREAST, taking *gel-* as instrument.

p!a-idi^hhana'^ε it stopped (wind, rain, snow, hail) 152.16

In a number of verbs *dī^ε*- expresses: felling, digging under, or erecting a tree or stick, the fundamental notion being probably that of activity at the butt end of a long object:

dī^εsgot!ōlha bēm he was always cutting down trees 108.8

dī^εk!olola'n (tree) was dug under 48.5

dī^εsgūyū'u^k!in (tree) was made to fall by being dug under 48.7, 8, 12

p!a-idi^εlō'u^gwa^εn I make (stick, pestle) stand up (by placing it on its butt end) (116.18; 176.1, 2)

p!a-idi^εsgimī'sgam they set (house posts) down into ground

11. *ha-*

(a) WOMAN'S PRIVATE PARTS:

hats!ayāp' she washed her private parts

ha^εilats!agi'^εn he touched her private parts

ha^εwesga'hak'^w she spread apart her legs 26.4

(b) IN:

(*dānxdagwa*) *hats!ayāk'* he washed inside (of his ear)

(*dēxda*) *halō'u^k'i* he stuck it into (his mouth)

(*s'inixda*) *hadele'p'i* he stuck it up into (his nose)

halohōn he caught them in trap (literally, he caused them to die in) (100.8)

(*gwān*) *hat!ūlūgwa'^εn* I follow in (trail) (96.8,9)

halō'u^k' she put on (her dress), they put on (their skins, garments) 160.6

ha^εihū'lū^whal they skinned them 160.5

haya-ut'ge'nets!a^εn I put on (my vest)

As the last examples show *ha-* sometimes conveys the special notion of putting on or taking off a skin or garment.

12. *gwel-*

(a) LEG, IN LEG, WITH LEG:

gwelts!ayāp' he washed his legs

gwelle'ye^εsde^ε I am lame

gwel^εlō'u^εk'^w put on (your leggings)!

gwel^εiwi'^εn I beat him in running (lit., I-leg-left-him) (184.14)

*gwelsalt!eyēsna^εn*¹ I have no fat in my legs and feet 102.22

(b) UNDER, AWAY FROM VIEW:

gwelmats!a^εk' they put (food) away (sc., under platforms) 124.22; (132.8)

gwelge'l^εyowō^uda^ε he having his back to him (literally, facing him away from view) 122.7

¹ This form is an excellent example of the rather uncommon coordinate use of two body-part prefixes (*gwel*- LEG and *sal*- FOOT).

13. *la-*

- (a) FRONT OF BODY (probably BELLY as contrasted with
- gel-BREAST*
-):

lats!ayāp' he washed himself in front of body

- (b) BURST, RIP OPEN:

lat'bā'ax it burst 24.17

la^εūt'bā'ak!īt'ba^ε you (pl.) shall rip them open (like game after roasting) 118.5

lasalt'bā'agiⁿ I burst it with my feet (140.22)

la^εwayat'bā'agiⁿ I rip it open with knife (*waya* knife, as incorporated instrument)

14. *sal-*

- (a) FOOT, WITH FOOT:

sallats!agi'ⁿ I stepped on it (instrument *sal-*: I foot-touched it) (196.18)

sal^εilats!agi'ⁿ I touched his foot (object *sal-*; instrument *ī-*)

salts!ayāp' he washed his feet

salxugī they are standing 63.2

he^εsalt'gān kick him off! (24.17)

alsalt'bā'ak' he kicked him 86.16, 17, 18

gelbam salgwi't'gwat' kick it way up!

salγwo'εs he suddenly lifted up his foot (as when frightened) (cf. under *da-* and *s'in-*)

salp'īⁱnō'u^k'waⁿ I warmed my feet

15. *al-* FACE, WITH EYE, TO, AT

This is in all respects the most difficult prefix in regard to the satisfactory determination of its exact meaning. In a large number of cases it seems to involve the idea of sight, not infrequently adding that concept to a form which does not in itself convey any such implication. In most of the verb-forms, however, many of which have already been given under other prefixes, the *al-* seems to have no definitely ascertainable signification at all. In some cases it may be considered merely as an empty element serving as a support for a post-positive modal particle. For example:

al-his-gulugwa'ⁿ I am desirous of something

where *his* TRYING can not occupy an initial position

al-di-yok!oya't' did you know him?

Here *alyok!oya't'* in itself hardly differs in content from *yok!oya't'* YOU KNEW HIM. The most satisfactory definition

that can be given of *al-* in its more general and indefinite use is that it conveys the idea of motion out from the sphere of the person concerned, whether the motion be directed toward some definite goal (object) or not; an approximate translation in such cases would be *TO*, *AT*. The correctness of this interpretation is borne out by the fact that *al-* at times replaces a more definite local phrase, as though it were a substitute for it, of the same general formal but weaker material content.

wā^ada lō^ugwa'ēn to-him I-thrust-it, where *wā^ada* definitely expresses a local pronominal idea *TO*, *AT HIM*.

Compare:

allō^ugwi'ēn I stretched it out to him

where the exact local definition of the action is not so clearly expressed; the direct object of the verb being here not the object thrust, but the person aimed at, while the indirectness of the action is interpreted by means of *al-* as an adverbial or local modification of the verbal content. The change of vowel in the ending, *a—i*, is closely connected, as we shall later see, with this change of "face" in the verb. The first form may be literally translated as *TO-HIM I-IT-THRUST*; the second, as *I-HIM-TO-THRUST (IT)*. Similarly, in *al^ēlats'agi'ēn* I TOUCHED HIS BODY, the *al-* is probably best considered as a general directive prefix replacing the more special prefixes (such as *sal-*, *s'in-*, and so on) that indicate the particular part of the body affected, or, as one might put it, the exact limit of motion. The use of *al-* in local phrases shows clearly its general local significance: *als·ō^uma^l* *AT, TO THE MOUNTAIN*; *ga^ēa^l* *TO THAT*, as postposition equivalent to *TO*, *FOR*, *FROM*.

(a) FACE, EYE:

al^ēō^udini'ēn I look around for him (cf. *ō^uda'ēn* I hunt for him) (92.27)

alxī'igī'ēn I see, look at him (*-xī'ig-* never occurs alone) 186.7; 188.11.

algaya'n he turned his face

alyebēbi'ēn I showed it to him (77.8)

alyowōt'ē^ē I looked (cf. *yowōt'ē^ē* I was) (64.3)

alts'ayaga'ēn I washed his face (64.5)

mānx alnū'uk'wa he painted his (own) face

- alt!aya'k' he found, discovered it (literally, he eye-found it;
cf. under *s'in-*, *dā^a-*, and *gel-*) 47.10; 92.27; 194.13
alsgalā^aliwi'ēn I looked at them (moving head slightly to
side)
alt'bō^uk!a'l^xde^ε I have pimples on my face (cf. 102.20)
alt'wap!a't'wap'na^εn I blink with my eyes 102.20
alwe'k!ala^εn I shine
xā^εa'lt!anahi they watched it (literally, they-between-eye-
held it; xā^ε-al as incorporated local phrase[?]) 136.8

(b) TO, AT:

It is at least possible, if not very probable, that *al-* TO, AT, and
al- EYE, FACE, are two entirely distinct prefixes. As many
preceding examples have incidentally illustrated the local use
of *al-*, only a few more need be given:

- alp'ōup'auhi he blew on it 15.1
alhūyūxde^ε I go hunting (42.1; 58.14; 70.2; 126.21)
algesegasa'lt'e^ε I was washing
alheme'k' they met him 24.11
al'ēxlep!e'xlap' he mashed it up into dough-like mass 94.11
al'ēts!ō'ūdi^εn I touch, reach it
alse'ēgi^εn I bowed to him (172.10)

16. *dī^εal-* FOREHEAD:

- dī^εalts!ayāp' he washed his forehead
dī^εalgelegala'ms he tied his hair up into top-knot 172.2
dī^εalk'ā'a'p'gwa he put (dust) on his forehead 136.28

17. *gwenha-u-* NAPE:

- gwenha'-uts!ayaga^εn I shoot off nape of neck
gwenha-ut'be'egams he has his hair tied in back of his head

It will have been noticed that several of the body-part prefixes
have developed special uses that almost entitle them, at times, to
being considered verbal in function. Thus *xā^a-* BACK, BETWEEN has
been seen to develop, from its latter local use, the more strictly verbal
one of cutting, splitting, breaking, or rending in two; the ideas of
BETWEEN and of DIVISION IN TWO are naturally closely associated.
The specialized semiverbal uses of some of the prefixes may be thus
listed:

- da-*, *de-* activity in reference to fire (burn, set on fire, glow)
xā^a- rend in two (cut, split, break)
dī^t- crushing activity (mash, squeeze)
dī^ε- fell, erect (long object)
ha- dress, undress

la- burst, rip open

al- look, see

The resemblance between this use of the Takelma body-part prefixes and the Siouan use of verb prefixes denoting instrumental activities (e. g., Ponka *ba-* BY PRESSING WITH THE HAND, *ma-* BY CUTTING, *ɕa-* WITH THE MOUTH, BY BLOWING) is not far to seek, although in Takelma the development seems most plausibly explained from the local, rather than the instrumental, force of the prefixes. Neither the employment of Takelma body-part nor of Siouan instrumental prefixes with verb stems is in any morphologic respect comparable to the peculiar composition of initial and second-position verb stems characteristic of Algonkin and Yana. The same general psychic tendency toward the logical analysis of an apparently simple activity into its component elements, however, seems evident in the former as well as in the latter languages.

§ 37. LOCAL PREFIXES

The purely local prefixes, those that are not in any way associated with parts of the body, are to be divided into two groups:

(1) Such as are used also in the formation of noun and pronoun local phrases or of postpositions, these being in that regard closely allied to the body-part prefixes in their more general local use; and

(2) Such as are employed strictly as verbal prefixes, and are incapable of entering into combination with denominating elements. The following table gives all the common prefixes of both groups, examples of noun or pronoun local phrases being added in the last column:

Prefix.	Translation.	Local phrase.
<i>han-</i>	across, through	<i>hanwaxga'n</i> across the creek
<i>ha-u-</i>	under, down	<i>hawandž</i> under me
<i>he^{es}-</i>	away, off	<i>he^{es}šuma'l</i> beyond the mountain
<i>dal-</i>	away into brush, among, between	<i>dan gada'l</i> among rocks
<i>hā^{es}ya-</i>	on both sides	<i>hā^{es}yadž</i> on both sides of, around me
<i>hāw^{es}-</i>	yonder, far off	
<i>me^{es}-</i>	hither	
<i>wi-</i>	around	
<i>hawⁱ-</i>	in front, still	
<i>wa-</i>	together	
<i>bāa-</i>	up	
<i>ba-i-</i>	out, out of house	
<i>p/a-i-</i>	down	
<i>aba-i-</i>	in house, into house	
<i>bam-</i>	up into air	
<i>zam-</i>	in river	

Of these, the first five belong to the first group, the last nine to the second. The position of *hā^{ae}*- and *me^e*- is somewhat doubtful; but the fairly evident etymological connection of the former with *hā^{ae}ya* and the correlative relation in form and meaning between *me^e*- and *he^{ee}*-, make it probable that they are to be classed with the first group. While some of these prefixes (such as *dal*- and *han*-) are inconceivable as separate adverbial elements, others (particularly *aba-i*, which is apparently composed of demonstrative element *a-THIS* + *ba-i*) are on the border-land between true prefix and independent adverb. *me^e*- and *he^{ee}*-, though they are never used alone, stand in close etymological relation to a number of local adverbs (such as *eme^e* HERE and *ge* THERE), which also, though not so rigidly as to justify their being termed prefixes, tend to stand before the verb. The difference between local prefix and adverb is one of degree rather than of fundamental morphologic traits; in any case, it is rather artificial to draw the line between *me^e*- in such forms as *me^eyēū* COME BACK! and *ge* in, e. g., *ge^eyowo^e* THERE IT IS. Sometimes, though not frequently, two local prefixes, neither of them a body-part element, occur in a single verb form. See, e. g., *p!ai-hau*- under 2 below, also *abai-bā^a*- 62.1.

1. ***han*- THROUGH, ACROSS:**

hanyada't^e I swim across

hangwidi'k^w he threw it across 120.22

han^ewa^aalxi'i^k he looked through it

hanyewe'i^e he went back across 178.16

gwān-hansgō^usde^e I lie stretched across the trail (literally, I-road-across-cut) (148.8)

2. ***ha-u*- UNDER, DOWN:**

ha-ugwenyut!u'yidi^en I swallow it down greedily, making grunting noise (126.10)

ha-usāk^w he paddled him down river (*bā^a*- up river)

ha-uyowo't^e I sweat (literally, I-under-am)

ei p!a-iha'-ut^ugū^upx canoe upset 60.8

ha-uhana'^s it stopped (raining) 196.8

3. ***he^{ee}*- OFF, AWAY:**

he^{ee}ileme'^k he killed them off 14.13; 110.21; 144.6

he^{ee}sgō^uda^en I cut it off (44.4); 72.10; (92.14,16)

he^{ee}gwidi'k^w he threw it away

he^{ee}iūk^w he went away from him (23.12; 146.18)

he^{ee}salt^ugūnt^ugini^en I kick him off (24.17)

he^εʔhū'lup!^{iε}n I beat off bark (with stick)
 he^εʔk'ap!a'k'ibi^εn I chipped them off (92.3)
 he^εwā'ga'^εn I buy it (literally, I carry it off) (176.17)
 he^εt'guyū'^{iε}s it is blistered

4. **dal-** INTO BRUSH, AMONG:

dalyewe'^{iε} he ran off into brush 14.6; 110.10
 dalgwidi'^{k'w} he threw it into brush
 dalp'ō'^udi^εn I mix it with it (178.5)
 dalxabili'^{uε} he jumped between them 106.20

5. **hā^εya-** ON BOTH SIDES:

hā'yagini'^εk' they passed each other
 hā'yawat!emēxia^{uε} they assemble coming from both sides 144.23

6. **hā^{ae}** FAR OFF:

hā'^{ae}yewe'^{iε} they returned going far off 146.22; (47.4; 188.1)
 hā'xdā'^axdagwa^εn I threw something slippery way off

This prefix is evidently identical with the demonstrative stem *hā^{ae}* seen, e. g., in *hā'^εga* THAT ONE YONDER.

7. **me^ε-** HITHER:

me^εgini'^εk' he came here 146.24 (*ge gini'^εk'* he went there 77.7)
 ha'nme^εgini'^εk' they come from across (note two local prefixes;
hangini'^εk' they go across)
 me^εyèū come back! (*yèū* return!) (23.11,12,13,14; 96.5); 59.5
 me^εhiwili'^{uε} he came running this way

Not infrequently *me^ε-* conveys the fuller idea of COME TO ———, as in:

me^εbēp'xip' come (pl.) and chop for me! 90.16

8. **wī-** AROUND:

wī^εit'ge'yē^εxi they are surrounding me (48.13; 190.14)
 wī^εt'ge'yē^εk'i they put it round about 176.14

9. **hawī-** IN FRONT, STILL:

{hawiyānt'^ε I go in front
 {hawiyana'^εs front dancer
 hawibaxa'^εm still they come, they keep coming 146.1
 bō^u hawidegū'lk!alxdā^a after a while it will blaze up (*bō^u* = now)

10. **wa-** TOGETHER:

wak!oyōxinik' we go together
 wa^εits'!o'm^εk' squeeze (your legs) together! (26.5)
 bā^awawilīk'^w he traveled up along (river) (literally, he went up
 having it together with him) 21.14
 wayānk'^w he followed him (literally, he went having him together
 with him) 23.11

wat!emēxia^{ue} they are assembling together (110.3); 144.23
wa^εit!oxo'xi he gathered them together 112.6
wat!ilik'ni she gave them one each 130.4
wā'himi't' he talked to him 59.16; 63.10
dā'gazdek' wa^εalt'geye't'giyi^{en} I tied it about my head (literally,
 my-head I-together-to-surround-it)
p!ā^s wak!e^{wa}lxgwa snow is whirling around

Sometimes *wa-* seems to indicate simultaneity of activity, as in:

walā^ala'uhi she kept twining basket (while talking) 61.5

In many cases the adverbial meaning of *wa-* is hardly apparent, and one is sometimes in doubt whether to look upon it as the prefix here discussed or to identify it with the instrumental element *wa-* WITH, WITH IT; the two may indeed be at bottom identical.

11. ***bā^a-*** UP (55.16; 59.10; 60.11; 63.6,12):

bā^adini'^εx (clouds) were spread out in long strips (literally, they stretched up) 13.3
bā^at!ebe't'^ε I get up 186.14; (196.1)
bā^awadawayak'^w he flies up with it
bā^ayānk'^w he picked it up 15.9; 24.3; 59.15
k!iyi'ix bā^awōk' smoke comes out (literally, up-arrives) 29.3
(dānxda) *bā^εalgwili's* he turned up (his ear)
(dak'wili) *bā^agini'^εk'* he went up (on top of house) 30.6
bā^as'ā'^s stand up!
bā^ayewe'^{ie} he got better (literally, he-up-returned) (15.2)
bā^ahawa'^εk' she dipped up (water)

12. ***ba-i-*** OUT, OUT OF HOUSE, OUT OF WATER TO LAND, FROM PLAIN TO MOUNTAIN:

ba-iyewe'^{ie} they went out again
ba-ixodo'xat' she took off (her garment) 13.4
ba-isili'xgwa he lands with (boat) 13.5
ba-isāk'^w he came to land
ba-i^εa'lyowo^ε he looked outside
ba-ihimima'^{en} I drive him out
ba-i gwidik'^w he threw it out 92.15,16; (*haxiya'dat'*) *ba-igwidik'^w*
 he threw it (from in the water) on to land (31.2)
ba-ibiliwa't' you jumped out of house 24.15; (46.6)
(hadedē) *ba-iyeweyini'^{en}* I took it out (of my mouth) (literally,
 I-out-caused-it-to-return)
ba-idehenena't' you are through eating (literally, you-out-mouth-are-finished) (132.14)
ba-it!ixi'xi he pulled (guts) out 92.17
(dak's'ō^uma'l) *ba-iwōk'* he got up (on the mountain) 124.4; (60.9)

In certain idiomatic turns the primary signification of *ba-i-* is as good as lost:

(he^l-) *ba-imats!a'k'* he began to sing (lit., he-song-out-put) 102.17
ba-ik!iyi'k' he comes 92.1, 2; 156.24; 168.13

13. *p!a-i-* DOWN:

p!ai^εit!ana'hiⁿ I held him down
p!a-igwidi'k'^w he threw it down
p!a-iwaya'ε he went to lie down, to sleep (lit., he down-slept) 25.9
p!a-ilohot'e^ε I fell down (literally, I down-died)
p!a-iyewe'ie^ε (arrow) fell down back 22.5; 48.14
p!a-i^εa'lyowo^ε he looked down 26.14
p!aiyowo^ε they sat down (literally, they down-were) 56.2
p!a-isgaya'pxde^ε I lay down

14. *aba-i-* IN HOUSE, INTO HOUSE

It would perhaps be best to consider this an independent adverb (demonstrative pronoun *a-* THIS + *ba-i-*, formed analogously to *eme^ε* HERE [= demonstrative adverb *e-* HERE + *me^ε*]); its correlative relation to *ba-i-* makes it seem advisable to give examples of its occurrence here:

abaiⁿini'εk' he went inside 25.8; 27.7,13; 64.3
abaihiwili'u^ε he ran inside 16.12
aba-iwōk' they went into house 29.6; (44.7); 160.19
aba-iyowōt'e^ε I stay at home
abaiⁿts!āⁿk'ts!a'εk' he stepped into house 31.3

15. *bam-* UP INTO AIR

This prefix occurs often with preposed elements *gel-* or *dī-* as *gelbam-* or *dībam-*, which would seem to mean respectively WITH BELLY SIDE UP and WITH BACK SIDE UP, OR IN FRONT OF and DIRECTLY OVER one:

bamgwidi'k'^w he threw it up
gelbamgwidi'k'^w he threw it up
dībamgwidi'k'^w he threw it up
gelbamsāk'^w he shot it up 22.5
gelbam^εa'lyowo^ε he looked up
gelba'ms'i^εuli he was sitting up (in tree) 48.7

16. *xam-* IN RIVER, INTO WATER, FROM MOUNTAIN TO PLAIN:

xamalts!ayāp' he washed himself in river
xamgwidi'k'^w he threw it into river (33.6); 108.5
xamhiwili'u^ε he ran to river 29.13; 94.16
xa'mhilāp'iauk' they became in river (=were drowned) 166.16
xam^εa'lyowo^ε he looked down from top of mountain 124.4 (contrast *p!ai^εa'lyowo^ε* he looked down from ground 26.14)

§ 38. INSTRUMENTAL *wa-*

It is somewhat difficult to classify this prefix, as it does not belong either to the body-part or the purely local group. Strictly speaking it should be considered the incorporated form of the demonstrative pronoun in its instrumental function. As was seen above, it may represent an instrumental noun, but, while the noun may itself be incorporated to denote the instrument, this is not the case with the demonstrative pronoun. For example:

ga wede yap!a-wa-dōmhiga^ε that not I-people-with-shall-kill (= I shall not kill people therewith)

In other words, it would seem likely that such a form as *ga al^εwa-ts!ayagi'^εn* I WASH HIM WITH THAT is related to an *al^εwats!ayagi'^εn* I WASH HIM WITH IT as, e. g., *xī al^εwats!ayagi'^εn* I WASH HIM WITH WATER, to the form *alxits!ayagi'^εn* I WATER-WASH HIM, i. e., the *wa-* in *al^εwats!ayagi'^εn* is to be regarded as an incorporated *ga* THAT, IT (such forms as **algats!ayagi'^εn* have never been found to occur). It will be noticed that the verb-forms with incorporated *wa-* are normally characterized by a suffixed *-i-* or *-hi-*; as soon, however, as the verb loses its instrumental "face," this *-i-* is replaced by the normal *-a-*. Thus:

wīlau wats!ayagi'^εn arrow I-shoot¹ -him-with-it (with incorporated *wa-*, *wīla'u* ARROW being outside the verb-structure and in apposition with *wa-*)

but:

ts!ayaga'^εn wīlau wa I-shoot-him arrow with (in which also *wa-* stands outside the verb-complex, acting as an instrumental postposition to *wīla'u*)

Examples of instrumental *wa-* are:

(*salxdek'*) *sal^εwalats!agi'^εn* I touched him with my foot (literally, my-foot I-foot-with-it-touched-him)

(*xī^t*) *wa^εū^gwa'nhī* I drink (water) with it

(*yap!a*) *wat!omomi'^εn* I kill (people) with it (but *yap!a t!omoma'^εn* I kill people)

alwats!eyžk'wide^ε I washed myself with it

ga his dō^umia gelwagulugwi'^εn I try to kill him with that (literally, that trying killing-him I-with-desire-it)

se^εl-wats!elelamda^εn I write with it

(*īūxde'k'*) *wagaya-iwi'^εn* I used to eat with (my hands)

¹ Aorist *ts!ayag-* SHOOT and aorist *ts!ayag-* WASH are only apparently identical, being respectively formed from stems *sāag-* and *ts!āig-*.

(*p'im*) was *ana'hink'* they will spear (salmon) with it 28.15 (cf. *sana'nk'* they will spear it)

Although, as was suggested before, the prefix *wa-* as instrument may be ultimately identical with the adverbial *wa-* TOGETHER (the concepts of DOING SOMETHING WITH, BY MEANS OF IT and DOING SOMETHING TOGETHER WITH IT are not very far removed), the two can not be regarded as convertible elements. This is clearly brought out in such forms as *bēm wa^siwat!oxo'xi'n* I PICKED THEM TOGETHER WITH STICK. Literally translated, this sentence reads, STICK I-TOGETHER-HAND-WITH-IT-PICKED-THEM; the first *wa-* is the adverbial prefix; *ī-*, the general instrumental idea conveyed by the character of the verb (GATHER WITH ONE'S HANDS); and the second *wa-*, the incorporated representative of the more specific instrument *bēm* STICK. If preferred, *ī-* may be interpreted, though less probably, as a local element (*-īwa-* = with it in hand).

2. Formation of Verb-Stems (§§ 39, 40)

§ 39. GENERAL REMARKS

By a verb-stem will be here understood not so much the simplest possible form in which a verb appears after being stripped of all its prefixes, personal elements, tense-forming elements, and derivative suffixes, but rather the constant portion of the verb in all tense and mode forms except the aorist. The verb-stem thus defined will in the majority of cases coincide with the base or root, i. e., the simplest form at which it is possible to arrive, but not always. Generally speaking, the aorist is characterized by an enlargement of the base that we shall term "aorist stem," the other tense-modes showing this base in clearer form; in a minority of cases, however, it is the aorist stem that seems to coincide with the base, while the verb-stem is an amplification of it. Examples will serve to render these remarks somewhat clearer:

Aorist stem	Verb-stem	Probable base
<i>tlomom-</i>	<i>dōwm-</i>	<i>dōwm-</i> kill
<i>naga-</i>	<i>nāag-</i>	<i>nāag-</i> (<i>nag-</i>) say to
<i>hāal-</i>	<i>hala-</i>	<i>hāal-</i> answer
<i>ōvā-</i>	<i>odo-</i>	<i>ōvā-</i> hunt for
<i>lohoi-</i>	<i>loho-</i>	<i>loh-</i> die
<i>yuluyal-</i>	<i>yulyal-</i>	<i>yul-</i> rub

By far the larger number of verbal bases are monosyllabic. Where the simplest radical element that can be analyzed out remains dissyllabic (as in *dawi-* FLY, *agan-* PERCEIVE, *yimi-* LEND), the probability is always very great that we have to reckon either with amplifications of the base, or with suffixes that have become so thoroughly amalgamated with the base as to be incapable of separation from it even in formal analysis; in some cases the dissyllabic character of the verb-stem is due to a secondary phonetic reason (thus *dawi-* is for *dawy-*, cf. *dawy-*; while in *agan-* the second *a* is inorganic, the real stem thus being **agn-*). Most bases end either in a vowel or, more frequently, in a single consonant; such as end in two consonants (as *yalg-* DIVE, *s'omd-* BOIL, *bilw-* JUMP) may often be plausibly suspected of containing a petrified suffixed element.

The few examples of verb and aorist stems already given suffice to indicate the lack of simple, thorough-going regularity in the formation of the aorist stem from the base. Given the verb-stem, it is possible only in the minority of cases to foretell the exact form of the aorist stem. Thus, if *dō^um-* had followed the analogy of the phonetically parallel *nā^ag-*, we should have in the aorist not *t!omom-*, but *domo-*; similarly, the phonetic similarity of *odo-* and *loho-* would lead us to expect an aorist stem *lō^uh-*, and not *lohoi-*, for the latter. Nor is it safe to guess the form of the verb-stem from a given aorist stem. Thus, while the aorist *lohoi-* corresponds to a verb-stem *loho-*, *yewei-* corresponds to *yèu-* RETURN; *nagai-*, to *na-* SAY, DO; and *k!emèi-*, to *k!emn-* DO, MAKE. Mere phonetic form has, indeed, comparatively little to do with determining the relation of the two stems. This is clearly evidenced by the following cases of homonymous but etymologically distinct bases with corresponding aorist stems.

Verb base	Meaning	Aorist stem
<i>heem-</i>	1. mock 2. wrestle	<i>hemeham-</i> <i>hemem-</i>
<i>heegw-</i>	1. work 2. relate	<i>hegwehagw-</i> <i>hegw(h)āagw-</i> , <i>hegwe-</i> <i>hagw-</i>
<i>heen-</i>	1. be finished 2. wait for	<i>henen-</i> <i>henec-</i>
<i>āag-</i>	1. find 2. build fire	<i>t!ayag-</i> <i>t!agāi-</i>

The signification of the verb-stem gives almost no information as to the form of the aorist stem, the various types of aorist formation being each exemplified by a heterogeneous array of verbs, as far as any discernible similarity of meaning is concerned. It is true that, in a comparatively few cases, certain types of aorist formation can be shown to be characteristic of intransitive verbs; but in these the formation of the aorist stem involves the addition of a distinct phonetic element that has every appearance of being a worn-down suffix.

Not the least remarkable feature of tense-formation lies in the fact that the most frequently used of the tense-modes, the aorist (equivalent to immediate future, present, and past), generally shows the derived or amplified form of the base; while the far less important tense-modes, the future, inferential, potential, and present and future imperatives employ the generally more fundamental verb-stem. In its naked form the aorist stem appears as the third person subject third person object aorist transitive. For example:

t!omōm he killed him
naga' he said to him
-hāl he answered him
ō'ut' he hunted for him

The bare verb-stem appears as the second person singular (third person object) present imperative intransitive and transitive. For example:

dō^um kill him!
odo' hunt for him!
na' say! do!

and as the first element of the periphrastic future, that will later receive treatment.

In striking contrast to the extensive use in Athapascan of distinct and unrelated stems for the singular and plural, only a very few such cases have been discovered in Takelma; and even in these the singular stem may, it seems, also be used in the plural.

Sing. verb-stem	Pl. verb-stem	Sing. form	Pl. form
<i>s'as'</i> - stand	<i>sal-xogu-</i>	<i>s'as'inī</i> he stands <i>bāa-sāsa'sdē</i> (= <i>sāsa-</i> <i>sas-</i>) I come to a stand	<i>sal-xoguī</i> they stand <i>bāasal-xo'ziginak'</i> (= <i>xog-xag-</i>) we come to a stand
<i>s'u'al</i> - sit	<i>al-xaḱ:</i>	<i>s'u'wilt'e</i> (= <i>s'u'aḱ-</i>) I am seated	<i>al-xaḱyana'k'</i> we are seated

It is interesting to observe that, while *STAND* and *SIT* are intransitive in the singular, the plural stems *sal-xog^w*- and *al-xalⁱ*- make transitive forms with a third personal object (*-ana^k* first person plural aorist transitive, *-i^k* intransitive; cf. *t!omomana^k* we kill him, but *s^aasⁱnⁱpⁱkⁱ* we stand and *s^uwilⁱpⁱkⁱ* we are seated, dwell, stay).

The great majority of verb-stems are either necessarily transitive or intransitive, or are made such by appropriate suffixes. Only a few cases occur of verbs that are both transitive and intransitive, the respective forms being kept distinct only by the varying pronominal suffixes. Such are:

moyūgw-aⁿ-t^e I am spoiled, and *moyūgw-an-a^εn* I spoil him

ligⁱ-n-t^e I rest, and *ligⁱ-n-a^εn* I rest him

k!ūwū^ε they ran away in flight, and *k!ūwū* he sowed, threw them about

Certain forms are alike for both transitive and intransitive; e. g., second person plural subject: *k!ūwūwa^tpⁱ*.

§ 40. TYPES OF STEM-FORMATION

In looking over the many examples of verb and corresponding aorist stems obtained, it was found possible to make out sixteen types of stem-relations. Of this large number of types about half are of frequent occurrence, while of each of the rest but few examples have been found. It is not claimed for a moment that all of these types should be regarded as being exactly on a par, but merely that they have the value of forming a convenient systematization of the somewhat bewildering mass of methods of radical or base changes encountered. It is very probable that some of these are ramifications of others, while some types show more or less petrified suffixes that for some reason or other became specialized in certain tenses. As comparative linguistic material is entirely lacking, however, we can not make a genetic classification of types; a purely descriptive classification must suffice.

In the following table of types of stem-formation, *c* means consonant; *v*, vowel; *c!*, the fortis correspondent of *c*; *c₁*, *c₂*, and so on, other consonants; *v^v* denotes pseudo-diphthong; other letters are to be literally interpreted.

Table of Types of Stem-Formation

Type No.	Formula verb-stem	Formula aorist stem	Example verb-stem	Example aorist stem
1	$v+c$	$vv+c$	<i>ob-</i> dig up	<i>ōub-</i>
2	$v+(c)$	$v+c+v$	<i>yo-</i> be	<i>yowo-</i>
3	$v+c+c_1$	$v+c/+v+c_1$	<i>ūits/-</i> laugh { <i>masg-</i> put	<i>ūiyiits/-</i> <i>mats/ag-</i>
4a	$vv+c$	$v+c+v+i$	<i>t'āag-</i> cry	<i>t'agai-</i>
4b	$v+c+v$	$v+c+v+i$	<i>loho-</i> die	<i>lohoi-</i>
5	$v+c+v$	$vv+c$	<i>yana-</i> go	<i>yāan-</i>
6	$vv+c!$	$vv+c$	<i>p'ōl/-</i> mix	<i>p'ōud-</i>
7a	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+c_1+v$	<i>deeb-</i> arise	<i>t!ebe-</i>
7b	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+c_1+\bar{v}+i$	<i>dūugw-</i> wear	<i>t!ūgūi-</i>
8	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+c_1+v+c_1$	<i>gōul-</i> dig	<i>k!olol-</i>
9	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+\bar{y}+v+c_1$	<i>dāag-</i> find	<i>t!ayag-</i>
10a	$c+v(+c_1)$	$c+v+c(+c_1)$	<i>lōu-</i> play	<i>lōul-</i>
10b	$c+v+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+c(+v)$	<i>sana-</i> fight	<i>saans-</i>
11	$c+v+c_1+c$	$c+v+c_1+v+c$	<i>yaww-</i> talk	<i>yawai-</i>
12	$c+vv+c_1$	$c+vv+c_1+c+a+c_1$	<i>t!ēu-</i> play shinny	<i>t!ēut!au-</i>
13a	$c+v+c_1+c+a+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+v+c+a+c_1$	<i>sensan-</i> whoop	<i>senesan-</i>
13b	$c+v+c_1+c!+a+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+v+c!+a+c_1$	<i>dūil!al-</i> stuff with	<i>dūil!al-</i>
13c		$c+v+c_1+v+c+c_1$		<i>lobolb-</i> be accustomed to pound (also <i>lobolab-</i>)
14	$v+c$	$v+c+v+n$	<i>zeeb-</i> do	<i>zeben-</i>
(15a)	—	$-zi$	<i>sas'an-</i> stand	<i>sas'inzi-</i>
(15b)	$-as$	$-zi$	<i>dink!as-</i> lie spread out	<i>dink!iti-</i>
(16)	$v+c+c_1+i$	$v+c+v+c_1$	<i>k!alsi-</i> be lean	<i>k!alas-</i>

Not all forms find an exact parallel in one of the sixteen types here listed. There is a considerable number of more or less isolated cases left, particularly of frequentative or usitative forms, that it is difficult to classify; but on closer examination some at least of these are seen to be secondary developments. Verb-stem *al-sgalwal(w)*-KEEP LOOKING BY TURNING HEAD SLIGHTLY TO SIDE, as compared to aorist stem *al-sgalā^{al}l(aw)*-, looks anomalous because of its apparently inserted first *-w-*; but these two forms become explicable as frequentative developments, according to Type 8, of their corresponding simplexes, verb-stem *al-sgalw*-LOOK BY TURNING HEAD TO SIDE and aorist stem *al-sgalaw*-. It will be convenient to dispose of such anomalous and difficult cases under such headings as allow them to appear as at least comparatively regular formations. It should not be supposed that a particular verb-stem always and necessarily involves a fixed aorist stem in all possible derivations of the verb, though in probably the larger number of cases such a fixed parallelism may be traced. As examples of the occurrence of more than one aorist stem to match a verb-stem may be mentioned:

verb-stem *-xīk!*- see; aorist Type 6 *-xī'g-* and Type 2 *-xīk!i-xa-* see (without object)

verb-stem *yèu-* return; aorist intransitive Type 4 *yewei-*, causative Type 2 *yewe^e-n-*, and, according to Type 8, *yewew-ald-* go back for some one

There are few if any verbs whose verb and aorist stems absolutely coincide. If in nothing else the two differ at least in the quantity of the stem vowel, the aorist stem always tending to show a long vowel. In some cases the two (dissyllabic) stems seem identical in phonetic form because of the persistence of an inorganic *a* in the second syllable of the verb-stem and the presence of a repeated radical *a* in the second syllable of the aorist stem. Sometimes only certain of the forms built on the verb-stem exhibit the inorganic *a*; in such cases the secondary character of the *a* is directly proven by the forms that lack it. A case in point is:

aorist stem *ts'!ayam-* hide; verb-stem *ts'!ay[a]'m-* and *ts'!a-im-*

Other verbs, however, are phonetically so constituted as to require the presence of the inorganic *a* in all forms derived from the verb-stem. Such are:

aorist stem *agan-* feel, hear; verb-stem *ag[a]n-*

aorist stem *p!ahan-* be ripe, done; verb stem *p!ah[a]n-*

Under such circumstances ambiguous forms may result; e. g., *wa^aagani't'* may be construed either as an aorist (YOU FELT IT) or as a potential (YOU WOULD FEEL IT) derived from the stem *ag[a]n-*. But evidence is not lacking even in these cases to prove the inorganic character of the second *a* in the non-aorist forms. One test has been already referred to in another connection—the incapability of a secondary diphthong (a diphthong involving an inorganic *a*) to have a rising accent. Thus:

aorist *dā^{ae}agañ* (-aga'n) he heard it; but imperative *dā^{ae}ag[a']n* hear it!

A second test is the failure of inorganic *a* to become ablauted to *e*. Thus:

aorist *p!ehen-* *a'nxi* he causes me to be done; but future *p!eh[a]n-* *a'nxi^{nk}'* he will cause me to be done

The various types of stem-formation will now be taken up in the order of their occurrence in the table.

¹ Brackets indicate an inorganic element.

TYPE 1. Verb-stem $v + c$; aorist $v^v + c$. In this type are embraced partly monosyllabic and partly dissyllabic verb-stems that either seem to undergo no change at all in the aorist or merely lengthen the stem-vowel. The number of verbs that follow the type does not seem to be very great. Examples:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
woga' ^ε t' he will arrive (196.20)	wō ^u k' he arrived 47.15
oba'n I shall dig it up	ō ^u ba' ^ε n I dug it up (48.7)
yi'lt' copulating 86.5	yi'la' ^ε n I copulated with her 26.3
ūgwa'n I shall drink it (162.17)	ū ^u gwa' ^ε n I drank it 186.3
hogwana'n I shall make him run (138.2)	hō ^u gwa' ^ε n I made him run (79.2)
hin ^ε x-nīwa' ^ε s coward 76.5; (160.19)	hin ^ε x-nīwa' ^ε n I was afraid (17.7)
wit' ^e I shall travel (178.11)	wit' ^e I traveled (90.1)
t ^h la'mxade ^e I shall go fishing	t ^h la'mxade ^e I went fishing
yimi'hin I shall lend it to him (98.14)	yi'miya' ^ε n I lend it to him (98.15)
hūli'nt' ^e I shall be tired out	hū ^u li'nt' ^e I was tired out (102.1)
hagaīt' ^e I shall have a cold thrill	hagaīt' ^e I had a cold thrill 166.1
lohona'n I shall cause him to die	lohō ^u na' ^ε n I caused him to die (100.8)
al-ge'yande ^e I shall turn my face	al-geyana' ^ε n I turned my face

As regards the accent of the stem syllable, the examples show that, whenever accented, it takes the rising pitch when long, the raised pitch when short (and final). Compare further:

ō ^u p' he dug it up 124.5, 12	hin ^ε x-nīū he was afraid
ū ^h w he drank it 162.20	al-geya'n he turned his face

TYPE 2. Verb-stem $v + c$; aorist $v + c + v$. If, as seems probable, the second consonant of verbal bases ending in two consonants is in many cases really a petrified suffix, a very large proportion of those verbs that might be listed under Type 3 really belong here, thus making Type 2 probably the most numerously represented of all types. In some forms it is possible to detect the derivative character of the second consonant by a comparison of etymologically related forms that lack it; e. g., in *ts'!elm-* RATTLE (aorist *ts'!elem-*), the *-m-* is shown to be a suffix, though of no determinable signification, because of its absence in the corresponding frequentative *ts'!elets'!al-*. A corroborative phonetic test lies in the treatment of the first consonant of the cluster, in so far as verbs following Type 3 show a fortis in the aorist as against a media or tenuis in the verb-stem, while those

of Type 2 suffer no change in this respect; e. g., verb-stem *wism-* MOVE has aorist according to Type 3, *wits!im-*, as contrasted with verb-stem *t'gism-* GET GREEN with aorist of Type 2 *t'gisim-* (*t'gism-* should therefore be analyzed as base *t'gis-* + suffix *-m-*). This criterion enables us to pick out an otherwise unsuspected suffix in verbs like *t!ap'g-* FINISH, aorist *t!abag-* (not Type 3, **t!ap!ag-*), but can be applied only where the first consonant of the verb-stem is *s*, *b*, *d*, or *g*. A more general phonetic test would seem to be the position occupied by the inorganic vowel *-a-*. In those cases in which we have most reason to consider the second consonant as part of the base, this *-a-* follows the cluster as "constant" *a*; while otherwise, and indeed in the majority of cases, it is inserted between the two consonants: *wisma't'e* I SHALL MOVE (base *wism-*), but *t'gisa'mt'e* I (AS PLANT) SHALL GET GREEN. An application of these various criteria, were sufficient material at hand, would probably show that but a comparatively small number of verbs follow Type 3. Examples of verbs of Type 2 are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>ī-t!ani'n</i> I shall hold him (28.11)	<i>ī-t!ana'hi'n</i> I held him 73.16
<i>wa-k!ō'ya'n</i> I shall go with him	<i>wa-k!oyō'n</i> I went with him (33.15)
<i>o'sbin</i> (= ? ok-s-) I shall give it to you (178.15)	<i>ogu'sbi'n</i> I gave it to you 23.3
<i>oina'n</i> I shall give it	<i>oyona'n</i> I gave it (180.20)
<i>yālẖaldan</i> I shall lose it (188.18)	<i>yālāẖalda'n</i> I lost it (77.10)
<i>yo't'e</i> I shall be (33.10)	<i>yowōt'e</i> I was (42.1)
<i>nāk'ink'</i> he will say to him (94.16)	<i>naga'</i> he said to him 180.7
<i>da-sgāipẖde</i> I shall lie down	<i>da-sgaya'pẖde</i> I am lying down
<i>t'ū'ga'et'</i> it will get hot	<i>t'ūwū'k'</i> it got hot 94.15
<i>s'omda'n</i> I shall cook it	<i>s'omoda'n</i> I cooked it (58.10)

Examples illustrating the intrusive *-a-* are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>bila'ut'e</i> I shall jump (160.17)	<i>biliūt'e</i> I jumped ¹ (45.14)
<i>mīlada'n</i> I shall love her	<i>mīlī'da'n</i> I love her
<i>kliya'k'de</i> I shall come 196.1	<i>-k!iyi'k'de</i> I came (156.24)
<i>gina'k'de</i> I shall go somewhere 14.3	<i>gini'k'de</i> I went somewhere 21.10
<i>dūwa'k'de</i> I shall be good	<i>dūwūk'de</i> I was good (146.7)

¹ Perhaps best considered as belonging to Type 3 (verb-stem *bilw-*).

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
xuma'k'de ^e I shall be satiated	xumü'k'de ^e I was satiated (130.18)
wiya'k'de ^e I shall groan	wiyi'k'de ^e I groaned (192.11)
xuda'mt'e ^e I shall whistle	xudumt'e ^e I whistled (33.16)
ts'lela'mt'e ^e I shall rattle	ts'lelemt'e ^e I rattled (102.13)
ts'!us.a'mt'e ^e I shall make whistling noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip	ts'!us.umt'e ^e I made whistling noise (78.9,10,12)
li'ga'nt'e ^e I shall rest	ligint'e ^e I rested (79.2,4)
yala'nt'e ^e I shall be lost (cf. 14.3)	yalan̄t'e ^e I am lost (note difference in accent between aorist and future)

It is to be understood, of course, that this *-a-* is in no sense a characterizing future or non-aorist element, as, when the phonetic conditions allow, it drops out altogether. This takes place when the consonant following the intrusive *-a-* is itself followed by a vowel. Thus the second person singular future (*-ada'*^e) of some of the verbs listed has no *-a-*: *biwada'*^e, *gingada'*^e, *dū^ugada'*^e, *wi'gada'*^e, *yalnada'*^e. Similarly the simple stem *xud-* WHISTLE appears in *xut'ma'*^es WHISTLER.

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be observed that the verbs of this type divide themselves into two classes—those with short verb-stem vowel (such as *t!an-*, *og-*, *s'om-d-*, *gin-g-*, *yal-n-*) and those with long verb-stem vowel (*k!ōy-*, *yāl-x-ald-*, *li'g-[a]n-*, *t'ūw-g-*, *māl-[a]d-*). The first and second stem vowels of the aorist of verbs of the first class are regularly both short (*t!ana-*, *ogo-*, *s'omo-d-*, *gini-g-*, *yala-n-*); the aorists of the second class seem generally to have a short first but long second vowel (*k!oyō^u-*, *yalā^u-x-ald-*, *ligiⁱ-n-*, *t'ūwū^u-g-*, *mālīⁱ-d-*). The verb *nā^ag-* (aorist *naga-*) SAY TO and perhaps a few others (*sgāi-p-x-*, aorist *sgaya-p-x-*; *al-ts!āi-g-* WASH aorist *al-ts!aya-g-*; but *al-ts!āi-p'* WASH ONESELF, aorist *al-ts!ayā^u-p'*) do not follow this rule. Of the verb *yo-* (aorist *yowo-*) forms of both accent classes are found (*yōt'e^e* as well as *yo't'e^e*, *yowo't'e^e* as well as *yowōt'e^e*), and indeed a lengthening of the second vowel of aorists of the first class seems to occur with considerable frequency. The rising for long and the raised for final short stem vowels seem to be the normal accents for verbs of Type 2, whether the stress falls on the first or second (in aorists) vowel. If, however, the accented vowel is followed by a

glottal catch or fortis consonant the accent, as generally in such a case, is a falling one. Thus:

s'ō'^{uε}k'ôp'de^ε I shall jump (148.8) s'owō'^{uε}k'ôp'de^ε I jump (48.15; 49.1)

Such forms as *wa-k!oyô^εn* are only apparently opposed to the rule (see § 65).

TYPE 3. Verb-stem *v + c + c₁*; aorist *v + c! + v + c₁*. The most satisfactory test of a verb of this type is the intervocalic fortis consonant of the aorist stem as contrasted with the corresponding non-fortis consonant of the verb-stem. As only the minority of base-final consonant-clusters begin with a consonant that is capable of being changed to a fortis, there are in the material available only a few verbs to which the test can be applied. Those showing an intervocalic fortis (changed from non-fortis) in the aorist stem are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
î-lasgi'n I shall touch it	î-lats!agi' ^ε n I touched it
masga'n I shall put it (102.15)	mats!aga' ^ε n I put it 74.13
wismada' ^ε you will move	wits'lima't' you moved 148.16
yo'k'yan I shall know it (162.6)	yok!oya' ^ε n I knew it 50.5
lop'dia' ^{uε} t' it will rain	lop!odîa' ^{uε} it rained 152.11

In other verbs of this type the only characteristic of the aorist stem is the repetition between the consonants of the cluster of the stem-vowel. The following verb-forms exemplify this group, with the reservation that if in any case the second consonant of the cluster be really a suffix, the form should be assigned to Type 2.

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
t!amyana'n I shall go to get her married (150.5, 19)	t!amayana' ^ε n I went to get her married (148.5)
ts!a-uya' ^ε s fast runner 138.2	ts!awaî't'e ^ε I ran fast
dî ^ε -û'its'!amt' fool him!	dî ^ε üyü'ts'!amda ^ε n I fooled him
baxma't'e ^ε (= <i>baxm</i> -) I shall come	baxamî't'e ^ε I came (114.16)
ga-iwa'n I shall eat it 128.18	gayawa' ^ε n I ate it 30.11
moigwana'n I shall spoil it	moyûgwana' ^ε n I spoiled it (31.12)
yo' ^{uε} snan I shall scare him (186.10)	yowo' ^ε sna ^ε n I scared him (186.10)
malgini'n I shall tell him	malagini' ^ε n I told him (30.15)
ba-i-xilgwi'n I shall snatch it out	ba-i-xilgwi' ^ε n I snatched it out (33.4)

¹ This verb clearly belongs to Type 3 because of constant *-a-* following *-xm-*. Had it belonged to Type 2 it would have assumed the form **baxa'mt'e^ε*.

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>gwel-leĩsde^e</i> I shall be lame	<i>gwel-le'ye^esde^e</i> I am lame
<i>dawit'e^e</i> I shall fly (166.18)	<i>dawait'e^e</i> I flew (166.18)
<i>da-uya's</i> flyer	
<i>ba-i-hemga'n</i> I shall take (food)	<i>ba-i-hemega'εn</i> I took (food)
out (16.10)	out (58.9; 118.12)
<i>han-gil'ba'n</i> I shall put (beam)	<i>han-giliba'εn</i> I put (beam) across
across	(176.3)
<i>ba-i-k!ā'lsi'n</i> I shall take it out	<i>ba-i-k!ala'si'εn</i> I took it out
	(25.4)
<i>p'elga'n</i> I shall go to war against them (124.19)	<i>p'elega'εn</i> I went to war against them (110.4)
<i>yamda'n</i> I shall ask him (70.6)	<i>yamada'εn</i> I asked him (56.3)
<i>yim'saldan</i> I shall dream about him	<i>yimi's'alda'εn</i> I dreamed about him 186.3
<i>ha-u-ha'n'sdā^a</i> it will stop (raining) (198.9)	<i>ha-u-hana's</i> it stopped (raining) 196.8
<i>yō'ga'n</i> I shall marry her (192.16)	<i>yowoga'εn</i> I married her (43.3)

As long as the first consonant of the cluster is a semivowel (*w*, *y*) or a liquid or nasal (*l*, *m*, *n*), the question as to whether the verb belongs to Type 2 or Type 3 is a purely etymological or historical one. Descriptively it makes no difference whether a form like *p'elega'εn* I WENT TO WAR AGAINST THEM is derived from *p'elg-* by the insertion of the stem-vowel *-e-* between *l* and *g* (Type 3), or from *p'el-g-* by the addition of the *-e-* to a base *p'el-* (Type 2). From a purely descriptive point of view, then, the most typical aorist formation in Takelma may be said to be characterized by the repetition of the stem-vowel immediately after the first consonant following the stem-vowel.

From the point of view of vocalic quantity the verbs of Type 3 fall into the same two classes as those of Type 2—such as have a short vowel in the stem (*t!amy-*, *ts!awy-*, *malg-*, *p'elg-*, *hants!-*) and such as have a long vowel (*ũits!-*, *g'ilb-*, *k!ā'ls*), these latter being apparently much less numerous than in Type 2. The quantity of both the stem vowels of the aorist is regularly short, even when the verb-stem vowel is long (*gilib-*, *k!alas-*); only rarely is the second vowel of the aorist stem long (*leyeεs-*, *üyü'ũts!-*). The accent of stressed stem vowels follows the same rules as in the case of verbs of Type 3 (*dowait'e^e*, *han-gili'p'* with rising or raised pitch; but *hana'εs*, *he'ie-x-dā^a* HE WILL BE LEFT OVER, *üyü'ũεs'de^e* I LAUGH, with falling accent because of the glottal catch).

TYPE 4. Verb-stem $v^v + c(+v)$; aorist $v + c + v + i$. Verbs of this type are intransitive, the *-i-*, though confined to the aorist, being evidently in some way connected with the intransitive character. That it is really a derivative element characteristic of the aorist is shown by its conduct in transitive forms derived from the intransitive. In the causative in *-n-* it drops out:

t'agā^ana'^εn I make him cry

while in certain other transitive derivatives it is preserved:

t'agayagwa'^εn I cry having it

The contradiction in treatment is here only apparent, as the absence or presence of the *-i-* would seem to depend not so much on the transitive or intransitive form of the verb as on whether the action expressed by the verb is logically transitive or not (in a causative the action is necessarily directed toward an object, in a comitative the formal object is not concerned in the action of the verb at all). Types 4a and 4b may properly be considered subclasses of Types 2 and 1 respectively, though it should be noted that the *-i-* occurs nowhere except in one special tense—the aorist. Examples of Type 4a are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
yè'ūt' ^ε I shall return (92.24)	yeweit' ^ε I returned (58.9,13)
p'lāk' ^{de} I shall bathe (58.5; 118.7)	p'lağait' ^ε I bathed 58.2
t'āk' ^{de} I shall cry (29.11)	t'agaīt' ^ε I cried (29.13; 62.2)
na't' ^ε (irregular) I shall say, do 196.5	nagaīt' ^ε I said, did 126.3; 180.1

Even less numerous are the examples of 4b that have been found:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
loho't' dead (98.10; 170.1; 186.21)	lohoit' ^ε I died 184.18
lehe't' drifting dead to land	lehe' ^{iε} he drifted dead to land
	75.5

The aorist of verbs of Type 4 regularly have the rising accent on the *i-* diphthong formed by the repeated stem vowel and the *i-* suffix. The stressed stem-vowel of forms built on the verb-stem regularly has the rising (4a) or raised accent (second vowel of 4b). *na-*, which is irregular also in other respects, has a short vowel in the verb-stem and takes the raised accent in non-aorist forms under appropriate conditions (*na't'* saying; *na'* say it!).

TYPE 5. Verb-stem $v + c + v$; aorist $v^v + c$. This type of verb is morphologically very difficult to understand, as it is in effect the very opposite of Type 2. Morphologically *yana-* GO: *t'an-* HOLD = *yā^an-*:

t!ana-; but phonetically the proportion would gain in symmetry by reversing the positions of its first and third terms. Examples are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
wagawi'n I shall bring it to him (45.6)	wā ^a giwi'ēn I brought it to him (176.17)
wege'sink' he will bring it to me	we ^a ga'si he brought it to me (194.11)
yana't'e° I shall go 14.3	yān't'e° I went 14.7
haxa't'e° I shall burn (92.29)	hāx ^a de° I burnt (98.1,4)
dak'-da-hala'hin I shall answer him	dak'-da-hā ^a li'ēn I answered him (122.4; 146.14; 180.18)
laba' carry it! (70.5); 192.8	lāp' he carried it 160.9
sagwa' paddle it! 112.3,9	sā ^a gwa'ēn I paddled it (14.6)
wede'k'ink' he will take it from him (16.10,11; 17.10,11)	wēt'gi he took it from him 16.13; (76.1)
lebe'n I shall pick it up and eat it	le ^a ba'ēn I picked and ate it 94.5,12
sebe'n I shall roast it (44.6)	se ^a ba'ēn I roasted it (118.10)
he ^{ee} -iwi'xink' he will go away from me	he ^{ee} -iūs'i he went away from me (184.14,15)
hawax-xiwi't'e° I shall rot (194.8)	hawax-xiūt'e° I am rotting (100.1)
odo'n I shall hunt for it (116.7,11)	ō ^u da'ēn I hunted for it (13.9)
woo'nk' he will go to get it (162.8)	wō ^u lt' he went to get it 160.4
p'uyumda'n I shall smoke them out	p'ōyamda'n I smoked them out (76.11)
yomo'n I shall catch up with him (46.7; 136.12,13)	yō ^u mīya'ēn I caught up with him (final -ī ⁱ - of aorist stem unex- plained) (140.14)

The two stem vowels of the verb-stem are always short in quantity, the second regularly having the raised accent (imperatives *yana'*, *lebe'*, *odo'*, *woo'*).¹ The long stem vowel of the aorist, when stressed, takes the rising accent. To this latter rule there is one curious exception. The verb *odo-* HUNT FOR always has the falling accent on the *ō^u* of the aorist (*ō^utl'* HE HUNTED FOR IT 13.9; 88.8, never **ō^utl'*), but the non-aorist forms follow in everything the analogy of other verbs of this type. This anomaly is quite unexplained. Can it be that a leveling out of two originally distinct paradigms has taken place (**ō^ud-*, *odo'-* of Type 5 and *ō^ud-*, **ō^utl'-* of Type 6)?

TYPE 6. Verb-stem *v^(v) + c!*; aorist *v^v + c*. Most of the verbs that follow this type have as second consonant in the aorist one capable of

¹ Such forms as *lebe'n*, with falling accent on the second vowel, are only apparently opposed to this rule, as in these cases the falling accent regularly goes with the personal ending *-n*. Practically all violations of the accent rules found in the examples are of this merely apparent character and will be readily explained away when the subject of personal endings is considered.

becoming a fortis; such as do not, introduce a catch before the second consonant in non-aorist forms. There seem to be no primarily intransitive verbs of this type. Examples of the type are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
{ <i>ĩ-k'wā'ak!win</i> I shall wake him up	<i>ĩ-k'wā'agwi^{en}</i> I woke him up 16.4; (75.6)
{ <i>k'wā'axde^e</i> I shall wake up (190.5)	<i>k'wā'axde^e</i> I woke up (16.3, 5)
<i>xā^a-lā't!an</i> I shall put it about my waist	<i>xā^a-lā'ada^{en}</i> I put it about my waist
<i>la^{-e}-ĩ-t'bā'klin</i> I shall burst it (118.5)	<i>la^{-e}-ĩ-t'bā'agi^{en}</i> I burst it (24.17)
<i>wa-sgā'p!in</i> I shall make it tight	<i>wa-sgā'abi^{en}</i> I made it tight (140.6)
<i>al-xĩ'k!in</i> I shall see him (146.21)	<i>al-xĩ'gi^{en}</i> I saw him 188.9
<i>de^e-ĩ-wĩ'k!in</i> I shall spread it out (120.1)	<i>de^e-ĩ-wĩ'gi^{en}</i> I spread it out
<i>dak'-t'e'ek!in</i> I shall give him to smoke (170.13)	<i>dak'-t'e'egi^{en}</i> I gave him to smoke
<i>bā^a-xō't!an</i> I shall win over him (170.9)	<i>bā^a-xō'uda^{en}</i> I won over him (168.5)
<i>al-lō'k!wan</i> I shall thrust it	<i>al-lō'ugwa^{en}</i> I thrust it (152.19)
<i>dal-p'ō't!in</i> I shall mix it (178.5)	<i>dal-p'ō'udi^{en}</i> I mixed it
<i>de^e-ĩ-nū't!in</i> I shall drown him	<i>de^e-ĩ-nū'di^{en}</i> I drowned him (118.9)
<i>de-bū'klin</i> I shall fill it	<i>de-bū'gi^{en}</i> I filled it (140.3)
<i>ĩ-gĩ^{en}na</i> take it! (102.14)	<i>ĩ-gĩ^{en}na</i> he took it 15.1; 45.13

Despite the change of the second consonant from fortis to non-fortis, it is not certain that it is always an integral part of the stem; in *de-bū'ūgi^{en}* the *g* (*k!*) seems to be a verbifying suffix (cf. *de-bū'ε* FULL as adjective). The accent of the base of verbs of Type 6 differs materially from that of verbs of types heretofore discussed. The normal pitch-accent of most verb-bases is the rising tone for long, the raised for final short, vowels, unless a catch immediately follows. Thus in Type 5 *dak'-da-hāl* HE ANSWERED HIM; Type 2 *naga'* HE SAID TO HIM; but with catch Type 4 *naga'^{is}* HE SAID. The verbs, however, of Type 6, as will have been noticed, all have the falling accent in both aorist and non-aorist forms. This variation from the accentual norm becomes intelligible if we remember that a fortis is the equivalent of a catch + a media; e. g., *alxĩ'k!in* I SHALL SEE HIM; *alxĩ'^εk'* SEE HIM! As the catch tends to bring about a falling accent before it, the falling accent peculiar to verbs of Type 6 may plausibly be ascribed to the fortis (i. e., glottal catch) quality of the final consonant of the stem. Compare also, in Type 3, *he'ik!in*

I SHALL LEAVE IT OVER. The retention of the falling accent in the aorist, although the presumable cause of it has been removed, is an example of form-parallelism, and argues, at least in verbs of this type, for the secondary origin of the aorist stem. The relation between *xō't!an* and *xō'u^udaⁿ* is, then, the same as that which obtains between *yowo'^e* HE WAS and *yowō'u^uda^e* WHEN HE WAS 79.7.

The organic character of the fortis consonant of verbs of this type is still further evidenced by many derivative forms (iteratives, continuatives, *-xa-* forms used to imply lack of object) which are regularly derived from the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, even in their aorist forms. Thus from *sgō'ut!-* 45.10 (aorist *sgō'u^ud-* 72.10) CUT are derived the derivative aorists *sgot!o'sgade^e* I CUT FREQUENTATIVELY (62.1), *sgot!ōl-haⁿ* I KEEP CUTTING IT (108.8), *sgūt!ii'xade^e* I CUT (without object) (92.2). Parallel forms are derived from most other verbs of this type, such as *xī'ik!-*, *lō'u^uk!-*, *sgī'iⁱp!-* CUT, *sgē'et!-* LIFT UP. A few verbs of Type 6, however, form the aorists of these derivatives from the aorist stems of the simple verbs. Such forms are the frequentatives *t'baga't'bag-* 14.12 (from *t'ba'a^k!-* 136.20) and *sege'sag-* 172.10 (from *se'e^k!-* NOD TO, OPEN DOOR 138.18).

TYPE 7. Verb-stem *c + v^v + c₁*; aorist *c! + v + c₁ + v(+i)*. The second sub-group (7*b*) of this sparsely represented type of verbs is apparently related to the first (7*a*) as are verbs of Type 4*a* to those of Type 2. It is very improbable, however, that the characteristic *-i-* element of the aorist is morphologically the same in both Type 4 and Type 7*b*, as verbs of the latter type are clearly transitive, while in Type 4 the *-i-* was found to be a clearly intransitivizing element. A further difference between the two types lies in the marked length of the repeated vowel in verbs of Type 7*b*. This vocalic length is perhaps responsible for the loss of the *-i-* in certain forms; e. g., *dī-t!ūgūz* HE WORE IT, but *dī-t!ūgūⁿ* I WORE IT. (See § 65.)

Of Type 7*a* only the following examples have been found:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>bā^a-dēp'de^e</i> I shall arise 196.3	<i>bā^a-t!ebe't'e^e</i> I arose 186.14
<i>wa-diln^hin</i> I shall distribute them	<i>wa-tlil^{ik}'niⁿ</i> I have distributed them (130.4)
<i>dwe'p'dwa'paxdā^a</i> they will fly without lighting	<i>t!wep!e' t!wapx</i> they flew with out lighting

The last example follows also Types 6 and 13*a*.

To Type 7b belong:

Verb-stem

Aorist stem

da-dāk' build a fire!*da-t!agāi* he built a fire 96.17*dī-dū^ūg^wa'nk'* she will wear it 55.9*dī-t!ūgūi* she wore it 96.16*t'gwā^axa'nt'gwide^e* I shall tattoo myself*t'gwaxāik'wide^e* I tattooed myself*k!ā^ada'nk'* he will pick them (116.17)*k!adāi* he picked them
swadāi he beat him in gambling

The last three verbs happen to have stems beginning with a consonant or consonant-combination that does not allow of development into a fortis, so that there is no initial modification in the aorist. A few other transitive verbs have aorist stems like those of type 7b, but form their non-aorist forms according to other models, as the aorists *k!emèi-* MAKE (only with third personal object; otherwise *k!eme^(e)-n-*, corresponding verb-stem *k!em-n-* of Type 2) and *yehèi-* HEAR SINGING FAR AWAY (verb-stem *yehī-*). In both aorist and non-aorist forms the stem vowel or long *i*-diphthong, when stressed, bears the rising or raised accent (*k!ā^at'* PICK THEM! *bā^a-t!ebe^t'* HE AROSE).

TYPE 8. Verb-stem $c + v + c_1$; aorist $c! + v + c_1 + v + c_1$. The aorist stem of this type is characterized by reduplication of Type 1 (see § 30) combined, wherever possible, with change to fortis of the initial consonant. Examples are:

Verb-stem

Aorist stem

gāit'e^e I shall grow (77.9)*k!ayaīt'e^e* I grew (77.9)*gō^uda'n* I shall bury him (118.3)*k!ododa'eⁿ* I buried him (96.16)*gō^ula'n* I shall dig it*k!olola'eⁿ* I dug it 73.10,14*gū^uwa'n* I shall plant it (94.10)*k!ūwūwa'eⁿ* I planted it (132.10)*dō^uma'n* I shall kill him (178.14)*t!omoma'eⁿ* I killed him 71.7*wa^e-ī-dōxin* I shall gather them*wa^e-ī-t!oxo'xi'eⁿ* I gathered them (112.6,11; 192.4)*ba-i-dixin* I shall pull (guts) out*ba-i-t!ixi'xi'eⁿ* I pulled (guts) out (92.17)*dā^ala'n* I shall crack it*t!alala'eⁿ* I cracked it*de^egwa'ldan* I shall watch for him (116.20; 126.20)*t!egwegwa'lda'eⁿ* I watched for him (118.2; 158.12)*wa^e-ī-de^emi'n* I shall gather them (for war)*wa^e-ī-t!eme'm* he gathered them (for war) 110.3*bā^aba'n* I shall chop it (90.16)*p!ababa'eⁿ* I chopped it (90.11)*dī-bū^ūgwa'n* I shall start (war, basket) (110.21; 170.10)*dī-p!ūgūgwa'eⁿ* I started it*s^ada'n* I shall mash it*ts!adada'eⁿ* I mashed it (130.23)

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
s ^ũ mt'an I shall boil it (170.16)	ts!ũmũmt'a ^ε n I boiled it (170.17)
dē ^ε -ĩ-s-ĩbin I shall close door (90.4)	dē ^ε -ĩ-ts!libibĩ' ^ε n I closed door (90.5)
yē ^g wa'n I shall bite him (88.2)	yegwegwa' ^ε n I bit him (88.3)
lō ^u ba'n I shall pound them (16.6)	loboba' ^ε n I pounded them (16.9)
lĩ ⁱ ma' ^ε t' tree will fall (108.12)	limi' ^ε m tree fell (108.11)
hēlt' ^ε I shall sing (106.15)	helelt' ^ε I sang (104.2, 5, 6)

In the transitive verbs of this type the repeated consonant of the aorist is found only when the object is of the third person; otherwise it is dropped, with lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus:

t!omoĩ he killed him 16.15; but *t!omōxbi^εn* he killed you (cf. 178.12)

Before certain intransitivizing derivative suffixes, particularly *-x-* (see §56) and *-xa-* (see §53), the same loss of the repeated consonant of the aorist stem is to be noted. Thus:

p!aba^up' he chopped it 90.11; but *p!ebe'xa^ε* he chopped 55.6

wa^ε-ĩ-t!emeĩ he gathered them together; but *dak'-t!emēx* they are gathered together 43.9; 136.11

With *-x-* the preceding vowel is lengthened, with *-xa-* it remains short. The second consonant of the stems of verbs of Type 8 never involves a radical glottal catch, hence the falling accent is never found on either the first or second stem vowel.

TYPE 9. Verb-stem *c + v^v + c₁*; aorist *c! + v + y + v + c₁*. This type is not at all a common one. It differs from Type 7a in that the added vowel (in every case *a*, as far as the material goes) is put *before* the last consonant of the base, the *y* serving perhaps merely to connect the stem *-a-* and added *-a-*.

Of Type 9, examples are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dā ^a ga'n I shall find it (110.15)	t!ayaga' ^ε n I found it (27.12)
sā ^a ga'n I shall shoot him	ts!ayaga' ^ε n I shot him (45.13)
da-dāĩt' ^ε (-dā ^y -) I shall go to get something to eat (33.9)	da-t!ayaĩt' ^ε I went to get something to eat ¹ (75.9)
da-dā ^a ldi'n (= dāĩld-, see § 11) I shall go to get it to eat (33.9)	da-t!ayaldi' ^ε n (= t!ayaild-, see § 11) I went to get it to eat (76.9)

¹ This verb might be considered as entirely parallel to *gāay-* (aorist *k!ayai-*) of Type 8. The derivative in *-ld-*, however, seems to prove it to be of Type 9; the *-ld-* forms, if belonging to Type 8, would probably appear as **da-dāya'ldin*, **da-t!ayaya'ldi^εn*.

TYPE 10. Verb-stem $c+v (+c) (+c_1)$; aorist $c+v + \left\{ \begin{matrix} c (+c_1) \\ c_1 +c \end{matrix} \right\} (+v)$.

This type embraces the few verbs that form their aorist stem by merely repeating the initial consonant of the verb-stem. Of 10*a*, that is, those that introduce the initial consonant immediately after the stem-vowel, there have been found:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
lō ^u x to play 31.7; (31.6, 8, 9)	lō ^u lt'e ^e I played
lāp'de ^e I shall become (25.2)	lā ^a lt'e ^e I became (also of Type 15 <i>a</i>) 186.19
lā ^a wa'n I shall twine basket	lā ^a lwa'n I twined basket (61.7)
he ^e -l̄-le' (l)k!i ⁿ I shall let him go (182.20)	he ^e -l̄-le'lek!i ^e n I let him go (50.4)

The last verb differs from the others in that it repeats in the aorist both the consonant and the vowel of the verb-stem; it is the only verb known which shows perfect duplication of the verb-stem (assuming the suffixed character of the *-k!-*).¹ Perhaps *-lek!-* is misheard for *-lelk!-*.

The only certain example of 10*b* is:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
sana' spear it! (33.9)	sāns he speared it (110.20)

The verb-stem here is of Type 5. The simple base (*san-*) is best seen in the fully reduplicated *sānsa'n-sinia^{us}* THEY ARE FIGHTING EACH OTHER 23.14. An aorist of Type 10*b* is probably also:

ha-u-gwen-yut!i'hi (= *yut!y-[h]i)
he gobbled it down (cf. frequentative *yut!wyad-*)

See also aorist *yō^umīⁱ-* under Type 5. Stems of this type are more frequent among nouns than verbs, e. g., *beļp'* SWAN (see § 86, 5).

TYPE 11. Verb-stem $c+v+c_1+c$; aorist $c+v+c_1+v+c$. Verbs belonging to this type differ in the aorist from those of the preceding type in that they introduce before the repeated initial consonant also the vowel of the stem, thus approaching in form the more fully reduplicating Type 13. Only a few examples of the type occur:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
loma'lt'e ^e (<i>a</i> is inorganic) I shall choke	lomōlt'e ^e I choked
xalxa'mt'e ^e I shall urinate (cf. xā ^a l-am- urine)	xala'xamt'e ^e I urinated ²

¹ There are many apparently perfect duplications of verb-stems in *-a-*, but the *-a-* of the second member is never a repetition of the stem-vowel. See Type 12.

² This verb is better considered as belonging to Type 13*a*, *xalxam-* and *xalaxam-* being respectively dissimilated from **xanxan-* and **xanaxan-* (see §21).

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
yawī't'e ^ε I shall talk (cf. base yiw- talk) (126.2)	yawai't'e ^ε I talked (30.4; 126.2)
bā ^ε -al-mo'l'man I shall turn things over (base mo'l ^ε -)	da-bo'k!op'na ^ε n I made bub- bles (base bōk!-) 102.22
bā ^ε -al-mo'lo'ma ^ε n I shall turn things over (base mo'l ^ε -)	bā ^ε -al-mo'lo'ma ^ε n I turned things over
dā ^a -ye'hī'n I shall go to where singing is heard	dā ^a -yehēi he went where there was singing (see Type 7b) 106.10
	legwela'mda ^ε n I suck it out of it (186.18)
	lā ^a mala' ^ε n I quarrel with him (27.2)

It is quite possible that many verbs whose verb-stem ends in a consonant identical with their initial consonant (and that one would be inclined to list under Type 2) really belong to Type 11. In such cases as:

ging- go somewhere (aorist *ginig-*)
k'iy[a]g- go, come (aorist *k'iyig-*)
gel-gul[a]g- desire (aorist- *gulug-*)

it is not easy to decide whether the final *-g-* is a suffixed element, as in many verbs of Type 2, or a repetition of the initial consonant of the base. As to the genesis of the form in verbs of Type 11, it seems clear that it is only a secondary development of the far more richly represented Type 13. This is indicated by the existence of second forms of Type 13 alongside those of Type 11:

da-bok!oba'k'na^εn I make bubbles *yiwīya'ut'e^ε* I talk (148.9)
mo'lo'mala^εn I turn things over
 (170.16)

A form like *mo'lo'mat'* YOU TURNED THINGS OVER may go back to a **mo'lo'mlat'* (Type 13b), itself a reduced form of the fully reduplicating *mo'lo'malat'*; but see § 65.

TYPE 12. Verb-stem *c+v^v+c₁*; aorist *c+v^v+c₁+c+a+c₁*. Verbs of this type form their aorist by reduplicating the verb-stem according to Type 2 (see § 30); the *a* of the second syllable of the aorist stem is regularly umlauted to *i* by an *i* of the following syllable (see § 8, 3a). Morphologically such aorist stems are practically identical with the verb-stems of Type 13a, though no further deductions can be drawn from this fact. Contrary to what one might expect, most verbs of the type show no marked iterative or frequentative signifi-

cation. Examples of this rather frequently recurring type are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>sana'n</i> ¹ I shall fight him (28.15)	<i>sā'nsa'nt'e</i> ^ε I was fighting 184.13
<i>he^{εε}-sal-t'gū'ni'n</i> I shall kick it off	<i>he^{εε}-sal-t'gūnt'gini'n</i> I kicked it off (24.17)
<i>t!èūt'e</i> ^ε I shall play shinny	<i>t!èut!a'ut'e</i> ^ε I played shinny (47.7)
<i>ī-t!ā'wi'n</i> I shall catch him (33.8)	<i>ī-t!āūt!iwi^εn</i> I caught him 33.4
<i>bā^a-dī'ga'n</i> I shall make it stand up	<i>bā^a-dik'daga^εn</i> I made it stand up (59.10)
<i>he^{εε}-s-wilxk'</i> it is torn	<i>ī-s-wils'wili^εn</i> I tore it (73.3)
<i>ts!ā'ga't'</i> he will step	<i>ts!ā'k'ts!a'k'</i> he stepped 32.9
<i>dā^ε-ī-bō'di'n</i> I shall pull out his hair	<i>dā^ε-ī-bōt'bidⁱn</i> I pulled out his hair (194.7)
<i>bā-ī-sgā'gi'n</i> I shall pick it up	<i>bā-ī-sgāk'sgigi^εn</i> I picked him up (32.12)
<i>lā'wi'n</i> I shall call him by name	<i>lā'liwi^εn</i> I called him by name (for <i>lā^a-</i> = <i>lāu-</i> see § 7) (116.3)

There is a tendency to prevent a long *u*-diphthong of the first syllable of the aorist stem from standing immediately before a diphthong-forming semivowel or consonant (*y*, *w*, *l*, *m*, *n*) of the second syllable. In such cases the *u* is either lost, as in the last example above (dissimilation is also a possible explanation) or a connecting *-i-* is introduced between the *u*, which now becomes *w*, and the following consonant. Examples are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>lèūxink'</i> he will call me by name	<i>le^εwila'usi</i> ² he calls me by name 59.7
<i>līūt'e</i> ^ε I shall look (142.18)	<i>liwila'ut'e</i> ^ε ³ I look (59.14)

The stem vowel of verbs of Type 12 is regularly long, and, when stressed, as it generally is in aorist forms, receives the rising accent. The *a* of the second syllable of the aorist stem is stressed only when forming a secondary diphthong with a following repeated radical element, in which case it receives a falling (*lā^ala'uhi* HE CALLED HIM) or raised accent (*he^{εε}-sal-t'gū^{unt}'ga'n*).

¹ The various forms of this verb seem to be made up of three distinct stems. The non-aorist forms of both transitive and intransitive (*sana'p'dee* I SHALL FIGHT) employ a stem (*sana-*) of Type 5. Most aorist forms, including the reciprocal aorist, use the stem *sānsan-* of Type 12 (*seensa'nsi* HE FIGHTS ME; *sānsa'nsinik'* WE FIGHT EACH OTHER). The stem *sāans-* of Type 10b is probably limited to such transitive forms of the aorist as have a third person object (*sāansa'^εn* I FIGHT HIM; *sāns* HE FOUGHT HIM).

² Parallel form, perhaps with iterative significance, to *lela'usi*, § 7.

³ This verb has a short *i* in the first syllable of the aorist, so that, as far as the aorist stem is concerned, it seems to belong to Type 13a. Perhaps it is best considered a verb of mixed type (13a in aorist, 12 in non-aorist).

TYPE 13. Verb-stem $c + v + c_1 + c + a + c_1$; aorist $c + v + c_1 + v + c + a + c_1$. For *i*-umlaut of the *a* see § 8, 3a. This type embraces a very large number of verbs, chiefly of iterative, usitative, or intensive signification. Of these, some are the iterative or usitative derivatives of simpler verbs; others, again, are hardly found in simpler form, the action they express being of a necessarily repetitive character (e. g., RUB, RATTLE, CHEW); in still others the repetitive idea is not strongly marked or is even absent. Of Type 13a, which covers practically the whole number of type-cases, examples will be given under the characteristic stem-vowels.

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
(1) <i>a</i> : <i>ī-gaxgixi'n</i> I shall scratch him <i>da-ts!a'!ts!lilin</i> I shall chew it <i>he^{ee}-ī-k'a'εp'k'ibin</i> I shall chip them off	<i>ī-gaxagixi'εn</i> I scratched him <i>da-ts!ala'ts!lilīεn</i> I chewed it <i>he^{ee}-ī-k'ap!a'k'ibiεn</i> I chipped them off (118.11; 120.16)
(2) <i>e</i> : <i>ī-ts!e'!ts!lilin</i> I shall rattle it <i>ī-he^gwa'k'wanan</i> (see § 19) I shall work <i>al-gesgasa'lt'e^e</i> I shall be washing <i>se'nsant'e^e</i> I shall whoop <i>hemhama'nk'</i> he will imitate him	<i>ī-ts!ele'ts!lilīεn</i> I rattled it <i>ī-hegwe'hak'wanaεn</i> I worked <i>al-gesegasa'lt'e^e</i> I was washing <i>sene'sant'e^e</i> I whooped (180.15) <i>heme'ham</i> he imitated him 24.4, 8
(3) <i>o</i> (<i>u</i>): <i>dī-i-t'gumt'ga'm</i> squeeze and crack (insects)! <i>ī-yulya'l</i> rub it! <i>al-p!ī-i-ts!u'!ts!alhip'</i> do ye put it on fire!	<i>dī-i-t'gumu'tg'imiεn</i> I squeezed and cracked (insects) <i>ī-yulu'yilīεn</i> I rubbed it <i>al-p!ī-i-ts!lulu'ts!lilīεn</i> I put it on fire (152.20)
(4) <i>i</i> : <i>ī-smilsmilin</i> I shall swing it <i>ī-s-wi'ls-wilin</i> I shall tear it to pieces <i>ts!i'nts!anxde^e</i> I shall be angry <i>ī-s-i'ls'alhi</i> distribute it! <i>de-k'īūk'auk'wan</i> I shall brandish it before my face (172.11) <i>yiwiyawaw'εs</i> one who talks 148.18	<i>ī-smilī'smilīεn</i> I swung it (72.10) <i>ī-s-wilī's-wilīεn</i> I tore it to pieces <i>ts!linī'!ts!anxde^e</i> I was angry (24.16; 148.15) <i>ī-s-ilī's'alhi</i> he distributed it 31.1 <i>de-k'īwi'k'auk'wana</i> I brandished it before my face (172.12) <i>yiwiya'u^s</i> he talks, makes a sound 148.9

The verb-stem of the last example seems at first sight identical with the aorist stem, but the second *i* is to be explained as a connective element similar to the *i* of *le^wilau-* above (see under Type 12); *yiwiyawa'*^ε*s* is thus developed from a theoretical **yiwiyawa'*^ε*s*.

The verb *k'a^εp'k'ab-* above illustrates a slightly divergent subtype of Type 13a. If the final consonant of the stem is a fortis, it appears as a non-fortis (voiceless media or aspirated surd according to the phonetic circumstances) when repeated. This phenomenon is best explained as an example of catch dissimilation; **k'ap!ak'ap!-*, i. e., *k'a^εb^εak'a^εb^ε-* is dissimilated to *k'a^εb^εak'ab-*, *k'ap!ak'ab-* (see § 22). In non-aorist forms, where the fortis becomes a syllabic final, it naturally gives way to the equivalent catch aspirated surd. Further examples of this subtype are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>ī-sgō'^εt'sgidin</i> I shall cut them one after another (21.2,4)	<i>ī-sgot!o'sgidī^εn</i> I cut them one after another (144.2,3)
<i>ha-u-gwen-yu'^εt'yidin</i> I shall gobble them all down	<i>ha-u-gwen-yut!u'yidi^εn</i> I gob- bled them all down (126.10)
<i>xa-^εī-sgi'p'sgibin</i> I shall cut them through (21.2)	<i>xa-^εī-sgip!i'sgibi^εn</i> I cut them through (22.9; 138.7)
<i>bā^a-t'ēk't'a'xdā^a</i> (= <i>-ta'g-x-</i>) they will all bob up	<i>bā^a-t'ekle't'æ</i> they all bobbed up
<i>ba-i-di^ε-t'ga'st'gā^s</i> stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.1,6	<i>ba-i-di^ε-t'gats!a't'gisi^εn</i> I stuck out my anus (166.8)

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be noticed that both the stem vowel and the repeated vowel are generally short. Comparatively few cases are found with long stem-vowel in non-aorist forms (*he^ε-gwagw-*, *swī^lswal-*, *sgō^{uε}t'sgad-*). Indeed the shortness of the vowel of the verb-stem is about the only mark of difference between verb-stems of Type 13 and aorist stems of Type 12. Thus:

ī-s'wi'ls'wal (non-aorist of Type 13) tear it to pieces!; but *ī-s'wī^l-s'wa^l* (aorist of Type 12) he tore it (with one tear)

A few verbs allow the repeated vowel, particularly in third personal forms, to be long; when stressed, as it generally is, it has a falling accent. Besides *ts'!inī'^ts'!anx-* (also *ts'!i'nī'^ts'!anx-* or *ts'!i'nits'!anx-* 190.19), may be mentioned:

gwen-hegwe'ehagwanhi he related it to him 57.9; cf. 59.6
p'ililū'^ūp!alhi they marched in single file 192.3

In non-aorist forms the vowel, if long and stressed, takes the rising accent; before a glottal catch, however, we regularly have the

falling accent (*sgō^{uε}t'sgad-*, *sgī^{iε}p'sgab-*). In the aorist the stress generally falls on the repeated vowel.

Only two verbs have been found that at first sight conform to Type 13 *b*. They are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>de^ε-ī-ge'uk!iwin</i> I shall tie (a salmon) bowstring-fashion	<i>de^ε-ī-gewe'kliwi^{εn}</i> I tied it bowstring-fashion (cf. 88.5)
<i>dū'lt!ilīn</i> I shall stuff them into it	<i>dūlū't!ilī^{εn}</i> I stuffed them into it (122.19; 138.17)

This curious type of verb is easily explained if we assume that the bases are not *gew-* and *dūl-*, respectively, but *geu^ε-* and *dūl^ε-*. They are, then, strictly comparable to verbs like *sgot!osgad-* discussed above; instead of having a fortis consonant, i. e., a stop with glottal closure, as the final consonant of the base, they have a semi-vowel or diphthong-forming consonant (*w, y, l, m, n*) as the base final. The verb and aorist stems of *geu^ε-* and *dūl^ε-*, formed according to Type 13 *a*, are theoretically **geu^εgau^ε-*, **gewe^εgau^ε-* and **dūl^εdal^ε-*, **dūlü^εdal^ε-*, respectively. Allowing, as in the case of the forms like *k'ap!ak'ab-* discussed above, for catch dissimilation, these forms are seen to be phonetically equivalent to *geuk!au-*, *gewek!au-* and *dūlt!al-*, *dūlüt!al-*, respectively (see § 12). If the initial consonant of the verb happens not to be a media, then there is no opportunity for the development of a fortis in the second syllable of the verb-stem. It is clear, then, that the following verbs are further examples of Type 13 *b*:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>bā^{a-ε}al-mo'l^εmalan</i> I shall turn things over	<i>bā^{a-ε}al-mo'l^εmalā^{εn}</i> I turn things over
<i>dā^{a-t'}mū^ugal-le'uⁱliwin</i> I shall shake shells in my ears	<i>dā^{a-t'}mū^ugal-lewe'^εliwi^{εn}</i> I shook shells in my ears 122.2
<i>ha-u-gwen-yu'n^εyinin</i> I shall gobble them down	<i>ha-u-gwen-yunu'^εyini^{εn}</i> I gobbled them down (cf. <i>yut!uyad-</i> above)

The stem syllable of verbs of Type 13 *b*, when bearing the stress, naturally have the falling accent.

Examples of Type 13 *c* are not common and have also by-forms of Type 13 *a*:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>gwida'k'w^dan</i> I shall throw it (a inorganic)	<i>gwidī'k'w^dā^{εn}</i> I threw it (122.13); cf. <i>ī-gwidigwidī'^{εn}</i> (108.21)
	<i>lobo'lp'na^{εn}</i> I used to pound them; cf. <i>lobo'lap'na^{εn}</i> (57.14)

It is very probable that the *-a-* in the second member of reduplicated stems (Types 12 and 13) is the inorganic *-a-* we have already met with. Its persistence, even in cases where the otherwise resulting phonetic combination is a possible one, may be ascribed to the analogic influence of the probably larger number of cases where its presence is phonetically necessary.

TYPE 14. Verb-stem *v + c*; aorist *v + c + v + n*. The *-n* of the few verbs that make up this class is probably a petrified derivative element, yet it must be considered as characteristic of the aorist stem in an even more formal sense than, for example, the aoristic *-i-* of Type 4. The only examples that have been found are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>xēp'de^e</i> I shall do so (110.22)	<i>xebeñt'e^e</i> I did so (14.10; 168.10)
<i>waīt'e^e</i> I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14)	<i>wayānt'e^e</i> I slept (188.22)
<i>gwen-p'lik'wan</i> (= <i>-p'liy-</i>) I shall lie on pillow	<i>gwen-p'liyīnk'wa^en</i> I lay on pillow
<i>p!ē'ēt'</i> he will be lying down	<i>p!eyēnt'e^e</i> I was lying down 71.5 146.9

The last verb seems to insert a *-y-* in the aorist, between the *-e-* of the verb-stem and that of the aoristic addition, in the manner of verbs of Type 9*b*. In regard to vocalic quantity these verbs differ among themselves. The verb-stem of all but *wai-* is long in vocalism. The first vowel of the aorist stem is short in every case, the repeated vowel is sometimes short (*xeben-*, *p!iyin-*), sometimes long (*wayā^an-*) *p!eye^en-*. The stressed stem vowel bears a rising accent.

The *-n* of *wayā^an-* and *p!eye^en-* is eclipsed before a catch in the third person:

waya'e^e he slept 152.22; 154.6
p!eye'e^e he was lying down 49.5

but:

xebe'e^en he did it 78.9; 118.14

The loss of the *-n* takes place also in the third person aorist of *yā^an-*go (Type 5). Thus:

ya'e^e he went 15.3, 11; 59.1; 92.26

subordinate form *yā'ada^e* 58.8 and (rarely) *yā'anda^e* WHEN HE WENT.

TYPE 15. Verb-stem { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---as} \end{smallmatrix}$ }; aorist stem $\bar{v}i$. The ending $\bar{v}i$, found in a considerable number of verbs of position, is not, properly speaking, a stem-forming element at all, as shown by the fact that

suffixed elements may intervene between it and the base; yet, being wanting in the non-aorist forms of many verbs, it has something of the appearance of such. The non-aoristic *-as-* of a few verbs has absolutely no appreciable derivative force, and may be regarded as a purely formal element characterizing the non-aorist forms of the verb. As examples of Type 15*a* may be given:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
s'a'sant'e° I shall stand (cf. 23.6)	s'as'inīt'e° I stand (34.1; 77.9)
s'u°alt'e° I shall sit (55.11; 186.21)	s'u°wilit'e° I sat (21.1; 178.21)
k'e'p'alt'e° I shall be long absent	k'ebilit'e° I was long absent (124.20)
lāp'de° I shall become (92.11; 166.14)	lā'lit'e° I became (see also Type 10 <i>a</i>) 186.19

Of examples of Type 15*b* may be mentioned:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dink!a'sdā° it will lie stretched out	dink!i it lies stretched out
t!obaga'sdā° he will lie like one dead (148.8)	t!obigī he lay like one dead

This non-aoristic *-as-* seems to occur also in:

da-sma-ima'sde° I shall smile	da-smayam he smiled
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which otherwise belongs to Type 2 or 3 (if the second *-m-* is part of the base).

TYPE 16. Verb-stem $v + c + c_1 + i$; aorist $v + c + v + c_1$. This type embraces only an inconsiderable number of verbs. They are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dī-k!a'lside° I shall be lean in my rump	dī-k!ala'sna°n I am lean in my rump 102.22
gwel-sal-t!e'lside° I shall be lean in legs and feet	gwel-sal-t!eyēsna°n I have no flesh on my legs and feet 102.22

Several verbs of position that show an *-ī-* in the aorist show an *-i-* in non-aorist forms. Whether this *-i-* is merely a shortened form of the aoristic *-ī-*, or identical with the non-aoristic *-i-* of verbs of Type 16, is doubtful; but, in view of the absence of the *-ī-* in non-aoristic forms of verbs of Type 15, the latter alternative seems more probable. Such verbs are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>dā-sga'lit'ā^a</i> it will lie scattered about	<i>dā-sgalī</i> it lies scattered about
<i>p'ildi't'ā^a</i> flat thing will lie	<i>p'ildi</i> flat thing lies
<i>t'ge'its'!idā^a</i> round thing will lie	<i>t'geits'!i</i> round thing lies (138.24)
<i>s'eini't'ā^a</i> it will lie with opening on top (like box)	<i>s'einī</i> it lies with opening on top
<i>s'u'k'didā^a</i> it will lie curled up	<i>s'ugwidi</i> it lies curled up
<i>wi'εk'didā^a</i> it will lie heaped about	<i>wik!idi</i> it lies heaped about

Of similar appearance, though the aorist (not the future) is transitive in form, is:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>dā^a-sgε'k!it'e^e</i> I shall listen	<i>dā^a-sgεk!iya'εⁿ</i> I listened (third person <i>dā^a-sgεk!i</i> 102.8)

In speaking of verbs of Types 15 and 16, the terms verb-stem and aorist stem are used in a purely relative sense, the portions of the listed forms printed in Roman characters not being really on a par with those similarly marked in the first fourteen classes. These last two types have significance as such only in so far as certain elements of an essentially derivative character (*-iⁱ-*, *-i-*, *-as-*) are at the same time formal means of distinguishing aorist from non-aorist forms. It is not difficult to show that in several cases these elements are themselves preceded by non-radical elements.

One or two aorists have been found in the material obtained that can not be well classified under any of the sixteen types illustrated above. They are:

gwen-xoxog[w]a'εⁿ I string (salmon) together (=fully reduplicated *xogxog-*; otherwise to be analyzed as *xoxo-g-* of Type 10 a) 74.14
sal-s'ā^axs'ix he slid

This latter verb with its mysterious *iⁱ* in the repeated syllable is absolutely without known parallel. Irregular is also the defective verb *ei-* BE (see §60, fourth footnote).

3. Verbal Suffixes of Derivation (§§ 41-58)

§ 41. GENERAL REMARKS

Although the absolute number of non-pronominal suffixes in the verb is considerable (almost or quite thirty), the number of those that have a well-defined, more or less transparent signification is not large (hardly more than a dozen or so) when compared with what

one is accustomed to in certain other American languages. Of these, barely one or two (a frequentative and a comitative) can be said to convey anything like a material notion, the rest being of the more or less formal or relational character met with in suffixes of inflective languages—intransitivizing elements, causative, reflexive, passive, reciprocal, and others of less easily described signification. Those suffixes that have no clearly defined value may be put in a class by themselves as “petrified” suffixes, the justification for such a classification being purely descriptive; genetically they probably form a heterogeneous group.

§ 42. PETRIFIED SUFFIXES

In speaking of verbs of Types 2 and 3, it was pointed out that in a large number of cases certain consonants that one would naturally be inclined to consider part of the verb-stem could be shown by more careful analysis to be really of a suffixal character. The criteria for such a suffix are partly, as was there indicated, the existence of evidently related forms in which the consonant is lacking, partly certain phonetic features. In a considerable number of cases different suffixes are found joined to the same verbal base, yet hardly ever determining so specific a meaning that their primary signification can be detected. The following examples,

t'geits'!ɿ something round lies (138.24)

t'geyeba'εn I roll it

t'ge^εya'lxde^ε I run around

al-t'geye't'giya^εn I tie it around (my head) 188.5

wi^ε-i-t'geye'^εk!in he is surrounded on all sides 48.13

evidently all contain the same radical element or base (*t'gey-*), which has reference to circular action or position. The suffixes *-ts'!*-, *-b-*, and *-k!-*, however, can not be shown to be directly responsible for the specific meanings of the different forms, these being determined chiefly, it would seem, by the succeeding suffixes, the prefixes, and the general form (transitive or intransitive) of the verb. Similarly, the forms *he^{εε}-sgaya'pxde^ε* I LIE DOWN, *da-sgaya-na'εn* I LIE DOWN, and possibly also *da-sgalɿ* IT LIES SCATTERED ABOUT (LIKE GRAIN), contain the same radical element (*sga[y]*-); but, as in the examples first cited, the abstracted suffixes *-p-*, *-n-*, and *-l-*, refuse to yield anything tangible. The stems *galb-* TWIST and *gelg-* TWIRL FIRE-DRILL are very probably related, though neither

the difference in vowel nor the use of different consonants can be explained. The same difficulty is met with in *dí'nik! a^{en} I STRETCHED IT OUT* (62.1) and *bā^a-díní't! a^{en} I HUNG THEM ON LINE* (59.9). In some cases a difference of suffix is associated with a difference of direction of verbal action, transitive and intransitive. Thus we have:

al-ts!ayaga'^{en} I wash him (64.5): *al-ts!ayāp'de^e I wash myself*
(not reflexive in form)

p!alaga'^{en} I relate a myth to him: *p!ala'p'de^e I relate a myth*
ts!ayama'^{en} I hide it (124.23): *ts!ayāp'de^e I hide*

The various petrified suffixes found will be listed with examples under each.

1. **-b-**. There seem to be two quite distinct **-b-** suffixes, one characteristic of transitives, the other of a certain group of intransitives. Examples of transitive **-b-** are:

t'geyeba'^{en} I roll it (base *t'gey-*), with secondarily intransitive derivative:

al-t'geya'px it is round (literally, it rolls)

he^{ee}-sgaya'pxde^e I lie down (derived, like *al-t'geya'px*, from some such transitive as **he^{ee}-sgayaba'^{en} I lay it down flat*, that, however, does not happen to occur in the material at hand)

de^e-v-gene'p'gwa he lay curled up like dog (also *-geneūk'wa*)

galaba'^{en} I twist it by rolling (cf. *gelg-* twirl fire-drill)

sgilpx warm your back! (seems to imply **sgī'lba'n* I shall warm his back) (25.8, 9)

All intransitives in **-b-** (**-p'-**), whether or not secondarily derived from transitives, belong to that class of verbs to be later discussed as Intransitive Verbs, Class II. Among those with primarily intransitive **-p'-** are:

al-ts!ayāp'de^e I washed my face

ts!ayāp'de^e I hid

p!ala'p'de^e I tell a myth

s'in-xinīxanp'de^e I sniff (cf. *xīn* mucus)

s'as'a'nhap'de^e I stand around (not trying to help anyone) (cf. *s'a's'ant'e^e I shall stand*)

s'in-wi'lī'k'ap'de^e I blow my nose

bā^a-s'o'wō^{ue}k'ap'de^e I jump up (48.15; 49.1)

A number of Class II intransitive verbs show a suffixed **-p'-** in all forms but the aorist. It is not possible to say whether this **-p'-** is morphologically identical with the **-p'-** of verbs like

ts!ayãp'de^e or not, but such seems likely. Intransitives with non-aoristic *-p'* are:

lãp'de^e I shall become (92.11) (aorist *lã^alüt'e^e*) 186.19

sana'p'de^e I shall fight (aorist *sã^ansa'nt'e^e* [184.13])

tgãnp'de^e I shall be cold (aorist *t'gunãk'de^e* [90.3])

Finally, all Class II intransitives have a *-p'* before the formal elements in the first person plural and impersonal of the aorist and future and in the imperative and inferential modes:

s'as'inãp'ik' we stand

s'a's'anp'ia^{ue}t' they (indef.) will stand

s'a's'anp' stand!

s'a's'anp'anp' do ye stand!

s'a's'anp'ga^em stand! (future)

s'a's'anp'k' he stood, it seems

There is small doubt, however, that this *-p'* is quite distinct from the non-aoristic *-p'* of verbs like *lãp'de^e*, which occurs in the entire future. A form like *lãp'* BECOME! is in that event perhaps to be analyzed as *lã^a-p'-p'*, the first *-p'* being the non-aoristic element found also in *lãp'de^e*, while the second *-p'* is identical with the imperative-inferential *-p'* of *s'a's'anp'*. This analysis is purely theoretical, however, as contraction to a single *-p'* is unavoidable in any case.

2. *-p!-*. This consonant is evidently a suffixed element in:

ha^e-ĩ-hũ'lũp'ĩⁿ I skinned them (cf. *ha^e-ĩ-hũ'lũ^ũhal* they skinned them all 160.5)

3. *-m-*. Apparently as transitive element *-m-* appears in:

ts!ayama'ēⁿ I hide it (124.23) (cf. *ts!ayãp'de^e* I hide [24.2])

As intransitive suffix it appears in:

t'gisi'ē^m it gets green

xudũmt'e^e I whistle (base *xud-*; related to *xdeĩt'* flute [?]) (33.16)

ts!us:ũmt'e^e I make noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip (78.9,10,12; 79.1,3,5; 96.9,10,12)

It may not be altogether accidental that the latter two verbs both express the making of a noise. This idea is found expressed also in:

ts!eleĩmt'e^e I rattle (102.13) (cf. *ĩ-ts!ele'ts!iliēⁿ* I rattle it)

but the *-m-* of this verb may be really an older *-n-* dissimilated to *-m-* because of the preceding *-l-*. The *-m-* corresponds to an evidently identical suffixed *-am-* of the related noun *ts!ela^m*

HAIL 152.12,16.

4. *-d-*, *-t-* seems to be found only with transitive verbs:

wā^ahimida^ʔen I speak to him (but with unexpressed object

wā^ahimi^ʔxade^ʔ I was talking [to somebody]) (59.16; 63.10)

dak^ʔ-hene^ʔda^ʔen I wait for him (cf. *hene^ʔxade^ʔ* I wait)

k!ūyūmida^ʔen I call his name from distance, greet him (198.11)
(probably derivative of *k!ū^ʔyam* friend! 31.6, 8)

s^ʔomoda^ʔen I cook it (58.10) (cf. *s^ʔūmū^ʔxade^ʔ* I cook)

ts^ʔ!ūmūmt^ʔa^ʔen I cook it (170.17, 19); future *s^ʔūmt^ʔan¹* (170.16)
(cf. *s^ʔūmxi^ʔ* stirring paddle 170.14)

dā^a-minīk^ʔda^ʔen I taught him; future *dā^a-miñt^ʔan*

lawadana^ʔen I hurt him (186.12)

yamada^ʔen I ask him (70.6; 74.10; 120.16)

wiyimada^ʔen I "wish" to him, work supernatural power on him
(57.1)

mīlī^ʔda^ʔen I love her

xā^ʔ-ī-ts^ʔ!iwi^ʔts^ʔ!au he split it (26.6) (cf. *ī-ts^ʔ!iwi^ʔts^ʔ!au* he split it up)

It will be noticed that most of the verbs listed imply, not direct physical action, but rather the direction of one's thought or words toward another person. It is therefore highly probable that the *-d-* (except possibly in *s^ʔomd-* cook) is identical with the *-d-* implied in the *-s-* (= *-tx-*) of the indirect object (§ 47). Unlike the *-d-* here discussed, however, the *-s-* of the indirect object can be used only if the indirect object is not of the third person. It is clear that *-d-* is not really quite in line with the other suffixes that we have termed "petrified," this being shown, among other things, by the fact that it may be preceded by other suffixes, as in *dā^a-minīk^ʔ-da^ʔen*.

Evidently quite distinct from this indirective *-d-* suffix is the *-(a)d-* suffix of a few intransitive class II verbs in which the *-d-* is followed by *-ī-* in aorist, *-i-* in non-aorist forms (see § 40, 16). This aoristic *-ad-* appears always unlauted to *-id-*.

cugwidī^ʔ-, non-aorist *cuk^ʔdī-* lie curled up

wīk^ʔidī^ʔ-, non-aorist *wī^ʔk^ʔdī-* lie heaped about

t^ʔgup^ʔidī (box, canoe) lies bottom side up

5. *-t!-*. This consonant has been found as an evident suffix in:

bā^a-dī^ʔnīt!ana^ʔen I strung (dentalia) on line (59.9) (cf. *dink!-* stretch out)

t^ʔgemēt^ʔlia^{us} it gets dark 188.14 (cf. *t^ʔge^ʔmt^ʔga^ʔm^ʔx* it is quite dark [cf. 196.7]; *alt^ʔge^ʔm* black 162.4; [196.6])

¹ *s^ʔom-d-* and *s^ʔūm-t^ʔa-* are parallel forms of one verb that seem to be used with no difference in meaning, though their aorist stems are formed according to different types.

6. **-g-, -k'-.** As in the case of **-b-**, it seems advisable to recognize two distinct **-g-** suffixes, the one appearing as a transitivizing element, the other as a verb-making element added on to nouns or adjectives. Examples of its transitive use are:

p!alaga'εn I tell him a myth

al-ts!ayaga'εn I wash him (64.5)

p!i'wa-gelegi'εn I drill for fire with it (88.12)

i-k!us'gi'xink' he will pinch me (116.8,12) (cf. *i-k!us'ū'k!was'i* he always pinches me)

da-t!abaga'εn I finish it (61.8; 176.6)

dā^a-dalaga'mdaⁿ I put holes in his ear (22.1) (cf. *dā^a-dele'p'i* he stuck it across his ear)

swadāt'gaⁿ I run after him (59.13; 75.3; 120.19, 20)

Examples of its use in adjectival intransitives are:

t'ūwū'εk' he feels hot, it is hot 94.15 (cf. *t'ū* hot 57.15)

dūwū'εk' it is good, he does right 180.11 (cf. *dū* good, beautiful 58.7,8)

t'gunūk'de^ε I feel cold (90.3) (cf. *t'gūnp'ia^{uεt'}* it will be cold)

xuma'k'de^ε I shall be full, satiated (128.11) (cf. *xu'ma* food 54.4 and *s'ix-xu'm* dried venison 43.12,13)

gel-dulu'k'de^ε I am lazy

Further examples of **-k'-** that are difficult to classify are:

de-līmū'sgade^ε I tell the truth (184.3)

s'in-wilik'ap'dam you blow your nose

yala'k'de^ε I dive (connected with *yal-* lose [?]) (60.10,11; 61.11)

In *wa-t'ilik'niⁿ* I GAVE EACH ONE (130.4) (future *wa-dīlnhin*) and in the morphologically analogous *dā^a-minik'daⁿ* I TAUGHT HIM (future *dā^aminīt'an*), the **-k'-** is confined to the aorist. In *wēt'gi* HE TOOK IT FROM HIM 16.13, the **-g-** is found only in the third personal object of the various tense-modes (*wēt'gin* IT WAS TAKEN FROM HIM 13.11; *wede'k'ink'* HE WILL TAKE IT FROM HIM (17.10,11). All other forms of the aorist stem *wed-* (verb-stem *wede-*) lack it:

wəsi (from **wēt'si*) he took it from me (17.3)

wede'sbink' he will take it from you (16.10,11)

7. **-k!-, -k!w-.** These elements seem to be characteristic of transitives. Examples are:

wi^ε-i-t'ge'ye'k!in he is surrounded on all sides (transitives and passives are closely related) 48.5,13; (176.14)

al-p!iⁱ-ts!u'luk!iⁿ I burn it (73.9,12; 96.26) (cf. *al-p!iⁱ-ts!u'l-ts!alhip'* do ye burn it! 198.10)

dī^ε-ī-sgū'yūk^hīⁿ I make it fall (48.7,8,12)

he^{εε}-de-le'lek^hīⁿ I finish talking 50.4

dī'nik^hāⁿ I stretch it out (see under suffix *-t^h-*) (59.9; 62.1)

he'yek^hīⁿ I left it over (61.7; 196.8)

p^h!ūwū'uk^hāⁿ I name him (158.5) (cf. *p^h!ū'wūp^h!ausi* he keeps calling me)

ts^h!inī'ek^h he pinched it 31.1; (32.7)

ba-i-yunu'k^hīⁿ I pull it out forcibly

he^{εε}-ī-le'mek^hīⁿ I killed them off (14.13; 43.1; 108.20)

ī-go'yok^hīⁿ I pushed him (49.2) (cf. *ī-goyogiyi'ēⁿ* I kept pushing him)

ba-i-s'in-xi'lik^h!wiⁿ I blow my nose (cf. *xīn* mucus)

p^h!a-i-t'gwili'k^h!wanaⁿ I spill (water, blood) (58.1; 72.8) (cf. *t'gwili't'gwal^ε* it keeps dropping)

-k^h!- seems to occur also in the perhaps only secondarily intransitive:

bā^a-s'owō^{us}k^h!ap^hde^ε (= *-s'owō'uk^h!-hap^h-*) I jump up (48.15; 49.1)
(cf. *s'owō^{us}!a^{us}* he keeps jumping [112.5,10])

8. *-ts^h!*-. Only in a very few cases is this suffixed consonant met with:

t'geits^h!i round thing lies (138.24)

dī^h-t'gumu'te^hīⁿ I squeeze and crack it (cf. *dī^h-t'gumu't'gimiⁿ* I squeeze and crack many insects)

yowō'us he starts 186.10; *yowō'uts!anaⁿ* I cause him to start

ha-yau-t'ge'nets^hīⁿ I put it about my waist

ha^εw-i-ha'nats^hīⁿ I made it stop (raining) (152.16)

Judging from these few examples, *-ts^h!*- is characteristic, like *-b-*,

-g-, *-p^h!*-, *-k^h!*-, and *-t^h!*-, of transitive verbs; *t'geits^h!i* is probably

related to a transitive **t'ge'yets^h!āⁿ*, as is *dīnk^h!i* IT LIES

STRETCHED OUT to *dī'nik^hāⁿ*.

-s- occurs as an evident suffix in:

dī^h-t'īsi'ēⁿ I mashed them (cf. *dī^h-t'īyi't!īyaⁿ* I mashed them one after another)

9. *-(a)l-*. This suffix includes both intransitives and transitives:

al-gesegasa'lt^ε I was washing

k^hēbilūt^ε I was long absent (124.20)

s^uēwilūt^ε I sit (21.1); 72.9; (178.21)

yamlūt^ε I look pretty ([?]=fat, sleek; cf. *ya'mx* fat, grease 54.5)

al-we'k^h!alaⁿ I shine (126.3; 128.14)

ī-t'wī'yili'ēⁿ I make it whirl up

ī-k^h!e^εwili'ēⁿ I whirl it around

ī-t'ge^εyili'ēⁿ I roll it around

al-t'gī^hya'lx (tears) roll down his face 138.25

bā^ε-ī-t'gwā^ε!a'lx (children) run about

k^hewe'k^h!awa^εl he barks

de-gūlū'k^h!alx it was blazing 188.15

The idea of unbroken continuity is fairly evidently shown by these examples to be connected with the suffix *-(a)l-*.

10. *-(a)n-*. Quite a number of intransitives are found that have this element, to which no particular meaning can be assigned.

Such are:

s'as'inīt'e^ε I stand (34.1; 77.9; 144.14,17)

moyūgwa'nt'e^ε I'm spoiled

hū^uli'nt'e^ε I am tired (102.1) (cf. *hū^uhilit'e^ε* I used to be tired [48.11])

lignt'e^ε I am resting (100.14) (cf. *ligilaga'nt'* he kept resting 102.1)

In a large number of transitives a suffixed *-n-* is also found, without its being clearly possible to identify it either with the causative *-n-* or the indirect objective *-n(an)-* FOR:

lawadana'eⁿ I hurt him (186.12)

ts'ibina'eⁿ I make a speech to him (146.11; 178.11)

wa-t'ilik'ni'eⁿ I gave each one (130.4)

k!emna'n I shall make it (28.2,13,14) (aorist without object *k!eme'nxa^ε* he makes)

wa^ε-ū^ugwini'eⁿ I drink it with it (*ū^ugwa'nxde^ε* I drink)

he^ε-wa^ε-wā^agini'n she is bought with it

The last two examples are rather different in character from the others. See § 64.

11. *-w-*. Two apparently quite distinct *-w-* suffixes must be taken account of.

- (1) A suffixed *-w-* is found to characterize in all forms a group of intransitives belonging to Type 2; it is only in certain derivative forms that the *-w-* is lacking, and thereby possibly shown to be a non-radical element:

hiwiliūt'e^ε I ran to (24.1), but *hiwilit'e^ε* I used to run to

sgeleūt'e^ε I shouted (196.1), but *sgelelt'e^ε*¹ I kept shouting (59.3)

Examples of this group of verbs are:

Aorist
sgele'ue^ε he shouted 59.4; 90.8

hiwili'ue^ε he ran to 47.1; 70.7

bili'ue^ε he jumped 48.9; 58.3

de-wiliwa'lda'n I fight him (derivative of intransitive) (27.3)

hili'ue^ε he climbed (77.8)

Future (non-aorist)
sgelwa'et' he will shout

hiwilwa'et' he will run to (136.21)

bilwa'et' he will jump (160.16)

de-wilwa'ldan I shall fight him (33.2,3)

hilwa'et' he will climb

¹ Still, in these frequentative (usitative) forms the absence of the *-w-* may be accounted for by supposing that it dropped off as a syllabic final after a consonant (see § 18). Then *sgelēlt'e^ε* is for an older **sgelēlt'ue^ε*. This supposition is greatly strengthened by the future *sgelwa'lt'e^ε* I'LL KEEP SHOUTING (cf. *sgelwada'ε* YOU WILL SHOUT).

In non-aoristic forms the phonetic conditions may, as usual, necessitate an inorganic *-a-*:

ge wila'u run there! (29.10)

sgela'ut'e I shall shout

bila'ut'e I shall jump (160.17)

In these cases the evidence for the suffixal character of the *-w-* is rather slim. In one verb, however, it has a clearly intransitivizing influence:

t!emeyana'u (second *a* inorganic) he goes with woman to see her married 148.6 : *t!amayana'en* I take her to her husband (148.5)

t!emeya'nwia they (indef.) go with her to see her married 178.1

- (2) *-w-* (*-aw-* after a consonant in the aorist) is characteristic of all tense-modes but, in some cases, the present imperative and inferential (probably for phonetic reasons, see §§ 11 and 18) of a number of transitive verbs, provided the object is of the third person. Such verbs are:

gayawa'en I eat it 30.11 (*gayaū* he ate it 54.5); future *ga-iwa'n* 128.18; noun of agent *ga-iwa's* eater (of it) 94.3; but imperative *gaṛ* eat it! 32.4; *gaṛk'* he ate it (inferential) 142.19

al-sgalawi'en I turn my head to look at him; future *sgālwi'n*; part. *sgala'uk'* (*-a'* is inorganic) 144.17; but *sgālk'a* I looked at him turning my head (inferential)

al-sgalāliwi'en (Type 8) I keep turning my head to look at him; future *sgalwalwi'n*; but *sgelēlxi* he keeps turning his head to look at me

ba-i-de-yegiwida'e you will drive (sickness) out of (body) 198.4,5; imperative *-yega'u*

wāgiwi'en I brought it to him (176.17); future *wagawi'n*; but *wāga'sbi'n* I brought it to you (194.11)

lāla'uhi he caused them to become (*lāal-* become) 43.1

It is very likely that the absence of the *-w-* is conditioned, at least in certain forms, rather by phonetic than by morphologic motives (*gaṛ* from **gaṛw*; *sgālk'a* from **sgālwk'a*). This is rendered plausible by a form like *ga-iwawa'lsbink'* THEY WILL ALWAYS EAT YOU 26.8 (repetition of *-w-* in frequentative as in *al-sgalwalwi'n*), in which the object is not of the third person. The *-w-* seems to have been retained here because of the following vowel. The form *wāga'en* I BROUGHT IT (110.17) as com-

pared with *wā^agiwi'ēn* I BROUGHT IT TO HIM. (future *waga'n*: *wagawi'n*) suggests that the signification of the *-w-* in transitive verbs is to indicate the indirect object, at least for the third person. It is, however, almost certainly accidental that *wā^agiwi'ēn* stands by the side of *wā^aga'sbiēn* with *-s-* to indicate the indirect object. That *-w-* is not the morphologic equivalent of *-s-* is evidenced by the fact that it stands also by the side of the transitive connective consonant *-x-* (cf. *al-sgalawi'ēn*: *al-sgala'xbiēn* I TURN MY HEAD TO LOOK AT YOU). It must be confessed that after all no very distinct signification can be attached to either the intransitive or transitive *-w-*.

12. **Constant -a.** A number of verbs whose stem (including petrified suffix) ends in two consonants add to this stem an *-a* that appears in all their forms, even though the consonant combination is one that may stand in a final position (cf. footnote, § 10). No reason can be assigned for the retention of the *-a* in all forms, except the ruling analogy of the aorist; in this tense-mode the *-a* is in all probability directly due to the consonant-cluster, as the aorist verb-forms to be presently given differ in this very respect from the aorist forms of other stems ending in two consonants (e. g., non-aorist *s'ū^ümt'a*- BOIL with constant *-a*-, though ending in a finally permissible consonant-cluster, because of aorist *ts'!üm^ümt'a*;- contrast non-aorist *s'omd*- BOIL without *-a*- because of aorist *s'omod*-). The following are examples of verbs of the character described:

Aorist	Non-aorist
<i>swadāt'ga</i> he followed him 75.3	<i>swa't'ga</i> follow him!
<i>mats!āsga</i> he always put it 132.9	<i>masga'</i> put it! 104.5
<i>ts'!üm^ümt'a</i> he boils it 30.2	<i>s'ū^ümt'a</i> boil it!
<i>dā^a-minik'da</i> he taught him	<i>dā^a-miñt'a</i> teach him! (contrast <i>wā^ahmt'</i> talk to him! with aorist <i>-himid</i> -)

If the verb is instrumental in vocalism (see § 64), the constant *a* is replaced by the instrumental *i*. Thus:

ī-k!os'ōs'gi he keeps pinching him

That this constant *-a* is felt to be somewhat different in character from ordinary inorganic or connective *-a-* (as in *ts'!ela'mt'e** or *wā^aga'sbiēn*) is shown by the fact that it is changed to *-i-* when-

ever the object is not of the third person, in reciprocals, in reflexives, and in verbs with non-agentive *-x-*:

swedət'gixi he followed me

dā^a-minik'dixbi he taught you

yowō^{'uε}snixbi^{εn} I cause you to start (but parallel *yowō^{'uts}!anxbi^{εn}* with connecting *a*)

wayānhixbi^{εn} I put you to sleep; *wānhixigam* I was put to sleep

ī-k'ūs'ūs'gixi he keeps pinching me; *ī-k'ūs'gi'xink'* he will pinch me

ī-t!ene'hisdam you hold me 86.13,14.

ī-lasgi'xant'p' touch one another!

ī-lesgi'k'wit' touching himself

bā^a-t'ek!ēlhixde^ε I keep bobbing up (60.11,13,14)

§ 43. FREQUENTATIVES AND USITATIVES

Frequentatives, continuatives, and usitatives are formed from simpler verb forms in great part by various methods of repetition of all or part of the phonetic material of the stem, to a somewhat less extent by means of suffixation. In many repetitive forms a distinct tendency to use a long vowel provided with a rising pitch-accent is observable. As it has not been found feasible to draw anything like sharp lines between the exact significations of the various repetitive forms, it seems best to dispose of the material from a purely formal point of view rather than to attempt to classify it rigidly into frequentatives, iteratives, usitatives, and continuatives. The methods of forming repetitives will be taken up in order.

1. *Type 13 of Stem-Formation.* It was remarked before that most verbs of this type normally employed in that form are such as to imply a repetition of the action they express. The type may, moreover, be freely formed from bases implying non-repetitive action whenever it is desired to convey a general frequentative or usitative meaning. The frequentative idea may have reference to the repetition of the act itself (iterative or usitative) or to the plurality of the transitive object or intransitive subject affected (distributive); any sharp characterization of the manner of the frequentative action in each case is, however, doubtless artificial apart from the context. The following examples of repetitive with corresponding non-repetitive forms will illustrate the general frequentative force:

Non-repetitive verb-stem	Repetitive
<i>lebe-</i> pick up and eat (seeds)	<i>le^epⁱlapⁱ</i> (non-aorist) pick and eat many (seeds)! 34.2
<i>loho-n-</i> cause to die	<i>lohoⁱlahanaⁿ</i> I used to kill them
<i>wog-</i> arrive	<i>wogowaⁱakⁱ</i> many arrived 112.2
<i>t!oxox-</i> (aorist) gather	<i>wa^e-i-t!oxoⁱt!ixiⁿ</i> I used to gather them
<i>dō^ux-</i> (non-aorist)	<i>wa^e-i-dō^uxda^{xk}</i> they have been gathering them (inferential)
<i>hen-d-</i> wait for	<i>heneⁱhandaⁿ</i> I always used to wait for him
<i>odo-</i> hunt for	<i>odoⁱatⁱ</i> she always hunted for them 116.6
<i>og-</i> give to	<i>ogoⁱakⁱi</i> he always gave them 112.17
<i>dō^um-</i> kill	<i>dō^umdaⁱmkⁱ</i> he used to kill them (inferential) 25.1; 27.15
<i>wiⁱ-</i> go, travel	<i>wiyiwitⁱe^e</i> I used to go (there) (96.1)
<i>p!ā^ag-</i> swim	<i>p!agaⁱp!aⁱkⁱ</i> he used to swim
<i>tsⁱliu-d-</i> split	<i>xa^e-i-tsⁱliwⁱtsⁱ!au</i> he split it to pieces
<i>sgip!-</i> cut	<i>sgitⁱe^epⁱsgaⁱpⁱgam</i> they had been all cut up (21.2; 138.7)
<i>hül-p!-</i> skin, peel off bark	<i>he^e-i-hülⁱluhal</i> he kept peeling off bark (160.5)
<i>hog-</i> run	<i>hogoⁱhakⁱde^e</i> I am always run- ning
<i>he^el-</i> sing	<i>heleⁱhal^e</i> he used to sing
<i>al-hūi-x-</i> hunt	<i>al-hūyūⁱhūⁱx</i> he always hunted (-hū ⁱ = -hay-, §8) 86.1

It will be observed that the repetitive form is, on the whole, built up on the verbal base, not the verb or aorist stem. Thus, e. g., the verb-stems *lebe-* and *loho-* do not enter into the formation of the frequentatives at all, which are formed, according to Type 13a, directly from the simple bases *leb-* (verb-stem *le^epⁱlab-*, aorist *lebelab-*) and *loh-* (verb-stem *lohlah-*, aorist *loholah-*). Similarly, a form like *p!agaⁱp!aⁱkⁱ* shows no trace of the aorist stem *p!agai-* of the simplex; verbs of Type 6 generally show the fortis consonant of the base in all forms of the frequentative (see §40, 6): *sgotⁱoⁱsgidiⁿ* I CUT IT TO PIECES (144.2) (cf. *sgō^udaⁿ* I CUT IT 72.10, base *sgōt!*-

45.10). Suffixes with no distinct derivative signification drop off in the frequentative (cf. *ts'iu-d-* and *hül-p!* above, also §42 passim), but, if they are functional elements, are put after the reduplicated complex (cf. *loho-n-* and *hen-d-* above); frequentatives thus become, as was indicated in the treatment of petrified suffixes, criteria for the determination of the simple base. Some verbs, however, retain a petrified suffix in the frequentative without apparent reason: *ts'ümümt'a* HE BOILS IT; *ts'ümü'ts'amt'a* HE ALWAYS BOILS IT.

The only use made of the aorist stem in the formation of frequentatives is in the case of such forms as have an initial fortis in the aorist as against a media in the verb-stem, mainly verbs of Type 8. The aorist of the corresponding frequentative also shows the initial fortis, but is not otherwise influenced by the form of the aorist stem of its simplex; e. g., aorist of simplex, *t!oxox-*, but of frequentative, *t!ox-o-t!ax-* with retained *t!*-. Such verbs as aorist *t!oxot!ax*, non-aorist *dō^ux^adax-*, are to be considered as of mixed type (in this case partly 8, partly 13a).

Verbs like *odo^aad-* and *ogo^aag-* with a secondarily developed glottal catch in the aorist (see §6) seem to retain this catch in non-aorist forms, a stop + the catch resulting in a fortis:

aorist *ogo^aag-* always give to; non-aorist *o'k![w]ag-*

A small sub-class is formed by those frequentatives that omit the *-a-* of the repeated base (Type 13c). Such are:

Verb-stem	Repetitive
<i>wa-yanagwa'n</i> I shall run after him	<i>wa-yana-inagwa'^{en}</i> I used to run after him
<i>waīt'e^e</i> I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14)	<i>wayaūhide^e</i> I used to sleep (- <i>h-</i> conditioned by accent)
<i>he^l-yo^una'n</i> I shall sing a song (106.7)	<i>yonoina'^{en}</i> I always sing it
<i>waga'n</i> I shall bring it	<i>wagao'k'na^{en}</i> I used to bring it (? = * <i>wagawg-</i> , but see 4, footnote) (45.6)

A very peculiar type of frequentative formation is illustrated by:

loha'lhik' (*a'* is inorganic) they used to die (inferential) (168.9);

aorist stem doubtless *loholhi-*

derived from aorist *lohoi-* die, non-aorist *loho-* (contrast aorist *loho-lah-an-*, non-aorist *lohlah-an* in the causative). The otherwise purely aoristic *-i-* of Type 4 is here dragged into the non-aorist forms.

2. *Type 4 of Reduplication.* This method of forming the frequentative seems to be but a variant of the first (the repeated initial consonant coming last instead of immediately after the connecting vowel, or the initial consonant not being repeated at all if there is a petrified suffix), and is found in only a few verbs, where it takes the place of the first method. A glottal catch generally separates the repeated vowel of the stem from the immediately following *a*. Examples are:

Aorist stem	Repetitive
<i>k!eme</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} -n- \\ -i- \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ make	<i>k!eme'εamgaεn</i> I always make it (instead of <i>*k!eme'-k!amaεn</i>) (77.5); <i>k!emεa'mk'</i> (= <i>-εamg-k'</i> he used to make it (inferential) 122.18
<i>t!omom-</i> kill	<i>t!omo'amdaεn</i> I used to kill them (instead of <i>*t!omo'-t!amaεn</i>) (13.10; 54.3)
<i>k!ūwūw-</i> throw away (pl. obj.)	<i>k!ūwū'εaugaεn</i> I used to throw them away (instead of <i>*k!ūwū'k!awaεn</i>) (134.6)
<i>p!ūwū-k!-</i> call, name	<i>p!ūwū'εa-ugaεn</i> I keep calling his name (100.21) (instead of <i>*p!ūwū'p!auk!aεn</i> ; cf. <i>p!ū'wūp!aus'i</i> he keeps calling me by name)
<i>de-ts'!iniε-x-</i> (= <i>ts'!ini-k!-x-</i>) die	<i>de-ts'!inī'anx</i> he always died (instead of <i>*ts'!inī'ts'!anx</i>) 74.7
<i>leme-k!-</i> take along (cf. 108.10)	<i>leme'amk'</i> he used to take (everything) (instead of <i>*leme'lamk'</i>)

If the initial consonant is a fortis, it becomes a media when repeated, as illustrated in the first three examples. This may be explained by catch dissimilation (see §22)—e. g., a theoretical **k!ūwū'εauεk'* (from **k!ūwū'k!au*) is dissimilated to *k!ūwū'εauk'*. Similarly a theoretical **p!ūwū'εauεk'* (from **p!ūwū'p!auεk'*) is dissimilated to *p!ūwū'εauk'*. The non-aorist frequentative forms of these verbs sometimes follow the first method of formation (cf. *dōumda'mk'* under method 1), sometimes the second (as *k!emεamg-*).

3. *c+v+c₁+v+c.* The few verbs that belong here differ from the preceding in that they repeat only the initial consonant after the repeated stem-vowel (Type 11). An example is:

Aorist stem

dī-t!ūgūi- wear

Repetitive

dī-t!ūgū'et' he keeps wearing it, used to wear it

As in the first method, so also in the second and third, non-radical functionless elements of the simplex disappear in the frequentative. Thus the suffixed *-i-* of *k!emēi* HE MADE IT and *-n-* of *k!eme'nxa^e* HE MAKES, also the aorist characteristic of *dī-t!ūgūi* HE WORE IT, are not found in their corresponding frequentative forms.

4. *v + c + v' + c*. The large number of verbs whose frequentatives follow this formula (1a of types of reduplication) always have another consonant, whether part of the stem or a petrified suffix, after the non-fortis repeated consonant characterizing the frequentative, so that the appearance at least of infixation is often produced. Externally, frequentatives of this type resemble aorists of verbs of Type 8, but differ from them in the consistent length of the repeated vowel. In signification these verbs are generally continuative or usitative rather than properly frequentative or iterative. As examples may be given:

Aorist stem

k!os'o-g- pinch*himi-d-* talk to*baxam-* come*t!ūlū-g-* follow*al-sgal-aw-* turn head to look at*gaya-w-* eat*hene-d-* wait for*p!alag-* tell a myth*hem-g-* take out*ūyū's-* laugh*ts!ayag-* shoot*yilim-* ask for

Repetitive

ī-k!os'ōs'gi he is always pinching him*wā^a-himī'mda'en* I used to talk to him*baxāxmia^{us}* they keep coming (194.13)*ha-t!ūlū'lga'en* I keep following in (trail)*al-sgalā^{ali}wi'^{em}* I keep turning my head to look at them*gayāiwa'en* I used to eat it*hene'nda'en* I keep waiting for him*p!alā'lga'n* the myth is always told*ba-i-heme'mga'en* I always took them out*ūyū'^ēī's^{de}* (dissimilated from **ūyū'^ēī's⁻* [?]) I keep laughing*ts!ayaik'* he used to shoot them 154.14*yilī'nma'en* I keep asking for it (see § 21)

Aorist stem	Repetitive
<i>ts!aya-m-</i> hide	<i>ts!aya-ima'εn</i> I always hide it (134.8)
<i>gini-g</i> go to	<i>ginink'</i> they went there one after another 46.11
<i>mats!ag-</i> put	<i>mats!āsga</i> they always put it away 132.9
<i>wits'lim-</i> move	<i>wits'!ismade^ε</i> I keep moving
<i>sgelew-</i> shout	<i>sgelelt'e^ε</i> (see § 18) I keep shouting (59.3)
<i>hiwiliw-</i> run to	<i>hiwilit'e^ε</i> (see § 18) I keep running

The verb *yewei-* RETURN seems to form its frequentative according to method 4, but with added *-g-*:

yewè'ok' he used to come back 47.4; 116.2; *yewèoga't'* you used to come back; *yewèo'k'de^ε*, *yewèūk'de^{ε1}* I used to come back

There is not enough material available to determine in every case the non-aoristic forms of the frequentatives of this group. As a general rule, however, it seems that the non-aoristic stem of the frequentative is formed by repeating a consonant or semi-vowel, but in such a manner as to indicate the non-aoristic simplex back of it. Thus the frequentative of the inferential *ts!aimk'* HE HID IT is *ts!a-imik'* HE WAS ALWAYS HIDING IT; of *bil[à]uk'* HE JUMPED 160.17 it is *bilwàlk'* (? = **bilwàlwuk'*) THEY ALWAYS JUMPED 160.16. From *gark'* (inferential) HE ATE IT 142.19 is formed *gayark'* (if really inferential in form; perhaps third person subject aorist *gayai-g-* in contrast to *-gayāiw* of other persons, see above) HE USED TO EAT IT 54.6, which, though resembling the aorist in the repetition of the stem-vowel, differs from it, probably for phonetic reasons, in the absence of the *-w-*. The form *wits'!è's-made^ε* HE WILL KEEP MOVING, given as the future of *wits'!ismade^ε*, can not, for want of parallel forms, be accounted for. From *sgā²lw-*, non-aorist of *sgalaw-*, is formed the frequentative *sgalw-alw-* (perhaps according to Type 8, *lw-* being a consonantic unit).

5. Vowel lengthening. Many verbs, particularly such as belong to Type 2, obtain a usitative signification by merely lengthening the short repeated vowel of the stem, this vowel, when stressed, assuming the falling accent. Examples of this simple process are:

¹ It is not at all certain that the *-o-* (*-u-*) of these forms really represents the *-w-* of the stem. It is quite probable that there is a distinct type of frequentative in *repeated vowel + -og-*, in which case *wago'-k'na^{εn}* I USED TO BRING IT (see above under 1) would be another example.

Simplex	Repetitive
<i>yimĩ's'a^ε</i> he dreams	<i>yimĩ's'a^ε</i> he is always dreaming
<i>lūk!ũ'xa^ε</i> he sets traps	<i>lūk!ũ'xa^ε</i> he used to set traps
<i>geyewa'lxde^εda^ε</i> <i>ba-ik!iyi'εk'</i> when I ate he came	<i>geyewa'lxde^εda^ε</i> <i>ba-i-k!iyĩ'ie^εk'</i> whenever I used to eat he came
<i>k'ewe'k'awa^εl</i> he barks	<i>k'ewe'k'awa^εl</i> he is always bark- ing

As the last example shows, by this method verbs which are already frequentative in form can be made to take on a usitative meaning.

6. *ṽ* + (c+) *ha*. The accented vowel (*ṽ*) of frequentatives conforming to this formula is either the second vowel of the stem of the simplex or the repeated vowel of the stem not found in the simplex, and is followed by the last consonant (semi-vowel) of such verb-stems as end in two consonants. The forms that belong to this group seem in some cases to have rather a continuative than iterative force. Examples are:

Simplex	Repetitive
<i>lohōn</i> he caused them to die (100.8)	<i>lohōnha</i> he keeps killing them
<i>liwila'ut'e^ε</i> I looked (59.14)	<i>liwĩlhaut'e^ε</i> I kept looking (144.19)
<i>wō^ult'</i> she went for (wood) (non- aorist <i>woo-</i>) (162.8); 186.6	<i>wō^εō^uha</i> she used to go for wood 43.15; 158.18
<i>dā^a-sgek!ĩ</i> he listened 102.8	<i>dā^a-sgek!eĩha</i> he listened around 102.3
<i>dā^a-agani'εn</i> I heard it (55.3)	<i>dā^a-agānhi'εn</i> I used to hear about it
<i>s'u^εwilĩ</i> he sits, stays 21.1	<i>s'ũ'εalha^ε</i> they always stayed (to- gether) 112.2
	<i>s'ũ'εalhibik'</i> we always stay to- gether
<i>s'as'inĩt'e^ε</i> I stand (34.1)	<i>s'as'a'nhap'de^ε</i> I stand around

The last two examples do not show a rising pitch-accent, because the vowel (-a-) preceding the -l- and -n- respectively is inorganic and therefore incapable of carrying a rising or raised accent (cf. as parallel *bila'ut'e^ε* I SHALL JUMP, not **bilaūt'e^ε*, because of inorganic -a-). They also illustrate the loss in the frequentative of a non-radical element (-ĩ-) of the simplex; in *s'ũ'εalha^ε* the loss of the -ĩ- involves also the transfer of the verb to the first class of intransitives (second person singular, Class I, *s'ũ'εalhat'* YOU STAY AROUND; Class II, *s'u^εwilĩt'am* YOU SIT).

7. *ǃ + lha*. It is very probable that the verbs that belong here contain the continuative *-l-* treated under the head of petrified suffixes (see § 42, 9). The formula may then be considered morphologically identical with that listed as method 5, except that the continuative *-l-* is introduced before the *-ha*. Examples of this group are:

Aorist (or verb) stem	Repetitive
<i>t!oxox-</i> gather	<i>wa-^εǃ-t!oxǃlhi^εn</i> I always gather them
<i>(bā^a-t'ek!-x</i> emerge)	<i>bā^a-t'ek!ǃlhi^{xia^{uε}}</i> they all emerged 60.11
<i>(sgǃp!-</i> cut)	<i>bā^a-t'ek!ǃlhi^{xde^ε}</i> I keep emerging (60.14)
<i>k!ot'k!ad-</i> break	<i>xa-^εǃ-sgǃp!ǃlhi</i> he cut them all through 26.11
<i>(al-xǃk!-</i> see)	<i>xa-^εǃ-yā^a-k!odǃlhi</i> he always just broke them in two 29.1
<i>gwidǃi</i> (<i>k'ʷd-</i> throw	<i>al-xǃk!ǃlhi^εn</i> I used to see him
<i>(lok!-</i> trap)	<i>gwidǃlha</i> he kept throwing it (164.11)
	<i>lok!ǃlha</i> he was always trapping them 78.4; 100.4

The non-aoristic forms of these frequentatives dispense with the repeated vowel (*ǃ*) characteristic of the aorist, so that the introduction of an inorganic *-a'*- is necessitated:

gwidǃa'lan I shall keep throwing it
al-xǃk!a'lhik' I used to see him (inferential)

The remarks made under method 1 in regard to the formation of frequentatives directly from the verb-stem rather than the aorist stem apply also here (*sgot!ǃlha* 108.8 from verb-stem *sgǃt!-* CUT, aorist *sgǃǃd-*, like *sgot!o'sgat'*).

8. *v + w + v + lha*. Only two verbs have been found that follow this very irregular formula for the frequentative:

Simplex	Repetitive
<i>lǃp'</i> become! 25.2 } <i>lǃa'ǃē</i> it became 22.7 }	<i>lawa'lhǃp'</i> always become! (78.5) <i>dahǃxa lawa'lhida^ε</i> whenever it became evening 44.1; 78.6
<i>lǃigwa'^εn</i> I fetch (game) home (70.3,5; 164.4)	<i>liwi'lhagwa'^εn</i> I always come home with (game) (136.2)

The latter of these shows at the same time an unaccountable loss of the *-g-* of the stem; the future of the simplex, *lǃi'gwa'n*, probably does not exhibit an absolute loss of the *-g-*, but rather a contraction of *lǃi'g-gw-* to *lǃi'gw-*.

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 44-51)

§ 44. General Remarks

Under this head may be conveniently listed a number of suffixes that either transitiveize intransitives (causative, comitative, indirective -*amd-*, -*ald-*) or are characteristic of transitive verbs (indirective -*s-* = -*tx-* TO, indirective -*an(an)-* FOR, indirect reflexive). It must be confessed, however, that the various suffixes may be so thoroughly interwoven among themselves and with the purely formal elements that follow, that a certain amount of arbitrariness can hardly be avoided in treating of them. The suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 45. Causative -(*a*)*n-*

Causatives are formed from intransitives by the addition of -*n-* to the intransitive form, minus, of course, its formal pronominal elements. If the final sound preceding the -*n-* is a vowel, the suffix can be directly appended, the vowel being generally lengthened; a final consonant (or semivowel), however, generally, though not always, requires a connective -*a-* (-*i* when umlauted) between it and the suffix; doublets (with and without connective -*a-*) sometimes occur, the combination of consonant + -*n-* then taking a constant -*a* (-*i*) after it. If the accented vowel (*â*) of the aorist immediately precedes the -*n-* in all forms, an inorganic -*h-* must be introduced, the combination -*nh-* then necessitating a following constant -*a*; doublets, conditioned by the position of the accent, here also occur. Certain suffixed elements (-*i-*, -*ĩ-*) characteristic of intransitives drop off before the causative -*n-*, yet in some forms they are retained; intransitivizing elements naturally remain, for without them the verb would itself be transitive and incapable of becoming a causative. The aorist and non-aorist forms of the causative, with the qualification just made, are built up on the corresponding tense-mode forms of the primitive verb. Examples of causative -(*a*)*n-* are:

Intransitive
yelnada'^ε you will be lost (*a*
 palatalized by preceding *y*
 to -*e-*) 14.3
yowo'^ε he is 21.1

Causative
yalnanada'^ε you will lose it

bā^ε-i-yowoni'^ε*n* I woke him up
 (literally, I caused him to
 be up with my hand) 16.4

Intransitive

Causative

t'ūwū'ek' he is hot 94.15
ba-i-biliwa't you ran out 24.15

hāx it burns 94.18.

t'aga'te he cries 62.2

{ *hoyo'te* he dances 46.12
hoida'te he will dance

yā^an- go (aorist)

yana- go (non-aorist)

hene'en they were used up 184.6

yowo'es he started, was startled
 186.10

yō'wesdā^a he will start 186.10

{ *t!obigī* he lies like dead

{ *t!obaga'sdā^a* he will lie like
 dead (148.8)

s'as'inī he stands 144.14

s'a's'ant'ā^a he will stand

de-gülü'k!alx it blazes 188.15

p'ele'xa^e he goes to war 126.13

dak'-limixgwa^e (tree) falls on
 him (108.12)

{ *ba-i-yowona'en* I miss him in
 shooting (? = I cause him to
 be out) (138.5)

{ *ba-i-yowōnha'en*
t'ūwūgana'en I make him hot
ba-i-biliwana't he ran him out

{ *hāxna* he burned it 98.8
hāxank'wa he burned him up
 27.16

{ *t'agā'na'en* I make him cry
t'egēnxi he makes me cry
hoyodana'en I make him dance
hoidana'n I shall make him
 dance

{ *yā'na'n* he made him go; *yā^a-*
nana'en I made him go
yānha (= **yān-nha*) he made
 him go; *yānha'en* I made
 him go.

*yanā'na'n*¹ I shall cause him
 to go

ī-henenini'en I used them up
 { *yōwō'uts!anxbi'en* I startled you
yowō'wesnixbi'en (for change of *a*
 to *i* see § 42, 12)

{ *yō'uts!anan* I shall startle him
yō'wesnan

t!obigīnha'en I make him lie
 like dead

t!obaga'snan I shall make him
 lie like dead

{ *s'as'inīnha'en* I make him
 stand

{ *s'as'ānha'en*
s'a's'anhan I shall make him
 stand

de-gülü'k!alxna'en I make fire
 blaze

p'ele'xana'en I make him go to
 war

dak'-limixgwađini'en I chop
 (tree) on to him

¹ Also *yana'k'nan* I SHALL MAKE HIM GO, with inserted and unexplained suffix -*k'*.

Intransitive	Causative
<i>yewe'^{ie}</i> he returned 49.10; 88.5	<i>bā^ε-ī-yewēn</i> he cured him (literally, he caused him with his hand to return up) 15.2

The causative in *-vñha-* is sometimes usitative in meaning:

lohōnha he used to kill them; *lohōn* he killed them 142.9

Examples occur of transitives in *-n-* formed from intransitives in which no causative notion can be detected:

da-lōnha^{εn} I lied to him; *de-lūnhixi* he lied to me (intransitive *da-lōt'^{eε}* I shall lie [110.23])

gel-wayā^{na'}na'^{εn} I slept with her (26.4); *gel-wa-ina'n* I shall sleep with her (108.3) (intransitive *wayānt'^{eε}* I sleep [188.22]; *wait'^{eε}* I shall sleep [188.20]); but *wayānha^{εn}* I cause him to sleep (162.1); *waīnhan* I shall cause him to sleep, *waīnha* put him to sleep! 106.4,8

The connective *a* of the causative suffix *-an-* in the aorist is treated differently from the *a* of the non-aorist forms in so far as in the former case the *-an-* diphthong, when stressed, receives a raised accent, while in the latter the *a*, as a strictly inorganic element, takes the falling accent. Thus:

Aorist	Non-aorist
<i>hō^ugwa'n</i> he made him run	<i>hogwa'n</i> make him run!
(<i>yewēn</i> he caused him to return)	<i>ye^εwa'n</i> make him return!
(<i>p!agān</i> he bathed him [186.25])	<i>p!ā^uga'n</i> bathe him! 186.24

In other words, the phonetic relation between aorist and non-aorist illustrated by several verb types (e. g., *agan-* : *ag[a]n-*) is reflected also in the causative suffix (*-an-* : *-[a]n-*). The same is true of other *-[a]n-* suffixes not causative in signification (see § 42, 10):

Aorist	Non-aorist
<i>ī-k!ū^uma'n</i> he fixed it 150.13	<i>ī-k!ūma'n</i> fix it!
(<i>k!emēnaxbi^{εn}</i> I make you 27.9)	<i>k!ema'n</i> make it! 186.24

§ 46. Comitative *-(a) gw-*

Comitatives, i. e., transitive forms with the general meaning of TO DO SOME ACTION (expressed by verb-stem) TOGETHER WITH, ATTENDED BY, HAVING SOMETHING (expressed by object of verb), may be formed only from intransitives by the suffix *-gw-* (final *-k'^u*, rarely *-k'wa* in monosyllables); after a consonant (including semivowel) a connective *-a-* appears before the *-gw-*, though in a few cases (as in aorist *yā^an-* GO) the *-gw-* is directly appended. Dissyllabic stems ending in vowel + *-g-* or *-w-* often add the comitative *-gw-* directly, in

which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened; doublets, however, are sometimes found with connecting *a*. The second vowel of aorist stems is apt to be lengthened in comitative forms, yet not as consistently as in the case of causatives. Differing in this respect from the causative *-n-*, the comitative suffix does not require the loss of a final aoristic intransitive element (e. g., *-i-*). From aorist *lohoi-* DIE are formed *loho^u-n-* CAUSE TO DIE, but *lohoy-agw-* DIE TOGETHER WITH. The reason seems clear. While the action of a causative verb is logically transitive, that of a comitative is really intransitive, and the verb is only formally transitive. In the former case the subject of the verb does not undergo the action that would be expressed by the intransitive stem (*lohoi-*); in the latter it does. Examples of the comitative are:

Intransitive	Comitative
<i>yā^an-</i> go (aorist)	<i>yānk^w</i> he takes it along (lit., he goes having it) 17.13
<i>yana-</i> (non-aorist)	<i>yanagwa^{nk}'</i> he will take it along
<i>ligi-</i> come home from hunt (aorist)	<i>ligi^k'^w</i> he fetched game home 70.3
<i>lī^g-</i> (non-aorist)	<i>lī^gwa^{nk}'</i> (= <i>lī^g-gwa^{nk}'</i>) he will fetch game home (130.6)
<i>gini(g)-</i> go to	<i>gini^gwa^{en}'</i> I take it to (31.11); also <i>giniyagwa^{en}'</i> (13.12); future <i>ginagwaⁿ'</i> (= <i>ginag-gwaⁿ'</i> with inorganic <i>a</i> because of preceding <i>n</i>) (146.6)
<i>dal-yewey-</i> run away	<i>dal-yeweya^k'^w</i> he ran away with it
<i>wīⁱ-</i> travel	<i>wik^{wa}'</i> he travels around with it 14.2
<i>lō^ul-</i> play	<i>lō^ulagwa^{en}'</i> I play with him (124.14)
<i>daway-</i> fly	<i>bā^a-wa-daway^a'^k'^w</i> he flies with it
<i>henen-</i> use up, be satiated	<i>henenagwa^{en}'</i> I eat it all (43.12)
<i>yewey-</i> return	<i>yeweyagwa^{en}'</i> I fetch them back (30.1; 47.13)
<i>yaway-</i> talk	<i>yawayagwa^{en}'</i> I talk about it (lit., I talk having it) 108.12
<i>he^{el}-</i> sing (non-aorist)	<i>nāx-ī-he^{el}agwaⁿ'</i> I shall sing with pipe in hand
<i>helel-</i> (aorist)	<i>ī-hele^{el}agwa^{en}'</i> I sing with it in hand

Intransitive	Comitative
<i>t!obagas-</i> lie like dead (non-aorist)	<i>nāx-da-t!obaga'sgwank'</i> he lies like dead with pipe in mouth
<i>ūyū^εs-</i> laugh	<i>ūyū^εs'gwa^εn</i> I laugh at him
<i>baxam-</i> come	<i>da-ḡawix baxama^{k'w}</i> they came talking (literally, mouth-talking they-came-with) 126.2
<i>biliw-</i> fight, jump	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>lō^wx biliwagwana^{k'}</i> we play at fighting (literally, play we-fight-having) <i>wa-bili^ggwa^εn</i> I jump having it (= *<i>biliugwa^εn</i>, see §7) </div>

If the object of the comitative verb is other than a third person, the suffix *-gw-* is followed by the indirective *-d-*, which does not ordinarily appear as such, but unites with the immediately following transitive connective *-x-* to form *-s-*; a connective *-a-* is inserted between the *-gw-* and the *-s-*, so that the whole comitative suffix for a first or second personal object is *-(a)gwas-*. Examples are:

ūyū^εs'gwasi he laughs at me

henenagwa'sam he ate us up (192.15)

bā^a-wa-dawiyagwa'sbink' he will fly up with you

The form *-gwad-* of the comitative suffix appears as such preceding *-in-* (umlauted from *-an-*) in the third personal object of indirect FOR-forms built up on intransitive verbs derived from transitives:

lūk!ū'xagwadini^εn I trap for him (probably = I cause [*-in*] him to be having [*-gwad-*] [some one] to trap [*lūk!ū-xa-*] [for him]); but *lūk!ū'xagwasi* he traps for me

p'ele'xagwadini^εn I go to war for him; but *p'ele'xagwasi* he goes to war for me

It is highly probable, however, that in such cases the *-gwad-* is to be definitely analyzed into a comitative element *-gwa-* + an indirective element *-d-* (*-t'-*) TO, FOR; this seems to be pointed out by the fact that when the FOR-object becomes identical with the subject, i. e., when the verb becomes an indirect reflexive (FOR ONE'S SELF), the *-d-* immediately precedes the regular reflexive suffix *-gwi-*, leaving the causative suffix *-(a)n-* between it and the comitative suffix *-gw-*:

lūk!ū'xagwant'gwide^ε I trap for myself (probably = I cause [*-an-*] myself [*-gwi-*] to be having [*-gw-*] [some one] to trap [*lūk!ū-xa-*] for [*-t'-*] [me])

Comitatives in *-gw-* are formed not only from intransitivized transitives in *-xa-* (e. g., *ī-lūbū'xak'w* SHE POUNDS WITH IT IN HAND [55.10]; 56.1), but also from non-agentive intransitives in *-x-* (see below, § 56). Examples are:

Non-agentive	Comitative
<i>sgō'usde^ε</i> (= <i>sgō'ud-x-de^ε</i>) I cut (without implied object), ā across (148.8)	<i>sgō'usgwa^{εn}</i> I got tired ¹ of it (21.6)
<i>he^ε-me^ε-t'bō'uk't'bax</i> he lay down with his arms folded, lay rolled up and put away (cf. <i>he^ε-me^ε-t'bō'uk't'baga^{εn}</i> I roll it up and put it away)	<i>he^ε-wa-t'bō'uk't'ba'xgwa</i> he lay down with it clasped in his arms 154.6
<i>t'ge^εya'lx</i> it runs around, rolls	<i>wa-t'ge^εya'lxgwa^{εn}</i> I roll with it <i>wa-i-s'ūgū's'ūxgwa^{εn}</i> I am sleepy (literally, something like: I am confused having sleep)
<i>ba-i-s'ili'x</i> he landed	<i>ba-i-s'ili'xgwa</i> he landed with (his canoe) 13.5

The obverse, as it were, of these transitive forms in *-x-gwa-*, is given by certain rather curious Class I intransitive forms in *-x-gwa-* built up on intransitive, not, like normal *-x-* derivatives, on transitive stems; they may be literally translated as TO BE WITH (or HAVING) (SOMETHING) DOING OR BEING. Thus from the intransitive aorist *dak'-limim-* (TREE) FALLS ON TOP OF is formed the intransitive *dak'-limimxgwade^ε* IT FALLS ON TOP OF ME (108.12), in which the logical subject (TREE) becomes an implied object, while the real object or goal of motion (ME) is treated as the grammatical subject. The form quoted would have to be literally translated as I AM WITH (or HAVING) (IT) FALLING ON TOP OF (ME). I (AS TREE) FALL HAVING IT, TOGETHER WITH IT would probably be something like **dak'-limimxgwa^{εn}*. Morphologically similar to *dak'-limimxgwade^ε* are doubtless:

hewe'hōxgwade^ε I yawn (literally, I am having — [?])
yele^εsgwade^ε (= *yelet!-x-gwa-*) I am sweating (literally, I am
 —having it, i. e., perspiration [?])

With such an interpretation, the form *dak'-limimxgwadini^{εn}* I CHOP IT ON TO HIM becomes readily intelligible as a causative built

¹ *sgō'usde^ε* and *sgō'usgwa^{εn}* are morphologically quite clearly related, though in signification the latter form has widely departed from what must have been its primary meaning.

up on an intransitive in *-xgwa-*; literally translated it would read I CAUSE (*-in*) HIM TO BE WITH (*-gwad-*) (IT) FALLING (*limi^m-x-*) ON TOP OF (*dak'-*) (HIM). This chimes in well with the interpretation given above of the really very perplexing "for" forms in *-gwadin-* and *-gwant'gwi*.

As will have been noticed from some of the examples already given (*yawayagw-* TALK ABOUT, *ūyū^{is}sgwa-* LAUGH AT, *sgō^usgwa-* BE TIRED OF, *henenagw-* CONSUME), the primarily comitative meaning of the *-gw-* suffix is sometimes greatly obscured, at times practically lost. Other examples illustrating this weakening of the fundamental signification are:

Intransitive	Comitative
<i>hoyod-</i> dance	<i>hoyod-agw-</i> dance (a particular kind of) dance 100.15; 102.9
<i>bā^a-yā^an-</i> go up	<i>bā^a-yā^an-gw-</i> pick up 24.3; 59.15
<i>ba-i-ginig-</i> go out to, come	<i>ba-i-ginī-gw-</i> take out (no leg motion necessarily implied)
<i>xēben-</i> do (so)	<i>xēbe^{ey}-agw¹</i> hurt, destroy 136.23

§ 47. Indirective *-d-*(*-s-*)

The *-d-* of the indirect object never appears in its naked form (except, as we have seen, in certain forms in *-gwad-*; see also under *-d-* in petrified suffixes), but always combined into *-s-* with the following element *-x-* that serves to bind pronominal objects of the first and second persons to the verb-stem with its derivative suffixes (see §64). The indirect object of the third person is not normally expressed by this *-d-*, but, like an ordinary direct third personal object, is left unexpressed, the general character of the verb being impliedly indirective. As a matter of fact, an incorporated pronominal indirect object is used only when the direct object is of the third person, never of the first or second; and, since the pronominal object of the third person is never expressed in the verb, this means that what is translated as the indirect object is in reality morphologically the direct object of the verb. The indirective idea is merely a derivative development; or, more correctly, certain transitive verbs with indirective "face" require an *-s-* (= *-d-* + *-x-*) instead of *-x-* with an incorporated object of the first or second person. I GIVE IT TO HIM is, then, really rendered in Takelma by I-HIM-GIVE; I GIVE IT TO YOU, by I-

¹ For the change of non-causative *-n-* to *-y-* (*-i-*) cf. *klemēl-* and *klemēen-* MAKE.

YOU-GIVE; I GIVE HIM FOOD, by I-HIM-FOOD-GIVE, in which the logically indirect object HIM must be looked upon as the direct object of the verbal complex FOOD-GIVE (FOOD, not being a pronominal object, is loosely incorporated as a prefix in the verb); I GIVE YOU FOOD, by I-YOU-FOOD-GIVE, the pronominal combination I YOU being expressed at the end of the verb-complex in the same form as in a simple transitive like I-YOU-SEE, except that it is preceded by -s- instead of -x-; such combinations as I GIVE YOU TO HIM, ME and HE GIVES ME TO YOU, HIM can not be expressed by one verb-form. In these latter cases the grammatical object of the verb is no longer indirectly affected by the action; hence another, though probably etymologically related, verb-stem is employed, while the indirect object is expressed by a local phrase outside the verb: I GIVE YOU TO HIM (=I-YOU-GIVE [not indirective "face"] HIM-TO), -x-, not -s-, preceding the combination I YOU. The idea of TO in intransitives like GO, RUN, and so on, is regularly expressed by such an extra-verbal local phrase. Many verbs that, from our point of view, seem ordinary transitives, are in Takelma provided with the indirective -s-. Examples illustrating the use of this -s- are:

Aorist	Future
{ <i>ogoyi'</i> ^{en} I give it to him 180.11	<i>o'k'in</i> (170.13; 180.9,16)
{ <i>ogu'sbi'</i> ^{en} I give it to you 23.3	<i>o'sbin</i> (178.15)
{ (<i>oyōnxbi'</i> ^{en} I give you)	(<i>oīnxbīn</i> I shall give you)
{ <i>wēt'gi'</i> ^{en} (for -g- see §42, 5) I took it from him 76.1	<i>wede'k'in</i> (17.10,11)
{ <i>wēsbi'</i> ^{en} I took it from you (17.3)	<i>wede'sbin</i> (16.10,11)
{ <i>al-da-p'ō'p'iw'</i> ^{en} I blew at it (15.1)	
{ <i>al-da-p'ūp'ausbi'</i> ^{en} I blew at you	
{ <i>wā^agiwi'</i> ^{en} I brought it to him (for -w- see §42, 11) (176.17)	<i>wagawi'n</i> I shall bring it to him
{ <i>wa^aga'sam</i> ² he brought it to us (194.11)	<i>wege'sink'</i> he will bring it to me
{ <i>ei'yi'</i> ^{en} I hurt him	
{ <i>ēsbi'</i> ^{en} I hurt you	
{ <i>gayaū</i> he ate him 54.5	<i>ga-iwa'nk'</i> 130.5
{ <i>gayaūsbi'</i> ^{en} I ate you	<i>ga'sbink'</i> he will eat you 26.8
{ <i>al-yebebi'</i> ^{en} I showed it to him (77.8)	<i>al-ye'bi'n</i> I shall show it to him
{ <i>al-yebe'psbi'</i> ^{en} I showed it to you	<i>al-yēpsi</i> show it to me!

¹ The -y- is peculiar to aorist forms of this verb with a third personal object (*ogoyi't'* YOU TO HIM; *ogōihī* HE TO HIM 122.11) and to the third personal passive aorist (*ogoyi'n* HE WAS GIVEN IT 15.2)

² With connecting *a* before *s*. In *o'sbin* above -g- + -s- gives -s-, but **wēsdam* (= *wēeg-sdam*) would become confused with *wēsdam* (= *wēed-sdam*) YOU TOOK IT FROM ME.

Some verbs that belong here show the *-s-* only in the aorist, other forms having only *-x-*. Examples are:

Aorist	Future
{ <i>he^{εε}-iⁱwi'^{εn}</i> I went away from him 23.12	<i>he^{εε}-iⁱwi'ⁿ</i>
{ <i>he^{εε}-iⁱūsb^{iεn}</i> I went away from you (184.14,15)	<i>he^{εε}-iⁱwi'^xbink'</i>
<i>yⁱi^māsb^{iεn}</i> I lent it to you 98.15	<i>yⁱimi'^{xi}</i> lend it to me! 98.14, 21
{ <i>iⁱ-t!ⁱāūt!ⁱwi'^{εn}</i> I catch him 33.4	<i>iⁱ-t!ⁱā^{wi'ⁿ}</i> (33.8)
{ <i>iⁱ-t!ⁱāūt!ⁱa'^{usbi}</i> he caught you	<i>iⁱ-t!ⁱāū^xbink' (140.15)</i>
{ <i>naga'^{εn}</i> I said to him 72.9	<i>nā^ugi'ⁿ</i> (15.15; 196.20)
{ <i>naga'^{sbiεn}</i> I said to you 108.4	<i>nā^xbin</i> (60.3)
{ <i>dak'-da-hā^{li'^{εn}}</i> I answered him (61.6)	<i>dak'-da-hala'^hin</i>
{ <i>dak'-da-hā^{lsbiεn}</i> I answered you (134.20)	<i>dak'-da-hala'^xbin</i>
{ <i>sā^ansa'^{εn}</i> I fight him (110.20)	<i>sana'ⁿ</i> (28.15; 33.9)
{ <i>sā^ansa'^{nsbiεn}</i> I fight you	<i>sana'^xbin</i>

§ 48. Indirective *-(a')ld-*

This suffix is probably composed of the continuative *-l-* (see § 42, 9) and the indirective *-d-*, though, unlike the latter suffix, it is always employed to transitive verbs, a characteristic intransitive element of the aorist (e. g., *-i-*) regularly remaining. After vowels, the suffix appears simply as *-ld-*; after consonants and semivowels, a connective *-a-* is generally introduced, which, when accented, receives a falling pitch. The general idea conveyed by the suffix is that of purposive action toward some person or object, so that it may be conveniently translated by MOVING AT OR TOWARD, IN ORDER TO REACH, GOING TO GET. Examples of its use are:

<i>hiliat'^{eε}</i> I climb	<i>hiliwa'^{ldaεn}</i> I climb for it (77.8)
<i>yada't'^{eε}</i> I swim (<i>yadad-</i>)	{ <i>yadada'^{ldaεn}</i> I swim for him (to save him from drowning)
<i>bili'^{uε}</i> he jumped 32.13; 78.11	{ <i>yededa'^{lsi}</i> he swims for me <i>biliwa'^{lsaεn}</i> they fought (literally, they jumped at, for each other) 27.4
{ <i>da-t!ⁱaya'^{iε}</i> they went to get (something) to eat 75.9	{ <i>da-t!ⁱayaldi'^{εn}</i> I went to get it to eat; <i>da-t!ⁱayālt' he went to get it to eat (<i>ā</i> shows by its accent that it is part of stem) 76.9</i>
<i>da-dā^aya'^{εt'}</i> (future) (33.9)	<i>da-dā^aldi'ⁿ</i> (future) (33.9)
<i>sgele'^{uε}</i> he shouted 59.4; 90.8	<i>sgelewa'^{lt'}</i> he shouted to, for him 59.4; (94.1)

<i>wiliw-</i> go, run	<i>[wiliwa'ldaⁿ]</i> I go and show it to him
<i>xudu'^εm</i> he whistled	<i>[de-wiliwa'ldaⁿ]</i> I fight him (27.3)
	<i>xuduma'ldaⁿ</i> I whistled to him (33.16)
<i>ligi'k'^w</i> he fetched home (game)	<i>de-ligia'lt'</i> he fetched it for him to
70.3; 128.12; <i>ligi'^ε</i> he came	eat 126.9; 130.9
home (with game) 124.22	
	<i>yonoba'lt'</i> they held nets waiting for fish 32.1

In *wō'lt'* HE WENT AFTER IT 29.12 the *-ld-* is confined to the aorist; non-aorist forms have the stem *woo-* without suffix: *woo'n* I SHALL GO AFTER IT (162.8,10).

§ 49. Indirective *-(a')md-*

There hardly seems to be any significant difference between this and the preceding suffix, except that the indirective force of *-(a')md-* seems in many cases to be much less clear and that it may be appended to transitive as well as to intransitive stems. It is quite probable that in some of the examples the *-m-* of the suffix is really the dissimilated product of an original *-l-* because of an *-l-* of the stem (see § 21); yet this explanation could not be made to apply to all the cases. Those forms that contain a radical *-l-* are given first:

Simple form	<i>-(a')md-</i>
	<i>t!i'la'mdaⁿ</i> I fish for (salmon)
	<i>ts'!elela'mdaⁿ</i> I paint him (= I put paint— <i>s'e'^εl</i> —on to him)
	<i>s'in-delega'msdam</i> you put holes in my nose 22.2
<i>malagia'^{uε}</i> they are jealous (cf. <i>malag-</i> , <i>malagan-</i> tell)	<i>malaga'msbiⁿ</i> I am jealous of you
<i>yalak'ⁱde^ε</i> I dive (61.8)	<i>yalaga'mdaⁿ</i> I dive for it (60.10)
(<i>lagag-</i> feed)	<i>lagaga'mdaⁿ</i> I paid him (184.17)
<i>legwe'l</i> he sucked it (186.18)	<i>legwela'mdaⁿ</i> I sucked it out of him
(<i>geleg-</i> twirl)	<i>dī^{iε}-al-gelegala'mdaⁿ</i> I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.3)
<i>ūyūts!-</i> laugh	<i>dī^ε-ūyū'ts!amdaⁿ</i> I fool him
<i>ya'mt'</i> ask him! 70.6	<i>yamda'mt'</i> (go and) ask of him! 74.10
	<i>p'ōyamdaⁿ</i> I smoke them out (76.11)
<i>k!emen-</i> make	<i>bā^a-k!emena'mdaⁿ</i> I make him ready to go (76.13)
<i>dak'-t'gū'ubaⁿ</i> I put (hat-like object) over as covering	<i>dak'-t'gū'ubamt'</i> she covered it (basket) over 61.9

§ 50. Indirective $-(a)n(an)-$ "for"

From transitives, never from intransitives, are formed verbs in $-(a)n$ or $-(a)nan-$ (the first $-a-$ is the connective vowel already spoken of) signifying TO DO (the act expressed by the verb-stem) FOR, IN BEHALF OF (the object of the verb). No rule can be given as to when $-(a)n-$ or $-(a)nan-$ is to be used, the two suffixes being frequently found to interchange in the same form. It is not likely that $-(a)nan-$ is a mere duplication of the simpler $-(a)n-$, as no other case of suffix-reduplication could be shown to exist in Takelma, but rather a compound suffix consisting of two distinct elements that happen to be homonymous. Neither of the $-(a)n-$ elements in $-(a)nan-$, however, can be identified with either the causative $-(a)n-$ or the petrified $-(a)n-$ of certain transitive verbs (see § 42,10), for the full $-(a)nan-$ suffix is found suffixed to them (e. g., *lohō^uninini^εn* I KILLED HIM FOR HIM [= I CAUSED HIM TO DIE FOR HIM]). As in the case of the ordinary indirect object-suffix $-s-$, only the third person (and that, as far as the pronoun is concerned, by implication) is tolerated as the logical object, the grammatical object being always the person in whose behalf the action is done. If the formal (i. e., indirect) object of the verb is of the third person, the $-(a)n-$ or $-(a)nañ-$ is nearly always followed by the "instrumental" i (see § 64), an umlaut of the suffix to $-(i)n-$ or $-(i)nin-$ necessarily resulting (see § 8, 3c). The longer form of the suffix $-(a)nan$ is apt to be limited to the aorist forms with third personal object; non-aorist forms and aorist forms with first or second personal object generally have the shorter form of the suffix, $-(a)n-$. What was said above of a phonetic character in regard to the causative $-(a)n-$ applies also here. Examples are:

Transitive	Indirective
<i>wa^ε-ī-t!oxōxi^εn</i> I gather them (192.4)	<i>wa^ε-ī-t!oxōxi^εn</i> I gather them for him <i>wa^ε-ī-t!ūxūxanxi</i> he gathers them for me
<i>ī-k!ū^umaⁿ'n</i> he fixed it (150.13; 186.16,18)	<i>ī-k!ū^umininini^εn</i> I fixed it for him <i>ī-k!ūminininiⁿ'nk'</i> he will fix it for him <i>ī-k!ū^umananⁿ'xi</i> he fixed it for me <i>ī-k!ūmanaⁿ'nhi</i> fix it for him!

Transitive	Indirective
<i>lā^aba'ēn</i> I carry it (178.4,5,6)	<i>{ lā^abinini'ēn</i> I carry it for him <i>lā^aba'nha'ēn</i> <i>le^eba'nxi</i> he carries it for me
<i>ō'uqaēn</i> I trap them (78.5)	<i>{ lō^uginini'ēn</i> I trap them for him <i>lō^ugini'ēn</i> <i>{ (p^liγin) lū^uganxi</i> he traps (deer) for me <i>lō^uk'inin</i> I shall trap them for him
<i>{ k!adāi-</i> pick (aorist)	<i>{ k!adayini'ēn</i> I pick them for him <i>k!adārhini'ēn</i> <i>k!edeya'nxi</i> he picks them for him
<i>{ k!ād-</i> pick (non-aorist)	<i>k!ā^adinini'n</i> I shall pick them for him
<i>de^e-ī-wī'i gi'ēn</i> I spread it out (120.1)	<i>de^e-ī-wī'i ganxi</i> he spreads it out for me
<i>k!emen-</i> make	<i>{ k!emenini'ēn</i> I make it for him <i>k!emnini'n</i> I shall make it for him
<i>limimana'ēn</i> I fell tree (cause it to fall) (108.11)	<i>limiminini'ēn</i> I fell it for him
<i>lohōuna'ēn</i> I cause him to die (142.9)	<i>{ lohō^uninini'ēn</i> I killed him for him <i>lohō^unana'nhi</i> he killed him for him <i>lūhū^una'nxi</i> he killed him for me
<i>dō^umk'wank'</i> he will kill him (116.18)	<i>dō^umana'nk'wank'</i> he will kill him for him
<i>sā^agwa'ēn</i> I paddle it (60.1; 112.9)	<i>han-se^egwa'nsin</i> I am paddled across (literally, it, i. e., canoe, is paddled across for me)
<i>p!ahanana'ēn</i> I cause it to be cooked, done	<i>p!ahayinini'ēn¹</i> I make it done for him

A number of transitive verbs in *-(a)n(an)-* in which the FOR (in behalf of) idea is not clearly 'apparent nevertheless doubtless belong here. Such are:

¹ For the change of suffixed *n* to *y* see § 46, second footnote.

<i>al^ε-ō^udini^εn</i> I look around for him	{ (<i>ō^uda^εn</i> I hunt for him [116.8]) }
(92.27)	
<i>ī^ε-odonīⁿ</i> I shall feel around	
for it	
}	
<i>malagana'nhi</i> he told him 30.15 (<i>mala'xhi</i> he told you [162.6])	

It not infrequently happens in verbs where the logical relation existing between the subject and a first or second personal object can hardly be other than an indirect one, that the FOR idea is expressed by means of the simple transitive form with *-x-* or *-s-* instead of the more explicit indirective *-(a)n(an)-*, as shown in the following examples:

k!edēsi he picks them for me (literally, he picks to me, alongside of *k!edeya'nxi* he picks them for me)¹
me^εbēp'xip' come and chop out (a hole) for me (to enable me to get out) (literally, come and chop me!) 90.16
gel-ts!eye'mxi he hid it from me (158.7); but *gel-ts!ayamini^εn* I hid it from him

The idea of DOING SOMETHING FOR SOME ONE when the action is an intransitive one can not be expressed in the verb itself, so that periphrases of one kind or another are resorted to; e. g., I GO FOR HIM is expressed by I GO, HE HAVING SENT ME. In verbs that are intransitive only in form, but logically still transitive, that is, in transitive verbs with unexpressed object, the FOR idea is expressed by the complex suffix *-gwa'dan-* (with first or second personal object *-gwas-*), the analysis of which has been attempted above (see § 46). Thus we have (*p!iyin*) *lō^ugin(in)i^εn* I TRAP (DEER) FOR HIM built up on a transitive in both form and meaning (i. e., *lō^uga^εn*), but *lūk!ū'xagwadinī^εn* I TRAP FOR HIM built up on a formal intransitive (*lūk!ū'xa^ε*). The idea of FOR, IN BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF is rendered in transitive verbs by adding to the indirective suffix *-(a)n(an)-* the regular reflexive suffix *-k'wi-* (*-gwi-*):

dō^umana'nk'widā^a he will kill them for himself
t!ūmāk'wank'wide^ε I kill them for myself
de^ε-ī-wi'gank'wide^ε I spread it out for myself
han-se^εgwa'nk'wide^ε I paddle myself across, really, I paddle (canoe) across for myself

¹ There must be a difference in signification, however, between *k!edēsi* and *k!edeya'nxi*. The former probably means "he picks them for me, i. e., in order to give them to me;" the latter "he picks them in my behalf (perhaps because I am sick and can not do so myself.)" Compare also *de^εise'ezī* HE OPENED THE DOOR FOR ME (i. e., in order to let me in) (63.12) with *de^εise'eganxi* HE OPENED THE DOOR ON MY BEHALF (perhaps because I was unable to do so myself).

In intransitive verbs with implied transitive force a *-t'-* is inserted between the indirective *-(a)n(an)-* and the reflexive *-gwi-*:

liik!ü'ragwant'gwi't he traps for himself

Also this form in *-gwant'gwi-* was explained above.

§ 51. Indirect Reflexive *-gwa-*

By indirect reflexive is here meant action in reference to something belonging to one's self, not action in behalf of one's self. From the latter idea (expressed, as we have seen, by *-[a]n[an]k'wi-* and *-[a]n[an]-t'gwi-*) the indirect reflexive in *-gwa-* differs in being always found in a transitive setting; from the comitative *-(a)gw(a)-* it differs phonetically in being formed only from transitive verbs with expressed object and in the constancy of the final *-a-* (third person aorist *-k'wa*, not *-k'w*). Examples of its use are:

*s'in-^εi-t'gili'εsgwa*¹ he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7

mān^xal-nū'^uk'wa (= *gw-k'wa*) he painted his own face (cf. *nō'^wgw-i^εn* I paint it)

ī-gaxaga'xgwa^εn I scratch myself, i. e., my own (cf. *ī-gaxagixi'^εn* I scratch him)

ī-p!īⁱ-nō'^uk'wa warm your hands! (188.20) (cf. *ī-p!īⁱ-nō'^uk'wi^εn* I warm his hands)

s'in-dē'^{le}p'gwa he stuck it into his own nose (cf. *dā^a-dele'^pi* he pierced his — another's — ear)

bīls^εal-giliga'lk'wa^εn I covered myself with moss (48.14) (cf. *bīls*
ī-giligili'^εn I covered him with moss)

bīls^εi-giliga'lk'wa^εn I covered my hands with moss
gwen-p!iyi'nk'wa he lies on pillow (probably = he causes his neck to lie)²

k!edē^{ik}'wa^εn I pick them for myself (literally, I pick my own)

de-k'īuk'auk'wak' he brandished it before his face 172.11

ī-k!ū^wma'nk'wa he prepared himself, got ready 172.2 (cf. *ī-k!ū^w-maⁿ* he fixed it, got it ready 114.7)

It will be noticed that whenever what in English we are accustomed to consider a direct reflexive is really such only in form, not in fact, the Takelma idiom requires the indirect *-k'wa-* form, not the direct reflexive in *-gwi-*. Thus, I SEE OR SCRATCH MYSELF is not logically a reflexive in the same sense as I KILL, DROWN, OR HANG MYSELF, the former involving strictly action on what belongs to the subject, not on the subject itself: I SEE OR SCRATCH MY OWN (FLESH). Still such distinctions can

¹The object, generally a body-part, to which the action refers is printed in Roman characters.

²*p!iyin-* connected with *-p!eyen-* LIE?

hardly be insisted upon; much depends on idiomatic usage. The indirect reflexive suffix, it would seem, is employed only when the direct object is incorporated in the verb; if the direct object is taken out of the verb-complex and provided with a possessive pronoun, all ambiguity as to the relation between subject and object is removed and the *-gwa-* falls out. Thus we have *dā^a-de^ele'p'gwa* HE PIERCED HIS OWN EAR with indirect reflexive *-gwa-* to show the possession of the object (*dā^a-* EAR) by the subject; *dā^adele'p'i* would mean HE PIERCED ANOTHER'S EAR. The former sentence can also be expressed more analytically by *dānxdagwa hadele'p'i* HIS-OWN (*-dagwa*) -EAR HE-IN-PIERCED-IT; *dānxda hadele'p'i* would then have reference to the piercing of another's ear. In other words, the reflexive idea is expressed in the verb or in the noun according to whether the latter is incorporated or independent.

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 52-57)

§ 52. General Remarks

Under this head are included such suffixes as intransitivize a transitive verb by removing the object (*-xa-*), transferring the object from without to within the sphere of the subject (reflexive, reciprocal), or changing the character of the action altogether (non-agentive, positional). The passive intransitivizes by removing, not the object, but the subject, the former remaining in exactly the same form in which we find it in the corresponding transitive; the voice is characterized by peculiar suffixes that differ for the various tense-modes, and which, following as they do the pronominal elements of the verb, will receive appropriate treatment in discussing the purely formal verbal elements. The normal transitive, its ancillary passive, the active intransitive (*-xa-*), the reflexive, the reciprocal, the non-agentive, and the positional may be looked upon as the seven voices of a transitive verb, of which only the first five (possibly also the sixth), however, can be freely formed from any transitive stem. Of the seven voices, the first two are provided with a distinct set of pronominal object (and transitive subject) suffixes; the third and the fifth, with Class I intransitive subjects; the remaining, with Class II intransitive subjects.

Before giving examples of the intransitive suffixes, it may be useful to rapidly follow out a particular transitive stem (*dink!*- STRETCH OUT [= base *din-* + transitive petrified suffix *-k!*-]) in its various voices. First

of all, we may form an ordinary active transitive verb with expressed object by attaching to the verb or aorist stem the appropriate pronominal suffixes: *ba-i-de-di'nik!a^{en}* I STRETCH IT OUT (LIKE A RUBBER BAND or the like) (62.1). Secondly, from this may be formed a passive by the addition to the stem (*dinik!-*) of the pronominal object and characteristic passive suffix: *ba-i-de-di'nik!an* IT IS OR WAS (ACTIVELY) STRETCHED OUT. Thirdly, the transitive stem may be made intransitive by a failure to specify the object: *ba-i-de-di'ni^{ex}xade^e* I STRETCH (SOMETHING) OUT. Fourthly, a direct reflexive is formed by the suffix *-gwi-*: *ba-i-de-di'ni^{ek}'wide^e* I (actually, if such were possible) STRETCH MYSELF OUT, in as literal a sense as in, e. g., I KILL MYSELF. Fifthly, the transitive form may be made reciprocal by the compound suffix *-x-(or -s-)an-*: *ba-i-de-di'ni^{ex}xa^{en}* THEY (actively and literally) STRETCH ONE ANOTHER OUT. Sixthly, the non-agentive voice is formed by a suffixed *-x-*: *ba-i-de-dini'^{ex}* IT STRETCHES OUT (144.14), in the sense in which a sore might be supposed to spread, without volition and without apparent agency; this particular form is idiomatically employed to refer to the stretching out, advancing, marching, of a single column, the figure here being evidently that of a long string-like line moving out without distinctly sensed agency. Similarly, *bā^a-dini'^{ex}* (CLOUDS) SPREAD UP IN LONG STRIPS 13.3 are not actively spread out by some one, do not spread out some unexpressed object, are not conceived of as actually spreading themselves out, and are not conceived of as being in the static, purely positional condition of lying extended. Seventhly, the last, positional voice is expressed by an aoristic *-i-*, non-aoristic *-as-*: *dink!i* IT LIES SPREAD OUT, referring to a long string or other elongated body extended on the ground; future *dink!a'sdā^a*. A synopsis for the second person singular (and reciprocal plural) of *dink!-(dinik!-)* SPREAD of the seven voices in the six tense-modes is given in Appendix A. The intransitive suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 53. Active Intransitive *-xa-*

The *-a-* of this suffix is a constant element except before a personal ending beginning with a vowel: *p'ele'xik'* WE GO TO FIGHT. Like other non-radical *-a-* vowels it may be unlauded to *i*: *s'om-lū-hūxriya^{ue}* THEY (indef.) OPERATE AS *s'omloho'lxa^{es}* (class of medicine men) 172.14. The final consonant of the aorist stem of verbs of Type

8 falls out before the *-xa-*, also an indirective *d* (including the *-d-* of *-[a]md-*, *[a]ld*; a final radical *-d-*, however, unites with *-xa-* to form *-sa-*). Verbs of Type 5 employ not the aorist, but the verb-stem, in the aorist of the *-xa-* derivative (cf. the parallel phenomenon in the formation of the frequentative, § 43, 1 and 6; for exceptions see § 40, 5), inserting the repeated stem-vowel between the fortis consonant of the stem and the suffix; *-xa-* derivatives of Type 5 verbs thus belong to Type 2. For the vocalism of the stem of *-xa-* forms, see § 31, 5. Verbs in *-xa-* of Types 2 and 3 regularly have a short second stem vowel, even if the quantity in the primitive verb is long; this short vowel may, however, be secondarily lengthened, with falling accent, to express a frequentative idea. In non-aorist forms the stress tends to fall on the *-xa-*. Verbs in *-xa-* can be formed, of course, only from transitives, and, although in form they are strictly intransitive, they always logically imply an object. Examples of *-xa-* are:

lūbū'xa^ε she pounded 16.9; *ī-lū'pxagwank'* she will pound having it (pestle) 55.10 (aorist transitive *lobo'p'* she pounded them 16.9)

t!ī'la'mxade^ε I went fishing (*t!ī'la'mda^{εn}* I fished for them)

k!ā'wa'nxa^ε she sifts 57.15 (*k!ā'wa'nda^{εn}* I sift acorn meal [16.10])

dak'-t'ek!e'xa^ε he smokes 96.23 (Type 5 *dak'-t'e'e'gi^{εn}* I give him to smoke [170.13])

p!eðe'xa^ε he beat off (bark) 55.6 (*p!abab-* chop [90.11])

lebe'sade^ε I sew (*lebeda'εn* I sew it)

sgūt!ū'xa^ε he is cutting 92.2 (Type 5 aorist *sgō^{ud-}* 72.10)

al-xīk!i'xa^ε he looked around 102.12 (Type 5 aorist *al-xī'g-* 124.8)

lūk!ū'xa^ε he traps (Type 5 aorist *lō^{ug-}* 78.5); future *liū'εx^wagwa-dinin* I shall trap for him

wā^{a-}himi'xade^ε I was talking to somebody (*wā^{a-}himida'εn* I talked to him [59.16])

dak'-da-hele'halxade^ε I always answer (*dak'-da-hā^ali'εn* I answer him [146.14])

dak'-hene'xa^ε he waits; future *dak'-henxa't'e^ε* I shall wait (*dak'-hene^{εda'εn}* I wait for him)

yimi's'a^ε (= *-s'-xa^ε*) he dreams; future *yims'a't'e^ε*; imperative *yims'a'*

In *k!eme'nxade^ε* I WAS MAKING, WORKING (future *k!emxa't'e^ε*) the loss of the *-n-* in the non-aorist forms (cf. *k!emna'n* I SHALL MAKE IT [28.14]) may be due to a purely phonetic cause (see § 11)

§ 54. Reflexive -*gwi*-

The final consonant of the aorist stem of some verbs of Type 8 is eclipsed, with lengthening of preceding vowel, also before the reflexive -*gwi*- (see § 40, 8), in the case of others it is preserved. Where the -*gwi*- reflexive is derived from indirect transitives in -*d*- (-*amd*-, -*gwaḍan*-), there is often practically no difference in signification between it and the indirect reflexive -*gwa*-. Examples of -*gwi*- are:

t!omōk'wide^ε I kill myself (from *t!omom*-)

al-yebe'p'gwiṭ' he showed himself (*yebēb*-)

al-xī'k'wiṭ' he looked at himself

p!agānk'wide^ε I bathed (literally, I caused myself to bathe;

cf. *p!agāna'na'εn* I bathe him)

se'la'mt'gwide^ε I shall paint myself (*se'la'mdan* I shall paint him)

t'gwaxārk'wide^ε I tattooed myself (*t'gwaxā* he tattooed him)

t'gwāxa'nt'gwide^ε I shall tattoo myself (= for myself)

ī-gis'iga's'gwide^ε I tickle myself

al-wa-ts!eyēk'wide^ε I washed myself with it

dā^a-delega'mt'gwide^ε (= *dā^a-dele'p'gwa^aεn*) I pierce my ears

(*yūk'*) *k!emēnk'wit'* they made themselves (strong) 27.12

xuma ogoik'wide^ε I give food to myself (= I food-give myself)

ī-lesgi'k'wide^ε I shall touch myself

Before the imperative endings -*p'*, -*p'anp'* the reflexive suffix becomes lengthened to -*gwi'*-:

*k!ēt'gwi'p'*¹ pick them for yourself!

de^εgwa'lt'gwi'p'anp' take care of yourselves! 126.20; (128.24)

The reflexive of *naga*- SAY TO is irregular in that it is formed not from the transitive stem, but from the corresponding intransitive *nagai*- SAY: *nagaiṭk'wit'* HE SAID TO HIMSELF 104.1 (cf. *nagaiṭk'wa*, §62).

§ 55. Reciprocal $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -x- \\ -s- \end{array} \right\}$ -*an*-

The -*x*- and -*s*- preceding the characteristic reciprocal -*an*- (umlauted -*in*-) suffix are nothing but the connective consonant of direct and indirect transitive verbs respectively, the choice in the reciprocal form between the two depending entirely upon which is used in the corresponding simple transitive. A difference, however, in the use of this -*x*- (-*s*-) between the transitive and reciprocal is found in so far as in the latter it appears with a third as well as first and second

¹ Indirect reflexive (for oneself) in signification, though without indirective suffix of any kind. The form is thus analogous to such as *k!edēsi* mentioned above (see §59). That the reflexive action is thought of as indirective in character seems to be indicated by the ablaut of the stem (*k!āaḍ*-); see §31, 6.

personal object. The phonetic form of what precedes the *-x-* (*-s-*) is the same as in the transitive from which the reciprocal is derived. The reciprocal element *-an-* is the only one of the verbal suffixes that is placed between the connecting *-x-* and the personal endings, so that it may rightly be looked upon as in a way equivalent to the incorporated objective pronouns. Examples of *-x-an-* are:

k!oyōxinik' we go together, accompany one another (33.15)

t!ēūxiniba^εni let us play shinny!

ī-lats!a'xinik' we touch one another

al-s'in-lō'^uxaⁿ they meet each other (literally, they thrust noses to one another)

t!omōxaⁿ they kill one another (33.10)

gel-wayānxaⁿ they were sleeping together (literally, they caused each other to sleep facing each other) 190.2

āl-xī'ⁱxaⁿ they looked at each other

Examples of *-s-an-*, i. e., of indirect reciprocals, are:

naga'saⁿ they said to each other 31.9 (cf. *naga'sbi^εn* I said to you [100.1]); future *nāxan^t* (cf. *nāxbīn* [60.3])

sā^ansa'nsaⁿ they fight one another (23.14; 184.13) (cf. *sā^ansa'ns-bi^εn*); future *sana'xan^t* (23.15) (cf. *sana'xbīn*)

he^{εε}-īūs'aⁿ they went away from one another (cf. *he^{εε}-īūsbi^εn* [184.14]); future *he^{εε}-īwī'xan^t* (cf. *he^{εε}-īwī'xbīn*)

lā^ama'lsaⁿ they quarreled with each other 27.2; 86.10

wā^a-himi'saⁿ they talked to one another 124.14 (cf. *wā^a-himi'sbi^εn*)

lō^ūgwa's'iniba^ε let us play 32.5 (cf. *lō^ūgwa'sbīn* future)

t!ū'lt!als'iniba^ε let us play at gambling-sticks (*t!ū'lt*) 31.9

āl-sege'sak'sinik' we keep nodding to one another; *se^k'sa'k'-sank'* they nodded to one another (inferential) 172.10 (but unduplicated *āl-se'^exinik'* we nodded to each other)

§ 56. Non-agentive *-x-*

The difference in signification between the non-agentive *-x-* and the intransitive *-xa-* may be well brought out by a comparison with the distinctly double signification of English intransitively used transitives. If such a transitive word as SPLIT be relieved of its object, it may be employed in two quite distinct senses, either to indicate the same sort of action that is expressed by the transitive, but without explicit direction (as, THE CARPENTER CAN SPLIT, i. e., can split beams, boards); or to indicate a spontaneous non-volitional activity resulting in a static condition identical with that induced by the corresponding transitive action (as, THE BEAMS, BOARDS, SPLIT, i. e., spontaneously

undergo motion resulting in that condition which is brought about by corresponding activity from without: THE CARPENTER SPLITS THE BEAMS, BOARDS). SPLIT in the former case is rendered in Takelma by *xā^a-ts'!iwi'xa^ε* (aorist transitive *ts'!iwi-d-*); in the latter, by *xā^a-ts'!iwi's* (= *-ts'!iwi'd-x*). It is true that in some cases the use of *-x* does not seem to be logically justified (e. g., *al-hūyāx^ε* I HUNT 136.18; *al-ho-yoiya'^εn* I HUNT THEM); but something must be allowed for idiomatic, not literally translatable usage. Such petrified suffixes as *-d-* do not drop out before the *-x*; the repeated consonant of Type 8 verbs falls off as usual (yet cf. forms like *limim-x-gwa-*, §46). Examples of the non-agentive are:

Transitive	Non-agentive
<i>ī-k'wā'^agwi^εn</i> I awakened him 16.4 (future <i>ī-k'wā'k'win</i>)	<i>k'wā'^ax^ε</i> I awoke (16.3) (future <i>k'wā'^ax^ε</i> [190.5])
<i>leme'^εk'</i> they took them along 144.17	<i>leme'^εx</i> they all went 136.7
<i>ī-t'ge^εyili'^εn</i> I roll it	<i>t'ge^εya'lx</i> it rolls
<i>de-ts'!ibi'p'</i> he closed door	<i>de-ts'!ibi'x</i> (door) shut
<i>p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'^up'</i> he upset it	<i>p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'^upx</i> it upset 60.8
<i>wa^ε-ī-t!eme'm</i> he assembled them 110.3	<i>wa-t!emēxia^{uε}</i> people assembled 144.23
<i>ha^εw-ī-ha'nats!^{iε}n</i> I made it stop	<i>ha-u-hana'^εs</i> (= <i>-a'ts!x</i>) it stopped (152.15; 198.9)
<i>dī-sgū'yūk!^{iε}n</i> I knock it down (48.7, 8)	<i>dī-sgū'^{iε}xk'</i> it fell (nobody pushing) (59.11; 62.1)
<i>ī-gwidigwa't'i</i> he threw them (108.21; 138.3)	<i>hū'ū'li'nk'wa</i> (tiredness) <i>gwidi-gwa's</i> (= <i>-a'tx</i>) he was plumb tired out (probably = he tottered with tiredness) 120.12
<i>ī-smili'smili^εn</i> I swing it	<i>smili'smalx^ε</i> I swing ¹ (73.2)
<i>bā^a-t'e'^εgi^εn</i> I lift it up (Type 5)	<i>bā^a-t'ek!^{iε}t'ax</i> it bobs up and down (60.11, 13, 14)

In some verbs *-alx-* (= continuative *-al-* + non-agentive *-x-*) seems to be quite equivalent to the intransitive *-xa-*:

geyewa'lx^ε I am eating (31.3) (but, hortatory, *geixaba^ε* let us eat).
le'ba'nx^ε I carry (178.6) (*lā^aba'^εn* I carry it [178.3, 4])
ū^ugwa'nx^ε I drink (see § 21).

The non-agentive character of verbs in *-x-* may be reflected in transitives (causatives) derived from them, in that in such causatives

¹ It may not be uninteresting to note, as throwing light on the native feeling for *-x-*, that this form sounded somewhat queer to Mrs. Johnson, for, as she intimated, one can't very well be swinging without either actively swinging one's self or being swung by some one.

the subject is not thought of as being the direct cause of the state or activity predicated, but is rather considered as indirectly responsible for it. Thus, from the aorist stem *t'gwilik!w-* (*t'gwili'^ε-x* WATER, BLOOD DROPS, DRIPS 58.1) are formed:

p!a-i-t'gwili'k!wana^εn I (voluntarily) drop, spill it

p!a-i-t'gwili'^εxna^εn I have it drop (unavoidably), spill it (72.8, 16)

§ 57. Positional-*-ī-*

As we have already seen (§ 40, 15), this suffix, though of clearly derivational character, is generally, probably always, confined to the aorist. A positional verb in *-ī-* may be defined as expressing the state or condition resulting from the completed action of a transitive or non-agentive; e. g., *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gup!idī* IT (BOX-LIKE OBJECT) LIES UPSIDE DOWN is a verb expressing the result of the action defined in *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'uba^εn* I UPSET IT and *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'upx* IT UPSET 60.8. From one point of view the suffix *-ī-* serves to mark off a class of purely positional verbs, a different verb-stem being used for each general form-category of the object described. Such verbs of position are:

dink!ī long, stretched out object lies (transitive aorist *dinik!-*)

t'geits!ī round object lies (138.24) (*t'geyets!-*)

p'ildī flat object lies

t!obigī corpse, dead-looking body lies

s'einī box-like object with opening on top lies

p!a-i-ha-u-t'gup!idī box-like object with opening below lies
(*t'gū'ub-*)

s'ugwidī curled-up object (like bundle of rope) lies

da-sgalī scattered objects (like grain on floor) lie

wik!idī several objects heaped together lie (*wī'g-*)

s'as'inī erect object is, he stands 34.1; 45.12; 77.9

s'u^εwilī sitting object (person) is, he sits, dwells 21.1; 57.2

k'ebilī absent object is, he is long absent 124.20

Not so clearly positional are:

lā^alī (generally heard as *lā^atē'*) it becomes 33.17; 45.3

yamlī he looks pretty

Of these verbs those that are directly derived from transitives, it will be observed, use in the aorist the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, of their simplex (thus *dink!-*, not *dinik!-*). The derivational *-(a)d-* (see § 42, 4) that seems to characterize a number of positional verbs can not be explained.

Certain Takelma place-names in $-i$ (or $-i-k'$, $-i'-k'$ with suffix $-k'$ characteristic of geographical names) can hardly be otherwise explained than as positional verbs in $-i^i$, derived from nouns and provided with local prefixes defining the position of the noun. Such are:

- Di^ε-danī* ¹ Table Rock (probably = rock [*da'n*] is [$-i$] west [*di^ε-*]); west of the rock would be *di^ε-dana'* (cf. *dana't'k'* my rock)
Dak'-t'gamī-k' (cf. *Dak'-t'gamiya'^ε* person from D.) (= place where [$-k'$] elks [*t'ga'm*] are [i] above, on top [*dak'-*])
Dal-dani'k' (cf. *Dal-daniya'^ε* one from D.) (= place where [$-k'-$] in brush, away from creek [*dal-*] is [$-i$] rock [*da'n*])
han-xilmī ghost land (= across river [*han-*] are [$-i$] ghosts [*xila'm*])
de-dīwī near the falls of Rogue River (= in front [$-de-$] are [$-i$] falls [*dīwī*])

§ 58. IMPERSONAL $-iau-$

Verging toward the purely formal (pronominal) elements of the verb is the suffix $-iau-$. Forms in $-iau-$ are intransitive, and may be formed from all intransitives and all transitives with incorporated pronominal *object*, the function of the suffix being to give an indefinite, generalized collective, or impersonal, signification (cf. German MAN, French ON) to the always third personal pronominal (Class I intransitive) subject. Examples are:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>yā^ania'^{ue}</i> people go 58.14; 152.5 | future <i>yanaya'^{ue}t'</i> |
| <i>wa^ε-i-t!emēxia'^{ue}</i> people assemble 144.23 | future <i>wa^ε-i-dēmxia'^{ue}t'</i> |
| <i>e^εbia'^{ue}</i> people are 192.7 (cf. <i>e^εbi'k'</i> we are 180.13) | |
| <i>ts!āū yō^uya'uk'</i> there was (inferential) deep water (cf. 188.14) | |
| <i>sā^ansa'nsinia'^{ue}</i> fighting is going on 23.14 | future <i>sana'xinia'^{ue}t'</i> |
| <i>dōmxbiya'^{ue}t'</i> people will kill you (intransitive; but transitive with definite third personal subject <i>dōmxbink'</i> they will kill you) (33.10) | |

In particular, states of the weather or season, necessarily involving indefiniteness of subject, are referred to by forms provided with the indefinite suffix $-iau-$. Examples are:

¹ This example is due to Mr. H. H. St. Clair 2d, from whose Manuscript Notes on Takelma it was taken. It is there written *Dī'tanī*.

lop!odia'^{us} it is raining, hailing, or snowing 90.1; 152.11 (but definitely *nōx lop!o't'* it rains 90.1; (198.9); *ts!elam lop!o't'* it hails; *p!ā'^{as} lop!o't'* it snows 90.2; 196.7)

lep'niya'uk' it has gotten to be winter

samgia'^{us}t' it will be summer (92.9)

samgiaugulugwa'n it is about to be summer (literally, it is summer-intended, see § 68) (cf. 48.13)

t'ūwūgia'^{us} it is hot (i. e., it is hot weather; but *t'ūwū'^εk'* it, some object, is hot [25.10]; 94.15)

wē'egia-uda^ε when it is daybreak 73.6; 126.13

4. Temporal-Modal and Pronominal Elements (§§ 59–67)

§ 59. INTRODUCTORY

Every Takelma verb except, so far as known, the defective copula *ēt'e^ε* I AM, has forms of six tense-modes—*aorist*, *future*, *potential*, *inferential*, *present imperative*, and *future imperative*. Of these, all but the *aorist*, which is built up on a derived *aorist* stem, are formed from the verb-stem. A special tense or mode sign, apart from the peculiar stem of the *aorist*, is found in none of the tense-modes except the *inferential*, which, in all the voices, is throughout characterized by a *-k'(-g-)* following the objective, but preceding the subjective, pronominal elements. Each of the tense-modes except the *potential*, which uses the personal endings of the *aorist*, is, however, characterized by its own set of pronominal endings. It is for this very reason that it has seemed best to use the term *tense-modes* for the various modes and tenses, instead of attempting a necessarily artificial classification into *tenses* (*aorist* and *future*) and *modes* (*indicative*, *potential*, *imperative*, and *inferential*), the method of distinguishing the latter being fundamentally the same as that employed to form the former, i. e., the use of special pronominal schemes.

The purely temporal idea is only slightly developed in the verb. The *aorist* does duty for the *preterite* (including the *narrative past*), the *present*, and the *immediate future*, as in NOW I SHALL GO; while the *future* is employed to refer to future time distinctly set off from the *present*, as in I SHALL GO THIS EVENING, TO-MORROW. A similar distinction between the *immediate* and *more remote future* is made in the *imperative*. The *present imperative* expresses a command which, it is intended, is to pass into more or less immediate fulfillment, as in GO AWAY! while the command expressed by the *future*

imperative is not to be carried out until some stated or implied point of time definitely removed from the immediate present, as in COME TO-MORROW!, GIVE HER TO EAT (when she recovers). The uses of the potential and inferential will be best illustrated by examples given after the forms themselves have been tabulated. In a general way the potential implies the ability to do a thing, or the possibility of the occurrence of a certain action or condition (I CAN, COULD GO if I care, cared to), and thus is appropriately used in the apodosis of an unfulfilled or contrary-to-fact condition; it is also regularly employed in the expression of the negative imperative (prohibitive). The peculiar form of the potential (verb-stem with aorist pronoun endings) seems in a measure to reflect its modal signification, the identity of its stem with that of the future indicating apparently the lack of fulfillment of the action, while the aoristic pronominal elements may be interpreted as expressing the certainty of such fulfillment under the expressed or implied circumstances by the person referred to.

The inferential implies that the action expressed by the verb is not directly known or stated on the authority of the speaker, but is only inferred from the circumstances of the case or rests on the authority of one other than the speaker. Thus, if I say THE BEAR KILLED THE MAN, and wish to state the event as a mere matter of fact, the truth of which is directly known from my own or another's experience, the aorist form would normally be employed:

mena` (bear) yap!a (man) t!omōk'wa (it killed him)

If I wish, however, to imply that it is not definitely known from unmistakable evidence that the event really took place, or that it is inferred from certain facts (such as the finding of the man's corpse or the presence of a bear's footprints in the neighborhood of the house), or that the statement is not made on my own authority, the inferential would be employed:

*mena` yap!a dōmk'wak' it seems that the bear killed the man;
the bear must have, evidently has, killed the man*

Inasmuch as mythical narration is necessarily told on hearsay, one would expect the regular use of the inferential in the myths; yet, in the great majority of cases, the aorist was employed, either because the constant use of the relatively uncommon inferential forms would have been felt as intrusive and laborious, or because the events related in the myths are to be looked upon as objectively certain.

The inferential is also regularly employed in expressing the negative future.

Not only do the pronominal elements vary for the different tense-modes, but they change also for the two main classes of intransitive verbs and for the transitive (subject and object), except that in the present imperative and inferential no such class-differences are discernible, though even in these the characteristic *-p'* of Class II intransitives brings about a striking formal, if not strictly personal, difference. We thus have the following eleven pronominal schemes to deal with:

Aorist subject intransitive I.

Aorist subject intransitive II.

Aorist subject transitive.

Future subject intransitive I.

Future subject intransitive II.

Future subject transitive.

Inferential subject.

Present imperative subject.

Future imperative subject intransitive I and transitive.

Future imperative subject intransitive II.

Object transitive (and subject passive).

The transitive objects are alike for all tense-modes, except that the combination of the first person singular object and second person singular or plural subject (i. e., THOU or YE ME) always agrees with the corresponding subject form of intransitive II. Not all the personal forms in these schemes stand alone, there being a number of intercrossings between the schemes of the three classes of verbs. The total number of personal endings is furthermore greatly lessened by the absence of a dual and the lack of a distinct plural form for the third person. The third person subject is positively characterized by a distinct personal ending only in the aorist subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive II, and the future subject transitive; as object, it is never characterized at all, except in so far as the third person object, when referring to human beings, is optionally indicated by a special suffix *-k'wa-* (*-gwa-*). In all other cases the third person is negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending. The second singular subject of the present imperative is similarly negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending, though the *-p'* of the present imperative intransitive II superficially contradicts this statement (see § 61).

The pronominal schemes, with illustrative paradigms, will now be taken up according to the verb-classes.

§ 60. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS I

This class embraces most of the intransitives of the language, particularly those of active significance (e. g., COME, GO, RUN, DANCE, PLAY, SING, DIE, SHOUT, JUMP, yet also such as BE, SLEEP), verbs in *-xa-*, indefinites in *-iau-*, and reciprocals. The tense-modes of such verbs have the following characteristic subjective personal endings:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
First person . .	-t'ē, -dē ^e	-t'ēē, -dēē	-k'-a ^ē	—	-(a')ēk'
Second person . .	-(a')t'	-(a)da'ē	-k' ēāi'		
Third person . .	-ē	-(a')ē ^e	-k'		
Plural:					
First person . .	-t'k'	-(i)ga'm	-k'-ana'k'	-(a)ba'ē	?
Second person . .	-(a')t'p'	-(a')t'ba ^e	-k' ēāi'p'	f-(a')np' -p'	

¹ It is possible that this suffix is really -k'a^ēn; -n after a catch is practically without sonority, and very easily missed by the ear. The first person singular and plural inferential endings are then both transitives in form (cf. -a^ēn and -ana'k' as first person singular and plural subject of transitives); the third person is without ending in both. The ending -k'-a^ēn is made particularly likely by the subordinate in -k'-a'n-da^e (see § 70).

The imperative is necessarily lacking in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural in -(a)ba'ē of the present imperative is used as a hortatory: *yanaba'ē* LET US GO! 158.11; (cf. 168.11). This -(a)ba'ē is not infrequently followed by emphasizing particles: -ni' (e. g., *yubā'a^ēni'* LET US BE! [cf. 158.8]); -hi (e. g., *ye'ba'ēhi* LET US RETURN! 63.1; see § 114, 2), or -ha'n (e. g., *ya'naba'ēha'n* LET US GO 64.1), the last of these being clearly identical with the nominal plural element -han (see § 99); -nihan is also found (*ya'nabā'a^ēniha'n* LET US ALL GO, PRAY! [cf. 150.24; 152.6]). No true future hortatory and second person plural imperative seem to exist; for the latter, the ordinary indicative form in -t'ba^e (-daba^e in the other classes) was always given. The connective -a- is used with most of the consonantal endings, as indicated in the table, when the preceding part of the word ends in a consonant, otherwise the ending is directly attached; in the reciprocal -t'p', -ēt', and -t'ba^e are directly added to the suffix -an-. Before the only vocalic ending, -i'k', a glide -y- is introduced if the preceding sound is a vowel (e. g., *al-yowoyi'k'* WE LOOK). In the first person plural of the future -iga'm (-aorist -ig- + -a'm; cf. -da'm in possessive

pronouns, §§ 91-3) is used after consonants, *-ga'm* after vowels. The first form of the second person plural imperative (*-a'np'*) is used to follow most consonants (*-'np'* to follow a "constant" *-a-* of the stem), *-p'* being found only after vowels and probably *m* and *n* (e. g., *yu'p'* BE YE!; *yana'p'* GO YE!).

In regard to the etymology of the endings, it is clear that the second person plural aorist is derived from the corresponding singular form by the addition of a characteristic *-p'* (cf. the imperative), that the second persons of the future are differentiated from the aorist forms by an added *-a^ε*, and that the first person singular future is identical with the corresponding form in the aorist, except for the lack of a catch. The second persons of the inferential are periphrastic forms, consisting of the third personal form in *-k'* (mode-sign, not personal ending) plus *eit'* THOU ART, *eit'p'* YE ARE.

As paradigmatic examples are chosen a stem ending in a vowel (aorist *yowo-* BE), one ending in a consonant (aorist *baxam-* COME), a reciprocal (aorist *sā^ansan-san-* FIGHT WITH ONE ANOTHER), and an indefinite in *-iau-* (aorist *t'ūwū-g-iau-* BE HOT).

AORIST

Singular:					
First person	. .	<i>yowo't'e^ε</i>	I run	<i>baxam't'e^ε</i>	I come
Second person	. .	<i>yowo't'</i>		<i>baxama't'</i>	
Third person	. .	<i>yowo'e^ε</i>		<i>baxa'e^m</i>	<i>sā^ansa'nsa^εn</i> they fight
Plural:					
First person	. .	<i>yowoyi'k'</i>		<i>baxami'k'</i>	<i>sā^ansa'nsinik'</i>
Second person	. .	<i>yowo't'p'</i>		<i>baxama't'p'</i>	<i>sā^ansa'nsant'p'</i>

FUTURE

Singular:					
First person	. .	<i>yu't'e^ε</i>		<i>baxma't'e^ε</i>	
Second person	. .	<i>yuda'e^ε</i>		<i>baxmada'e^ε</i>	
Third person	. .	<i>yu't'</i>		<i>baxma't'</i>	<i>sana'xant'</i>
Plural:					
First person	. .	<i>yuga'm</i>		<i>baxmaga'm</i>	<i>sana'zinigam</i>
Second person	. .	<i>yu't'ba^ε</i>		<i>baxma't'ba^ε</i>	<i>sana'xant'ba^ε</i>

POTENTIAL

Singular:					
First person	. .	<i>yu't'e^ε</i>		<i>baxma't'e^ε</i>	
Second person	. .	<i>yu't'</i>		<i>baxma't'</i>	
Third person	. .	<i>yu'e^ε</i>		<i>baxma'e^ε</i>	<i>sana'xaⁿ</i>
Plural:					
First person	. .	<i>yuwi'k'</i>		<i>baxmi'k'</i>	<i>sana'zinik'</i>
Second person	. .	<i>yu't'p'</i>		<i>baxma't'p'</i>	<i>sana'xant'p'</i>

INFERENTIAL

Singular:				
First person	. .	<i>yu'k'a^ε</i>	<i>bazma'k'a^ε</i>	
Second person	. .	<i>yu'kleit'¹</i>	<i>bazma'kleit'</i>	
Third person	. .	<i>yu'k'</i>	<i>bazma'k'</i>	<i>sana'zank'</i> <i>t'ūu'giaw'k'</i>
Plural:				
First person	. .	<i>yu'k'ana'k'</i>	<i>bazma'k'ana'k'</i>	<i>sana'zank'ana'k'</i>
Second person	. .	<i>yu'kleit'p'</i>	<i>bazma'kleit'p'</i>	<i>sana'zankleit'p'</i>

¹ -k' + ε = k! See § 12.

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	. .	<i>yu'</i>	<i>bazma'</i>	
Plural:				
First person	. .	<i>yuba^ε</i>	<i>bazmaba^ε</i>	<i>sana'ziniba^ε¹</i>
Second person	. .	<i>yu'p'</i>	<i>bazma'np'</i>	(?) <i>sana'zananp'</i>

¹ The -i- of *-iba^ε* evidently corresponds to the -i- in the first person plural aorist *-ik'*, future *-igam*, but appears, so far as known, only in the reciprocal, and, of course, in such cases as require connective *-i-* instead of *-a-* (see below, § 64): *ha^εw-ī-k'emniba^ε* LET US SWEAT, with *-i-* because of instrumental *ī-*.

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	. .	<i>yu'ek'</i>	<i>bazma'ek'</i>	

A few intransitives of this class add the consonantal pronominal endings directly to the final semi-vowel (-y-) of the stem, instead of employing the connective vowel *-a-*. Such are:

eit'¹ thou art 108.2, *eit'p'* ye are 14.10 (contrast *yeweya't'* thou returnest [58.13], but *yewēit'e^ε* I return [188.4] like *eit'e^ε* I am 198.2)

nagaīt' thou sayest 56.5, *nagaīt'p'* ye say 170.4 (contrast *t'agaya't'* thou criest, but *t'agaīt'e^ε* I cry [180.5] like *nagaīt'e^ε* I say 180.1)

To this somewhat irregular group of verbs belongs probably also *lōu-*PLAY, though, not ending in a semi-vowel in either the verb or aorist stem, it shows no forms directly comparable to those just given; its third person aorist, however, shows a rising accent before the catch: *lōu'ε²* 70.4 (not **lō'u'ε^ε*), a phenomenon that seems connected (see below, § 65) with the lack of a connecting vowel before the personal endings.

A few stray verbs, otherwise following the normal scheme of intransitive Class I endings, seem to lack a catch in the third person aorist:

¹ This verb is defective, having only the three forms given above, the first person plural *eebi'k'* 180.13, and the (cf. class II) indefinite *eebia'u^ε* 192.7, the latter two with loss of *i* and intrusive *-b-*. The third person and the non-aorist forms are supplied by *yo-*BE.

² *ε^ε* appears also in certain usitatives: *hiwīlū^ε* HE USED TO RUN, *sgelēlū^ε* HE KEPT SHOUTING, in which the rising accent is probably radical (see § 43, 4); these forms, furthermore, have lost a *w*, § 18 (cf. *hiwīlū^ε* I RUN, *sgelēlū^ε* I SHOUT).

*lop!o't'*¹ it rains 90.1, 2 (yet *lop!oda't'* you are raining 198.9;
lop'da'et' it will rain; *lop'da'x* to rain, § 74, 1)
hãx it burns 98.1 (yet *haxa'et'* it will burn)

Several intransitive Class I usitives seem to lack the catch of the third person aorist also:

ginĩnk' he always went to 46.11 (from *ginĩ'ek'* he went to)
witc!ĩsma he keeps moving (from *witc!ĩ'em* he moves 148.12)
yewèo'k' he is wont to return 47.4; 116.2 (yet *yewèoga't'* you are wont to return)

No explanation can be given of this irregularity.

The inferential endings, as has been already remarked, are identical for all classes of verbs, so that the following applies to Class II intransitives and to transitives as well as to Class I intransitives. The mode-sign *-k'* is added directly to the final vowel or consonant of the verb-stem (or stem with its added derivative and pronominal object suffixes) without connecting *a*. All combinations of consonants are here allowed that are at all possible as syllabically final clusters (see § 16); indeed some of the final consonant clusters, as *-sk'*, *-p'k'*, *-np'k'*, *-lp'k'*, hardly occur, if at all, outside the inferential. If the resulting consonant combination would be phonetically impossible an inorganic *a* is introduced between the two consonants that precede the inferential *-k'*; secondary diphthongs with raised accent may thus arise:

k!ema'nk' he made it (verb-stem *k!emn-*)
bila'uk' he jumped 160.17 (verb-stem *bilw-*)

Double diphthongs are often allowed to stand unaltered before *-k'* (e.g., *oĩnk'* HE GAVE THEM; also imperative *oĩn* GIVE THEM!); sometimes doublets, with double diphthong or with inorganic *a*, are found (e. g., *ts!aĩmk'* or *ts!aya'mk'* HE HID IT; also passive participle *ts!aĩmhak'w* HIDDEN, but *ts!aya'm* HIDE IT! *ts!eya'mxi* HIDE ME! *ts!aya'mxamk'* HE HID US [158.7]). With a final *-g-* or *-gw-* the inferential *-k'* unites to form *-k'* or *-k'w*, but with lengthening of the preceding vowel; *-k!-+ -k'* becomes *-'ek'*. Examples are:

heenāk'w (= *a'gw-k'*) he consumed them (cf. 48.10); but *heena'k'w* consume them!

wa-yanāk'w (= *yana'-gw-k'*) he ran after them 98.10; but *wa-yana'k'w* run after them!

¹ This form can not possibly have been misheard for **lop!o'et'*, the form to be expected, as the subordinate is *lop!õ't'a'*, not **lop!õ't'uda'*, which would be required by a **lop!o'et'* (see § 70).

yō^wuk^w (= *yogw-k'*) she married him 192.16

he^ε-ī-le'm^εk' (= *lemk!-k'*) he destroyed them (146.20); 154.11;
also imperative (= **lemk!*)

§ 61. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS II

Most verbs of Class II intransitives, unlike those that are most typical of Class I, are derived from transitives, the majority of examples falling under the heads of non-agentives in *-x-*, reflexives in *-gwi-*, positionals in *-ī-*, and verbs with intransitivizing *-p'* either in all their tense-modes or in all but the aorist (see § 42, 1). Besides these main groups there are a straggling number of not easily classified verbs that also show the peculiarities of the class; such are:

sene'sant'e^ε I whoop (110.20; 180.15)

wīt'e^ε I go about (90.1; 92.29; 122.23)

ligint'e^ε I rest (48.11; 79.2, 4; 102.1)

hūūli'nt'e^ε I am tired (48.4, 11; 102.1, 8; 120.11)

In a rough way the main characteristic of Class II intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, is that they denote conditions and processes, while Class I intransitives are in great part verbs of action. Following is the scheme of subjective pronominal endings characteristic of Class II:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
First person .	<i>-t'e^ε, -de^ε</i>	<i>t'ee, -dee</i>	<i>(-p')-gae</i>		
Second person .	<i>-t'am, -dam</i>	<i>-t'a^ε, -da^ε</i>	<i>(-p')-k' eēt'</i>	<i>(-p')</i>	<i>(-p')-ga^εm</i>
Third person .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \\ -t' \end{array} \right\}$	<i>-t'āa, -dāa</i>	<i>(-p')-k'</i>		
Plural:					
First person .	<i>(-p')-ik'</i>	<i>(-p')-igam</i>	<i>(-p')-g-ana'k'</i>	<i>(-p')-aba^ε</i>	
Second person .	<i>-t'ap', -dap'</i>	<i>-t'aba^ε, -daba^ε</i>	<i>(-p')-k' eēt' p'</i>	<i>(-p')-anp'</i>	

In comparing these endings with those of Class I intransitives, it is seen that the characteristic peculiarities of Class II intransitives are: the *-am* of the second person singular aorist and future imperative (*-t'am* [= *-t' + -am*], *-ga^εm* [? = *-εk' + -am*]); the *-a-* between the *-t'-* and the *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the second person plural aorist and future; the lack of a catch in the third person aorist; the ending *-t'āa* of the third person future; and the presence of a *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the first person plural aorist and future and in the inferential, present imperative, and future imperative forms. The last feature is, however, absent in the non-agentive *-x-* verbs and in the future of reflexives. The labial in

the first person plural of the aorist and future is evidently connected with the *-b-* of *e^bi'k'* WE ARE (see § 60, fourth footnote); the parallelism is made complete by the fact that impersonal forms in *-iau-* derived from Class II intransitives (except non-agentives) show a *-p'* before the suffix, analogously to *e^bia'^{us}*:

sene'sanp'ia^{us} there is whooping, *se'nsanp'ia^{us}t'* there will be whooping

In the third person of the aorist, positionals in *-i'*, non-agentives, and verbs in *-p'* and other consonants (except *n* and probably *l*, *m*) lack a positive ending, while reflexives and most of the miscellaneous verbs (ending in a vowel or *n*, *l*, and *m*) show a final *-t'*. There is every reason to believe that the absence of a *-t'* in the former group of forms is due to phonetic conditions that brought about its loss (see § 18).

As examples of verbs of this class will serve a non-agentive (aorist *ha-u-hana's-* STOP), a reflexive (aorist *i-lets!ek'wi-* TOUCH ONE'S SELF), a positional (aorist *s'as'in*i*'-* STAND), and one of the miscellaneous verbs (*wi*i*'-* GO ABOUT).

AORIST.

Singular:				
First person .	<i>hana'^sde^s</i> I stop	<i>lets!ēk'wide^s</i> I touch myself	<i>s'as'in<i>i</i>t'^s</i> I stand	<i>wit'^s</i> I go about
Second person	<i>hana'^sdām</i>	<i>lets!ēk'widām</i>	<i>s'as'in<i>i</i>t'^{am}</i>	<i>wit'^{am}</i>
Third person	<i>hana'^s</i>	<i>lets!ēk'wit'</i>	<i>s'as'in<i>i</i></i>	<i>wit'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>hana'^ssik'</i>	<i>lets!ēk'wibik'</i>	<i>s'as'in<i>i</i>p'ik'</i>	<i>wip'ik'</i>
Second person	<i>hana'^sdap'</i>	<i>lets!ēk'widap'</i>	<i>s'as'in<i>i</i>t'ap'</i>	<i>wit'ap'</i>

FUTURE

Singular:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^sde^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wide^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'^s</i>	<i>wit'^s</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^sda^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wida^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'a^s</i>	<i>wit'a^s</i>
Third person .	<i>ha'n^sdā^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widā^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'ā^s</i>	<i>wit'ā^s</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^ssigām</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wigām</i>	<i>s'a'sanp'igām</i>	<i>wip'igām</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^sdaba^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widaba^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'aba^s</i>	<i>wit'aba^s</i>

POTENTIAL.

Singular:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^sde^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wide^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'^s</i>	<i>wit'^s</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^sdām</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widām</i>	<i>s'a'sant'^{am}</i>	<i>wit'^{am}</i>
Third person .	<i>ha'n^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wit'</i>	<i>s'a'sant' (?)</i>	<i>wit'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^ssik'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wibik'</i>	<i>s'a'sanp'ik'</i>	<i>wip'ik'</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^sdap'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widap'</i>	<i>s'a'sant'ap'</i>	<i>wit'ap'</i>

INFERENTIAL

Singular:				
First person .	<i>ha'n'sgaʃ</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'gaʃ</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'gaʃ</i>	<i>wip'gaʃ</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n'skleit'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'kleit'</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'kleit'</i>	<i>wip'kleit'</i>
Third person .	<i>ha'n'sk'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'k'</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'k'</i>	<i>wip'k'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n'sgana'k'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'gana'k'</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'gana'k'</i>	<i>wip'gana'k'</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n'skleit'p'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'kleit'p'</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'kleit'p'</i>	<i>wip'kleit'p'</i>

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	<i>ha'n's</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'</i>	<i>wip'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n'sabaʃ</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'abaʃ</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'abaʃ</i>	<i>wip'abaʃ</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n'samp'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'amp'</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'amp'</i>	<i>wip'amp'</i>

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	<i>ha'n'sgaʃm</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'gaʃm</i>	<i>s'a's'amp'gaʃm</i>	<i>wip'gaʃm</i>

Those verbs of this class that are characterized, either throughout their forms or in all non-aorist forms, by a suffixed *p'* have this element coalesce with the *-p'* of the first person plural, inferential, and imperative, but with lengthening of an immediately preceding vowel. In the imperative this lengthened vowel seems to take on a falling accent:

p'alā'a'p' tell a myth! (cf. *p'ala'p'deʃ* I shall tell a myth, with inorganic second *a*)

sana'a'p' fight! (cf. *sana'p'deʃ* I shall fight, with radical second *a*)

The verb *wog-* ARRIVE is peculiar in that the aorist is formed after the manner of Class II verbs (*wōk'* HE ARRIVES 47.15; *wōk'dam* YOU ARRIVE), while the non-aorist forms belong to Class I (e. g., *woga'εt'* HE WILL ARRIVE). It is further noteworthy that many, perhaps most, Class II intransitives form their usitative and frequentative forms according to Class I. Examples, showing the third person aorist catch, are:

s'ū'εalhaʃ they always dwell 112.2 (from *s'ū'εwiliʃ* 21.1; but first person plural *s'ū'εalhibik'*); contrast Class II *s'as'a'nhap'* he keeps standing (from *s'as'inʃ* 34.1)

wogowa'εk' they keep arriving 112.2 (from *wōk'*)

s'o'wō's'a'ue they keep jumping (112.5,10) (from *s'owō'us'k'ap'* 48.15)

Several non-agentives in *-x-* drop the *-x-* and become Class I intransitives in the frequentative:

p!a-i-t'gwil't'it'gwal^ε (water) keeps dripping down (cf. *p!a-i-t'gwil't'it^εx* it drips down 58.1)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} x\bar{a}^a\text{-sgot!o'sga}^{\epsilon}t' \text{ it breaks to pieces 62.1 (cf. } x\bar{a}^a\text{-sg}\bar{o}'u_s = \text{-sg}\bar{o}^ud\text{-x it breaks [61.13])} \\ x\bar{a}^a\text{-sg}\bar{o}'u_s t' \text{sgada}^{\epsilon}t' \text{ it will break to pieces (cf. } x\bar{a}^a\text{-sg}\bar{o}'u_s sda \text{ it will break [148.8])} \end{array} \right.$

TRANSITIVES, CLASS III (§§ 62-66)

§ 62. General Remarks

The subject pronominal elements of the transitive verb combine with the objective elements to form rather closely welded compound endings, yet hardly ever so that the two can not separately be recognized as such; the order of composition is in every case pronominal object + subject. It is only in the combinations THOU or YE — ME that such composition does not take place; in these the first person singular object is, properly speaking, not expressed at all, except in so far as the stem undergoes palatalization if possible (see § 31, 1), while the second person subject assumes the form in which it is found in Class II of intransitive verbs. The pronominal objects are decidedly a more integral part of the verb-form than the subjects, for not only do they precede these, but in passives, periphrastic futures, nouns of agency, and infinitives they are found unaccompanied by them. For example:

dōmxbina^ε you will be killed (178.15)

dōmxbigulu'k'^w he will kill you

dōmxbi^εs one who kills you

dōmxbiya to kill you

are analogous, as far as the incorporated pronominal object (*-bi-*) is concerned, to:

dōmxbink' he will kill you; *t!omōxbi^εn* I kill you

The pronominal objects are found in all the tense-modes, as far as the meaning of these permits, and are entirely distinct from all the subjective elements, except that the ending of the second person plural coincides with one form of the second person singular present imperative of the intransitive, *-anp'*. These elements are:

Singular: First person, *-xi* (with third subjective); second person, *-bi*; third person, —; third person (human), *-k'wa*. Plural: First person, *-am*; second person, *-anp'* (*-anb-*).

It does not seem that *-k'wa-*, which is optionally used as the third personal object when reference is distinctly had to a human being (or to a mythical animal conceived of as a human being), can be combined with other than a third personal subject (at least no other examples have been found); nor can it be used as an indirect object if the verb already contains among its prefixes an incorporated indirect object. These restrictions on the use of *-k'wa-* enable us effectually to distinguish it from the indirect reflexive *-k'wa-* which has already been discussed, this element normally requiring an incorporated object prefixed to the verb. Examples of the objective *-k'wa-* are:

*t!omōk'wa*¹ it killed him 15.16; 28.11

he^ε-īāk'wa he went away from him

hāxank'wa he burnt him 27.16

sā^ansa'nk'wa he fought with him 28.10

nagaik'wa he said to him 152.3 (with very puzzling intransitive *-i-*; contrast *naga'* he said to him)

wēt'gigwa she took (it) away from him (49.6)

lāk'wak' (inferential) he gave him to eat

In several respects this *-k'wa* differs fundamentally from the other object suffixes. It allows no connective *-x-* to stand before it (see § 64); the indirective *-d-* of *-a'ld-* (see § 48) drops out before it:

gayawa'lk'wa he ate him; cf. *gayawa'lsbi* he ate you (26.8)

and, differing in this respect from the suffixless third person object, it allows no instrumental *i* to stand before it (see § 64):

ī-t!ana'hagwa he held him (25.10); cf. *ī-t!ana'hi* he held it 27.4

dak'-da-hālk'wa he answered him 180.18; cf. *dak'-da-hā^oli'^εn* I answered him (146.14)

It is thus evident that forms with suffixed *-k'wa* approximate intransitives in form (cf. *nagaik'wa* above). With a stem-final *g*, *gw* the suffix unites to form *-k'wa*, the preceding vowel being lengthened and receiving a rising accent; with a stem-final *k!* it unites to form *-^εk'wa*, the preceding vowel being lengthened with falling accent. Examples are:

t!ayāk'wa he found him 71.14; cf. *t!aya'k'* he found it 43.4; 134.17
malāk'wa he told him 22.8; (72.14); cf. *malagana'nhi* he told it to him (see § 50) 30.15

¹ The final consonant of the aoristic stem of Type 8 verbs is regularly lost before *-k'wa*.

da-k'os'ō^uk'wa they bit him 74.5 (aorist stem *-k'os'og-*)

he^{εε}-īleme'^{εε}k'wa he destroyed them (50.2); cf. *he^{εε}-īleme'k'ī^{εn}* I destroyed them (110.2)

mül'ü^{εε}k'wa he swallowed him 72.16; cf. *mülü'k'ā^{εn}* I swallowed him (73.1)

Verbs that have a suffixed comitative *-(a)gwa-* show, in combination with the objective *-k'wa-*, a probably dissimilated suffix *-gik'wa* (*-gigwa*), the connecting *a* preceding this compound suffix being of course unlauted to *i*:

xebeyigi'k'wa he hurt him (cf. *xebeyagwa'^{εn}* I hurt him [136.23])

ūyū'^{iε}sgigwa he laughed at him 27.5 (cf. *ūyū'^εsgwa^{εn}* I laugh at him [71.7])

It is rather interesting to observe how the objective *-k'wa-* may serve to remove some of the ambiguities that are apt to arise in Takelma in the use of the third person. HE GAVE IT TO HIM is expressed in the inferential by the forms *o'k'ik'* and *o'k'igwak'*, the latter of which necessarily refers to a human indirect object. If a noun or independent pronoun be put before these apparently synonymous forms, sentences are framed of quite divergent signification. In the first sentence (noun + *o'k'ik'*) the prefixed noun would naturally be taken as the object (direct or indirect) of the verb (e. g., *ne'k'di o'k'ik'*, HE WHO-GAVE IT? [=TO WHOM DID HE GIVE IT?]); in the second (noun + *o'k'igwak'*), as subject, a doubly expressed object being inadmissible (e. g., *ne'k'di o'k'igwak'* WHO GAVE IT TO HIM?). TO WHOM DID HE BRING IT? with incorporated object *ne'k'di* reads *ne'k'di me^ε-wāk'* literally, HE-WHO-HITHER-BROUGHT-IT? WHO BROUGHT IT TO HIM? with subject *ne'k'di* reads (as inferential form) *ne'k'di wagawo'k'wak'* (*-o-* unexplained). HE FOUND THE ANTS is expressed by *t!ibis'v' t!aya'k'*, but THE ANTS FOUND HIM by *t!ibis'v' t!ayāk'wa*. The usage illustrated may be stated thus: whenever the third personal object refers to a human being and the subject is expressed as a noun, suffixed *-k'wa* must be used to indicate the object; if it is not used, the expressed noun will most naturally be construed as the object of the verb. An effective means is thus present in Takelma for the distinction of a personal subject and object.

§ 63. Transitive Subject Pronouns

The various tense-modal schemes of subject pronouns in the transitive verb are as follows:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
First person . . .	-(a') ^ε n	-(a')n	-k'-a ^ε		
Second person . .	{-(a')t' -dam (1st sing. obj.)}	{-(a')da ^ε -da ^ε (1st sing. obj.)}	{-k' ^ε ei' -k'}		{-(a') ^ε k' -ga ^ε m (1st sing. obj.)}
Third person . . .		-(a')nk'	-k'		
Plural:					
First person . . .	-(a)nak'	-(a)naga'm	k'-anak'	-(a) ba' ^ε	
Second person . .	{-(a')t'p' -dap' (1st sing. obj.)}	{-(a')t'ba ^ε -daba ^ε (1st sing. obj.)}	{-k' ^ε ei't'p' -k'}	{-p' -(a)np'}	

Setting aside the peculiar second personal subject first personal singular object terminations, it will be observed that the subjective forms of the transitive are identical with those of the intransitive (Class I) except in the first person singular and plural aorist and future, and in the third person aorist and future. The loss in the future of the catch of the first person singular aorist (-t'^ε: t'e^ε = -^εn: -n) and the addition in the future of -am to the first person plural aorist (-ik': -igam = -nak': -nagam) are quite parallel phenomena. It will be observed also that the first person plural, probably also singular, aorist of the transitive, is in form identical, except for the mode-sign -k', with the corresponding form of the inferential, so that one is justified in suspecting this tense-mode to consist, morphologically speaking, of transitive forms with third personal object (see § 60, first footnote).

The forms of *dō^um*- (aorist *t!omom*-) KILL will show the method of combining subjective and objective pronominal elements.

AORIST

Subjective	Objective				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		t!omōxbi ^ε n	t!omoma ^ε n		t!omōzanba ^ε n
2d per.	t!ūmūxdam		t!omoma ^ε t'	t!omōximit'	
3d per.	t!ūmūxi	t!omōxbi	t!omōm	t!omōxam	t!omōxanp' ¹
Plural:					
1st per.		t!omōxbinak'	t!omomana ^ε k'		t!omōzanbana ^ε k'
2d per.	t!ūmūxdap'		t!omoma ^ε t'p'	t!omōximit'p'	

¹ Not to be confused with *t!omōxant'p'* YE ARE KILLING EACH OTHER!

FUTURE

Subjective	Objective				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>dōmxbīn</i>	<i>dō^uma'n</i>		<i>dōmzanban</i>
2d per.	<i>dūmzda^s</i>		<i>dō^umada^s</i>	<i>dōmzimida^s</i>	
3d per.	<i>dūmxink^s</i>	<i>dōmxbīnk'</i>	<i>dō^uma'nk'</i>	<i>dōmzamank'</i>	<i>dōmzanbank'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>dōmxbīnagam</i>	<i>dō^umanaga'm</i>		<i>dōmzambanagam</i>
2d per.	<i>dūmzdaba^s</i>		<i>dō^uma't'ba^s</i>	<i>dōmzimit'ba^s</i> ¹	

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>dūmxi</i>		<i>dō^um</i>	<i>dōmzam</i>	
Plural:					
1st per.			<i>dō^umaba^s</i>		
2d per.	<i>dūmxip^s</i>		<i>dō^ump' (al-xī'-k'ānp' see him!)</i>	<i>dōmzamp'¹</i>	

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>dūmzga^sm</i>		<i>dō^uma'^sk'</i>	? ²	

¹ These forms were not actually obtained, but can hardly be considered as doubtful.² Probably expressed by simple future *dōmzimida^s*.

It is not necessary to give the transitive potential and inferential forms, as the former can be easily constructed by substituting in the future forms the aorist endings for those of the future:

dūmxi he would kill me

dō^uma'^sn I should, could kill him

dō^um he would, could kill him

The inferential forms can be built up from the corresponding future forms by substituting for the subject endings of the latter those given in the table for the inferential mode:

dūmxik' he killed me

dōmzamk'et' you killed us

dōmk'a^s I killed him

dōmzanp'gana'k' we killed you

The only point to which attention need be called in the aorist and future forms is the use of a connecting vowel *-i-* instead of *-a-* when the first personal plural object (*-am-*) is combined with a second singular or plural subject (*-it'*, *-it'p'*, *-ida^s*, *-it'ba^s*); this *-i-* naturally

carries the umlaut of *-am-* to *-im-* with it, but *-am-* reappears when *-i-* drops out, cf. inferential *dōmxamk'et'*. With the *-i-* of these forms compare the *-i-* of the first person plural intransitives *-ik'*, *-iga'm*, *-iba^ε* (§ 60 and § 60, second footnote).

§ 64. Connecting *-x-* and *-i-*

It will have been observed that in all forms but those provided with a third personal object the endings are not directly added to the stem, but are joined to it by a connecting consonant *-x-* (amalgamating with preceding *-t-* to *-s-*). This element we have seen to be identical with the *-x-* (*-s-*) of reciprocal forms; and there is a possibility of its being related to the *-xa-* of active intransitive verbs, hardly, however, to the non-agentive *-x-*. Though it appears as a purely formal, apparently meaningless element, its original function must have been to indicate the objective relation in which the immediately following pronominal suffix stands to the verb. From this point of view it is absent in a third personal object form simply because there is no expressed pronominal element for it to objectivize, as it were. The final aoristic consonant of Type 8 verbs regularly disappears before the connecting *-x-*, so that its retention becomes a probably secondary mark of a third personal pronominal object. The fact that the third personal objective element *-k'wa-* (*-gwa-*) does not tolerate a preceding connective *-x-* puts it in a class by itself, affiliating it to some extent with the derivational suffixes of the verb.

There are, comparatively speaking, few transitive stems ending in a vowel, so that it does not often happen that the subjective personal endings, the third personal object being unexpressed, are directly attached to the verb or aorist stem, as in:

naga'^εn I say to him 72.9, cf. *naga'* he said to him 92.24

sebe'n I shall roast it (44.6); future imperative *odo'^εk'* hunt for him! (116.7)

Ordinarily forms involving the third personal object require a connecting vowel between the stem and the pronominal suffix. Not all verbs, however, show the purely non-significant *-a-* of, e. g., *t!omoma'^εn*, but have a to a large extent probably functional *-i-*. This *-i-* occurs first of all in all third personal object forms of verbs that have an instrumental prefix:

ts!ayaga'^εn I shoot him (192.10), but *wa-ts!ayagi'^εn* I shoot (him) with it

ī-lats!agi't' you touched it

The greater number of cases will probably be found to come under this head, so that the *-i-* may be conveniently termed INSTRUMENTAL *-i-*. Not all forms with *-i-*, by any means, can be explained, however, as instrumental in force. A great many verbs, many of them characterized by the directive prefix *al-* (see § 36, 15), require an *-i-* as their regular connecting vowel:

lagagi'εn I gave him to eat (30.12)

lā^aliwi'εn I call him by name (116.17)

lō^uginini'εn I trap them for him (and most other FOR-indirectives in *-anan-*)

Examples of *-i-*verbs with indirect object are:

ogoyi'εn I give it to him 180.11 (contrast *oyona'εn* I gave it [180.20])

wā^agiwi'εn I brought it to him (176.17) (contrast *wā^aga'εn* I brought it [162.13])

A number of verbs have *-a-* in the aorist, but *-i-* in all other tense-modes:

yīⁱmiya'εn I lend it to him, but *yimi'hin* I shall lend it to him

naga'εn I said to him (second *-a-* part of stem) 72.9, but *nā^agi'n*

I shall say to him; *nā^agi'εk'* say to him! (future) 196.20; *nāk'ik'*

he said to him (inferential) 94.16; 170.9; 172.12

The general significance of *-i-* seems not unlike that of the prefixed directive *al-*, though the application of the former element is very much wider; i. e., it refers to action directed toward some person or object distinctly outside the sphere of the subject. Hence the *-i-* is never found used together with the indirect reflexive *-k'wa-*, even though this suffix is accompanied by an instrumental prefix:

xā^a-p!īⁱ-nō^uk'wa'εn I warm my own back (188.20)

In a few cases the applicability of the action of the verb can be shifted from the sphere of the subject to that of another person or thing by a mere change of the connective *-a-* to *-i-*, without the added use of prefix or suffix:

xā^a-lā'^at!an I shall put it about my waist, but *xā^a-lā'^at!in* I shall put it about his waist

In the form of the third personal subject with third personal object of the aorist, the imperative with third personal object, and the inferential with third personal object, the *-i-* generally appears as a suffixed *-hi-* (*-i-*), incapable of causing umlaut:

malagana'nhi he told him 30.15, but *malagini'εn* I told him (172.1)

wa-t!omōmhi he killed him with it

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}^u\text{manana}'nhi \text{ he fixed it for him} \\ \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}\text{mana}'nhi \text{ fix it for him!} \\ \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}\text{mana}'nhik' \text{ he fixed it for him (infer.)}, \text{ but } \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}\text{minininin}'nk' \\ \text{he will fix it for him} \end{array} \right.$

It should be noted, however, that many verbs with characteristic *-i-* either may or regularly do leave out the final *-i*:

$al\bar{x}\bar{i}'ik'$ he saw him 124.6, 8 (cf. $al\text{-}\bar{x}\bar{i}'igis^n$ I saw him, 188.11)¹
 $\bar{i}\text{-}lats!a'k'$ he touched him (cf. $\bar{i}\text{-}lats!agi'^en$ I touched him)
 $ba^e\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}ye^e\text{wa}'n$ revive him! (15.2) (cf. $ba^e\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}yewe^eni'^en$ I revived him)
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} he^e\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}lele'^ek' \text{ he let him go (13.6) (cf. } he^e\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}le'lekli'^en \text{ I let him go} \\ \text{[50.4])} \\ he^e\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}le'l'^ek' \text{ let him go! 182.15 (cf. } he^e\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}le'lk!in \text{ I shall let him go)} \\ ba\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}di\text{-}t'ga'^st'gā's \text{ stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.6 (cf.} \\ ba\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}di\text{-}t'gats!a't'gisin \text{ I stuck out my anus [166.8])} \\ \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}^u\text{ma}'n \text{ he prepared it 190.22 (cf. } \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}^u\text{mini}'en \text{ I prepared it)} \end{array} \right.$

It must be confessed that it has not been found possible to find a simple rule that would enable one to tell whether an *i*-verb does or does not keep a final *-hi* (*-i*). Certain verbs, even though without instrumental signification, show an *-i-* (or *-hi-*) in all forms with third personal object. Such are:

aorist *ogoy-* give to (*ogoihi* he gave it to him 156.20)
 aorist *wet'-g-* take away from (*wēt'gi* he took it from him, 16.13)
 aorist *lagag-* feed (*laga'k'i* he gave him to eat 30.12; *lāk'i* give him to eat! *lāk'igana'k* we seem to have given him to eat)

and indirective verbs in *-anan-*. Irregularities of an unaccountable character occur. Thus we have:

$he^e\text{-}\bar{i}\bar{u}$ he left him (cf. $he^e\text{-}\bar{i}\bar{w}\bar{i}'^en$ I left him); but imperative
 $he^e\text{-}\bar{i}\bar{w}\bar{i}'hi$ leave him! (not $*\bar{i}\bar{w}\bar{i}'$, as we might expect)

In many cases the loss or retention of the final *-hi* seems directly connected with syntactic considerations. A large class of verbs with instrumental prefix (generally *i-*) drop the final *-hi*, presumably because the instrumentality is only indefinitely referred to (cf. § 35, 1). Examples of such have been given above. As soon, however, as the instrument is explicitly referred to, as when an instrumental noun is incorporated in or precedes the verb, the *-hi* is restored. Thus:

¹ The *-i-* of these verbs regularly disappears, not only here but in every form in which the normal connecting vowel *-a-* fails to appear in other verbs: *al-xi'ek'* (inferential) HE SAW HIM ($*al\text{-}xi'k\text{-}k'$ like *dōmk'* HE KILLED HIM), homonymous with *al-xi'ek'* (imperative) SEE HIM! ($=*alxi'k!$). As soon, however, as the verb becomes distinctly instrumental in force, the *-i-* is a constant element: *al-wa-xi'k/tik'* (inferential) HE SAW IT WITH IT.

- la-^εī-t' bā'^ak'* he burst it (cf. *-t' bā'^agi^εn* I burst it)
 { *ī-s'wili's'wal* he tore it to pieces (cf. *-s'wili's'wili^εn* I tore it to
 pieces)
 { *ī-s'wi'ls'wal* tear it to pieces!
 { *ī-s'wi'ls'wa'l* he tore it (once)
ī-heme'm he wrestled with him 22.10 (cf. *-hememi'^εn* I wrestled
 with him

despite the prefixed *-ī-*; but:

- la-waya-t' bā'^ak'ī* he burst it with a knife
han-waya-s'wils'wa'łhi tear it through in pieces with a knife!
 (73.3)

Similarly:

- bā-^εī-sgā^ak' sga'k'* he picked him up 31.11 (cf. *-sgāk' sgigi^εn* I picked
 him up)

but:

- k!a'mā^a dan bā^a-sgā^ak' sga'k'ī* tongs rocks he-picked-them-up-with
 (=he picked up rocks with tongs) 170.17

despite the lack of an instrumental prefix in the verb. Explicit instrumentality, however, can hardly be the most fundamental function of the *-hi*. It seems that whenever a transitive verb that primarily takes but one object is made to take a second (generally instrumental or indirective in character) the instrumental *-i-* (with retained *-hi*) is employed. Thus:

- ma'xla k!ūwū* he threw dust

but:

- ma'xla ^εalk!ūwūhi* dust he-threw-it-at-him (perhaps best translated as he-bethrew-him-with-dust) cf. 184.5

where the logically direct object is *ma'xla*, while the logically indirect, perhaps grammatically direct, object is implied by the final *-hi* and the prefix *al-*. Similarly, in:

- k'o^εpx bababa't'ī wā'di'xda* ashes he-clapped-them-over his-body
 (perhaps best rendered by: he-beclapped-his-body-with-ashes)
 182.9

the logically direct object is *k'o^εpx*, the logically indirect object, his-body, seems to be implied by the *-i*. This interpretation of the *-hi* as being dependent upon the presence of two explicit objects is confirmed by the fact that most, if not all, simple verbs that regularly retain it (such as GIVE TO, SAY TO in non-aorist forms, BRING TO, verbs in *-anan-*) logically demand two objects.

As soon as the verb ceases to be transitive (or passive) in form or when the third personal object is the personal *-k'wa*, the instrumental *-i-* disappears:

gel-yalā'axalt'gwit' he forgot himself 77.10 (cf. *gel-yalā'axaldi'en* I forgot him)

ogoik'wa he gave it to him 96.18 (cf. *ogorhi* he gave it to him 188.12)
It is possible that in *wēt'gigwa* HE TOOK IT FROM HIM the *-gi-* is a peculiar suffix not compounded of petrified *-g-* (see § 42, 6) and instrumental *-i-*; contrast *ī-t!ana'hi* HE HELD IT with *ī-t!ana'hagwa* HE HELD HIM. Any ordinary transitive verb may lose its object and take a new instrumental object, whereupon the instrumental *-i-* becomes necessary. Examples of such instrumentalized transitives are:

ga'l^ε wa-ts!ayagi'^εn bow I-with-shoot-it (cf. *ts!ayaga'^εn* I shoot him)
wa-^εū^ugwi'^εn I drink with it (cf. *ū^ugwa'^εn* I drink it)

If, however, it is desired to keep the old object as well as the new instrumental object, a suffix *-an-* seems necessary. Thus:

yap!a wa-sā^aginina'^ε people they-will-be-shot-with-it
xī'i wa-^εū^ugwini'^εn water I-drink-it-with-it

It is not clear whether or not this *-an-* is related to either of the *-an-* elements of *-anan-* (§ 50).

A final *-i* is kept phonetically distinct in that it does not unite with a preceding fortis, but allows the fortis to be treated as a syllabic final, i. e., to become ^ε + aspirated surd:

he^{εε}-ī-le'me^εk'i he killed them off, but *-le'mek!ⁱen* I killed them off

Forms without connective vowel whose stem ends in a vowel, and yet (as instrumentals or otherwise) require an *-i-*, simply insert this element (under proper phonetic conditions as *-hi-*) before the modal and personal suffixes:

wa-woo'hin I shall go to get it with it (contrast *woo'n* I shall go to get it)

ī-t!ana'hi^εn I hold it; *ī-t!ana'hi* he holds it 27.4

dī-s'al-yomo'hin I shall run behind and catch up with him;
dī-s'al-yomo'hi catch up with him! (contrast *yomo'n* I shall catch up with him)

wa-sana'hink' they will spear them with them 28.15 (verb-stem *sana-*)

A constant *-a-* used to support a preceding consonant combination is, in *-i-* verbs, colored to *-i-*:

ī-lasgi' touch him! (cf. *masga'* put it! [104.8])

It is remarkable that several verbs with instrumental vocalism lose the *-i-* and substitute the ordinary connective *-a-* in the frequentative. Such are:

ī-go'yokli^{en} I nudge him; *ī-goyogiyā^{en}* I keep pushing him
dī-t!īⁱsi^{en} I crush it; *dī-t!iyīⁱt!iya^{en}* I keep crushing them

It can hardly be accidental that in both these cases the loss of the *-i-* is accompanied by the loss of a petrified consonant (*-k!-*, *-s-*).

The following scheme of the instrumental forms of *dō^um-* KILL (third personal object) will best illustrate the phonetic behavior of *-i-*:

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:						
First person . .	<i>t!omomi^{en}</i>	<i>dō^umiⁿ</i>	<i>dō^umi^{en}</i>	<i>dō^umhiga^e</i>		
Second person . .	<i>t!omomi^t</i>	<i>dō^umida^s</i>	<i>dō^umi^t</i>	<i>dō^umhik!eft^t</i>	<i>dō^umbi</i>	<i>dō^umbi^k</i>
Third person . .	<i>t!omōmhi</i>	<i>dō^umi^{nk}</i>	<i>dō^umhi</i>	<i>dō^umhik^t</i>		
Plural:						
First person . .	<i>t!omomina^k</i>	<i>dō^uminaga^m</i>	<i>dō^umina^k</i>	<i>dō^umhigana^k</i>	<i>dō^umhiba^s</i>	
Second person . .	<i>t!omomi^tp^t</i>	<i>dō^umi^tba^s</i>	<i>dō^umi^tp^t</i>	<i>dō^umhik!eft^tp^t</i>	<i>dō^umbip^t</i>	

§ 65. Forms Without Connecting Vowel

A considerable number of transitive verbs whose aorist stem ends in a long diphthong with rising pitch (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid) treat this diphthong as a vocalic unit, i. e., do not allow the second element of the diphthong to become semivocalic and thus capable of being followed by a connective *-a-* before the personal endings (cf. intransitive forms like *eī-t^t*, § 60). If such a long diphthong is final, or precedes a consonant (like *-t^t*) that is itself incapable of entering into diphthongal combination with a preceding vowel, no difficulty arises. If, however, the long diphthong precedes an *-n-* (in such endings as *-^{en}*, *-n-*, *-nak^t*), which, as has been seen, is phonetically on a line with the semivowels *y* (*i*) and *w* (*u*), a long double diphthong (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid + *n* of time-value 4) results. Such a diphthong can not be tolerated, but must be reduced to an ordinary long diphthong of time-value 3 by the loss of the second element (semivowel, nasal, or liquid) of the diphthong of the stem (see § 11). Thus the coexistence of such apparently contradictory forms as *dā^a-yehēit^t* YOU GO WHERE THERE IS SINGING and *dā^a-yehēn* (with passive *-n*) IT WAS GONE WHERE THERE WAS SINGING (from **yehēin*) can be explained by a simple consideration of syllabic

weight. The rising pitch-accent, it should be noted, is always preserved as an integral element of the diphthong, even though a $-^en$ follow, so that the first personal singular subject third personal object of such verbs ($-\tilde{v}^en$) stands in sharp contrast to the corresponding form of the great mass of transitive verbs ($-v'^en$).¹ The first person plural subject third person object and the third personal passive are always parallel in form to the first person singular subject third person object in $-^en$ ($k!adā^na^k^$ and $k!adān$ like $k!adā^en$). Examples of transitives with aorist stems ending in long diphthongs not followed by connective $-a-$ are:

$t'gwaxā^en$ I tattoo him	:	$t'gwaxāit^$ you tattoo him
$dī-t!ūgū^en$ I wear it	:	$dī-t!ūgūi$ he wears it 96.16
$dā^a-yehē^en$ I go where there is singing	:	$dā^a-yehēt^$ you go where there is singing (106.10)
$dā^a-yehēn$ (third person passive)		
$dā^a-yehē^na^k^$ (first person plural)		
$k!adā^en$ I picked them up	:	$k!adāi$ he picked them up
$dā-t!agā^en$ I built a fire	:	$dā-t!agāi$ he built a fire 88.12; 96.17
$swadān$ (passive) they got beaten in gambling	:	$swadāisa^en$ they are gambling with one another
$oyō^en$ I give it (= $*oyōn^en$) but also $oyona'^en$ with connecting $-a-$		
$k!emē^en$ I did it 74.13	:	$k!emēi$ he did it 92.22; 144.6; 176.1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14

In aorist $k!emēi-$ MAKE the $-i-$, actually or impliedly, appears only when the object is of the third person (singular first, $k!emē^en$; second, $k!emēt^$; third, $k!emēi$; plural first, $k!eme^na^k^$; second, $k!emēt^p^$); all other aoristic and all non-aoristic forms replace the $-i-$ by a $-n-$:

$k!emēnxbi^en$ I make you 27.9

$k!emēnxa^en$ they make one another; future $k!emna^nk^$ he will make it 28.14

A few reduplicated transitives ending, in both aorist and verb-stems, in a short diphthong ($-a\tilde{a}-$, $-am-$, $-an-$, $-aw-$), lack a connective $-a-$

¹It may be noted in passing that the Takelma reduction of an over-long diphthong ($\tilde{e}in$ to $eēn$) offers in some respects a remarkable parallel to the reduction of an Indo-Germanic long diphthong to a simple long vowel before certain consonants, chiefly $-m$ (e. g., Indo-Germanic $*d̥iēus$ = Skr. $dyāu's$, Gk. $Zēēs$, with preserved $-y-$ because followed by $-s$, a consonant not capable of entering into diphthongal combination; but Indo-Germanic acc. $*d̥iēm$ = Ved. Skr. $dyām$, Hom. Gk. $Zēn$ with lost $-y-$ because followed by $-m$, a consonant capable of entering into diphthongal combination). I do not wish to imply, however, that the accent of forms like $yehē^en$ is, as in $d̥iēm$, the compensating result of contraction.

before the personal endings, so that a loss of the final consonant (*-l-*, *-m-*, *-n-*, *-w-*) takes place in third personal objective forms before a consonantal personal ending. Such verbs are:

<i>heme'ha^εn</i> I mocked him (=	: <i>heme'ham</i> he mocked him
<i>-ham^εn</i>)	24.4, 5, 8; 182.6, 7
<i>ĩmi'ha^εn</i> I sent him (= <i>-am^εn</i>)	: <i>ĩmi'hamsin</i> I was sent (43.2)
{ <i>gel-hewe'ha^εn</i> ¹ I think (= <i>-au^εn</i>)	: <i>gel-hewe'hau</i> he thought 44.11;
{ <i>gel-hewe'hat'</i> you think	142.20
<i>p!a-i-di^ε-sgimi'sga^εn</i> ² I set them	: <i>p!a-i-di^ε-sgimi'sgam</i> he set
in ground (= <i>-am^εn</i>)	them in ground
{ <i>bā-^εal-mo'lo^εma^εn</i> I turned them	: <i>bā-^εal-mo'lo^εmal</i> he turned
over (= <i>-al^εn</i>)	them over (170.16)
{ <i>bā-^εal-mo'l^εman</i> I shall turn	
them over (= <i>-aln</i>)	
<i>sā^εnsa'^εn</i> I fight him (= <i>-an^εn</i>)	: <i>sā^εnsa'n</i> he fights him (28.10)
	(but also <i>sāns</i> , see § 40, 10b)
<i>mā^εnama'^εn</i> I count them	: <i>da-mā^εnamini'^εn</i> I count them
(= <i>-an^εn</i>)	up (156.14) (but also <i>mān</i> =
	* <i>mānm</i> he counted them
	78.8; 100.8)

How explain the genesis of these two sets of contract verb forms, and how explain the existence of doublets like *mo'lo^εma^εn* and *mo'lo^εmala^εn*, *mo'lo^εmat'* and *mo'lo^εmalat'*, *oyō^εn* and *oyona'^εn*, *sā^εnsa'n* and *sāns*? The most plausible explanation that can be offered is that originally the personal endings were added directly to the stem and that later a connecting *-a-* developed whenever the preceding consonant or the personal ending was not of a character to form a diphthong. Hence the original paradigms may have been:

First person	<i>oyō^εn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εma^εn</i>
Second person	<i>oyona't'</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmala't'</i>
Third person	<i>oyōn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmal</i>

which were then leveled out to:

<i>oyona'^εn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmala^εn</i>
<i>oyona't'</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmala't'</i>
<i>oyōn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmal</i>

because of the analogy of a vast number of verbs with connecting *-a-* in both first and second persons, e. g., *ts!ayaga'^εn*, *ts!ayaga't'*. Forms like *mo'lo^εmat'*, *sā^εnsa't'*, would arise from leveling to the first

¹ This verb is transitive only in form, intransitive in meaning. The true transitive (THINK OF) employs the full stem *hewehaw-* with connective *-i-* for third personal object, and *-s-* for other objects: *gel-hewe'hiwi^εn* I THINK OF HIM; *gel-hewe'hausdam* YOU THINK OF ME.

² The form *sgimi'sga^εn* is interesting as a test case of these contract verb forms. The stem must be *sgimisgam-*; it can not be *sgimisg-*, as *sg-* could hardly be treated as a repeated initial consonant. No cases are known of initial consonant clusters treated as phonetic units.

person by the analogy of such forms as *t!omoma'ēn*, *t!omoma't*. The third person generally brings out the original diphthong, yet sometimes the analogy set by the first person seems to be carried over to the third person (e. g., *sāns* beside *sā^ansa'n*), as well as to the third person passive and first person plural subject transitive. Such forms as *oyōēn* are best considered as survivals of an older "athematic" type of forms, later put on the wane by the spread of the "thematic" type with connecting *-a-* (e. g., *gayawa'ēn*, not **gayāēn* from **gayaūēn*). Owing to the fact that the operation of phonetic laws gave rise to various paradigmatic irregularities in the "athematic" forms, these sank into the background. They are now represented by aorists of Type 2 verbs like *naga'-ēn* I SAY TO HIM and *wa-k!oyō-ēn* I GO WITH HIM,¹ non-aorist forms of Type 5 verbs (e. g., *odo'-n*), and such isolated irregularities as intransitive *et-t'* and *nagaĩ-t'* (contrast *yewey-a't'* and *t'agaya't'*) and transitive contract verbs like *k!adāēn* and *sā^ansa'ēn*.

§ 66. Passives

Passives, which occur in Takelma texts with great frequency, must be looked upon as amplifications of transitive forms with third personal subject. Every such transitive form may be converted into a passive by the omission of the transitive subject and the addition of elements characteristic of that voice; the pronominal object of the transitive becomes the logical, not formal, subject of the passive (passives, properly speaking, have no subject). The passive suffixes referred to are *-(a)n* for the aorist, *-(a)na^s* for the future, and *-am* for the inferential. Imperatives were not obtained, nor is it certain that they exist. Following are the passive forms of *dō^um-*, instrumental forms being put in parentheses:

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential
Singular:				
First person	<i>t!ūmūzin</i>	<i>dūmzina^s</i>	<i>dūmzin</i>	<i>dūmzigam</i>
Second person	<i>t!omōzbin</i>	<i>dōmzbina^s</i>	<i>dōmzbin</i>	<i>dōmzbigam</i>
Third person	<i>t!omoma'n</i> (<i>t!omomī'n</i>)	<i>dōmana^s</i> (<i>dōmina^s</i>)	<i>dōma'n</i> (<i>dōmī'n</i>)	<i>dōmk'am</i> (<i>dōmhigam</i>)
Plural:				
First person	<i>t!omōzimin</i>	<i>dōmzimina^s</i>	<i>dōmzimīn</i>	<i>dōmzamk'am</i>
Second person	<i>t!omōzanban</i>	<i>dōmzanbana^s</i>	<i>dōmzanban</i>	<i>dōmzanp'gam</i>

¹ Some verbs whose aorist stem ends in a vowel take a constant *-a-* with preceding inorganic *h* instead of adding the personal endings directly. Such a verb is *i-t!ana-* HOLD; the constant *-a-* or *-i-* of forms like *i-t!ana'hagwa*, *i-t!ene'hi-s'dam* is perhaps due to the analogy of the instrumental *-i-* of forms like *i-t!ana'hiēn*.

The connective *-a-*, it will be observed, is replaced by *-i-* when the formal object is the first person plural (*-am-*); compare the entirely analogous phenomenon in the second personal subjective first personal plural objective forms of the transitive (§ 63). It is curious that the third person aorist of the passive can in every single case be mechanically formed with perfect safety by simply removing the catch from the first personal singular subjective third personal objective of the transitive; the falling accent (rising accent for verbs like *k!emēⁿ*) remains unchanged:

ī-t!a'ut!iwiⁿ I caught him : *ī-t!a'ut!iwin* he was caught 29.12

naga'ⁿ I said to him 72.7, 9 : *naga'n* he was spoken to 102.16

k!emēⁿ I made it 74.13 : *k!emēn* it was made 13.12 178.12

It is hardly possible that a genetic relation exists between the two forms, though a mechanical association is not psychologically incredible.

Not only morphologically, but also syntactically, are passives closely related to transitive forms. It is the logical unexpressed subject of a passive sentence, not the grammatical subject (logical and formal object), that is referred to by the reflexive possessive in *-gwa* (see §§ 91, 92). Thus:

dīk!olola'n t'gā'a p'dagwan wa' he-was-dug-up their-own-horns (not his-own-horns) with (in other words, they dug him up with their own horns) 48.5

There is no real way of expressing the agent of a passive construction. The commonest method is to use a periphrasis with *xebe'ⁿ* HE DID SO. Thus:

eī salk!omo'k!imin p!iyin xebe'ⁿ canoe it-was-kicked-to-pieces deer they-did-so (in other words, the canoe was kicked to pieces by the deer) 114.5

§ 67. VERBS OF MIXED CLASS, CLASS IV

A fairly considerable number of verbs are made up of forms that belong partly to Class I or Class II intransitives, partly to the transitives. These may be conveniently grouped together as Class IV, but are again to be subdivided into three groups. A few intransitive verbs showing forms of both Class I and II have been already spoken of (pp. 162-3, 166).

1. Probably the larger number is taken up by Type 13 verbs in *-n-*, all the forms of which are transitives except those with second person singular or plural subject. These latter are forms of Class II (i. e., aorist singular *-dam*, plural *-dap'*; future singular *-da^s*, plural

-*daba*^ε). The -*n*- appears only in the first person singular and plural (aorist -*na*^ε*n* and -*nana*^ε*k*^ε), yet its absence in the other persons may, though not probably, be due to a secondary loss induced by the phonetic conditions. The forms, though in part morphologically transitive (and, for some of the verbs, apparently so in meaning), are in effect intransitive. The object, as far as the signification of the verb allows one to grant its existence, is always a pronominally unexpressed third person, and the instrumental -*i*- can not be used before the personal endings. Among these semitransitives in -*n*- are:

- { *gwen-sgut!**u'sgat*^ε*na*^ε*n* I cut necks
 { *gwen-sgut!**u'sgat*^ε he cut necks 144.2 (cf. transitive instrumentals
 *gwen-wayasgut!**u'sgidi*^ε*n*, *gwen-wayasgut!**u'sgat*^ε*i* 144.3)
 { *da-bok!**oba*^ε*k*^ε*na*^ε*n* I make bubbles (or *da-bok!**o'p*^ε*na*^ε*n* 102.22)
 { *da-bok!**o'p*^ε*dam* you make bubbles
 bā-xada^ε*xat*^ε*na*^ε*n* I hang them up in row
 { *lobola*^ε*p*^ε*na*^ε*n* I used to pound them (57.14) (or *lobo*^ε*lp*^ε*na*^ε*n*)
 { *lobo*^ε*lp*^ε*dam* you used to pound them
 { *i-layā*^ε*o*^ε*k*^ε*na*^ε*n* I coil a basket 122.2
 { *i-layā*^ε*o*^ε*k*^ε she coils a basket
 k!ada^ε*k*^ε*at*^ε*na*^ε*n* I used to pick them up (116.11)
 da-dagada^ε*k*^ε*na*^ε*n* I sharpen my teeth (126.18)
 ūgū^ε*ak*^ε*na*^ε*n* I always drink it
 wagao^ε*k*^ε*na*^ε*n* I always bring it 43.16; 45.6)

Morphologically identical with these, yet with no trace of transitive signification, are:

- i-hegwe*^ε*hak*^ε*na*^ε*n* I am working
 { *xa-hege*^ε*hak*^ε*na*^ε*n* I breathe (78.12; 79.1, 2, 4)
 { *xa-huk*^ε*u*^ε*hak*^ε*na*^ε*n* (third person *xa-huk*^ε*u*^ε*hak*^ε)
 { *al-t'wap!**a't'wap*^ε*na*^ε*n* I blink with my eyes 102.20
 { *al-t'wap!**a't'wap*^ε*dam* you blink with your eyes

The following forms of *i-hegwehagw-* (verb-stem *i-he*^ε*gwagw-* [= *-he*^ε*gwahagw-*]) WORK will serve to illustrate the -*n*- formation:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative
Singular:				
1st per.	<i>hegwe</i> ^ε <i>hak</i> ^ε <i>wna</i> ^ε <i>n</i>	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>wnan</i>	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>was</i> (= <i>k</i> ^ε <i>w</i> - <i>k</i> ^ε)	
2d per.	<i>hegwe</i> ^ε <i>hak</i> ^ε <i>wdam</i>	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>wdas</i>	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>lweit</i> ^ε	<i>he</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>wāas</i> <i>k</i> ^ε <i>w</i>
3d per.	<i>hegwe</i> ^ε <i>hak</i> ^ε <i>w</i>	[?]	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>w</i>	
Plural:				
1st per.	<i>hegwe</i> ^ε <i>hak</i> ^ε <i>wnana</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>wnanagam</i>	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>wana</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>waba</i> ^ε
2d per.	<i>hegwe</i> ^ε <i>hak</i> ^ε <i>wdap</i> ^ε	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>wdaba</i> ^ε	<i>hegwa</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>lweit</i> ^ε <i>p</i> ^ε	<i>he</i> ^ε <i>k</i> ^ε <i>wāagwa</i> ^ε <i>np</i> ^ε

2. Practically a sub-group of the preceding set of verbs is formed by a very few verbs that have their aorist like *i-hegwe*^ε*hak*^ε*na*^ε*n*,
 § 67

but their non-aorist forms like Class II intransitives. They evidently waver between Class II, to which they seem properly to belong, and the semi-transitive *-n-* forms. Such are:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d\bar{i}-k!ala'sna^{\epsilon}n \text{ (but also} \\ d\bar{i}-k!ala'sde^{\epsilon}) \text{ I am lean} \\ \text{in my rump} \end{array} \right.$:	future $d\bar{i}-k!a'lside^{\epsilon}$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d\bar{i}-k!ala'sdam \text{ (second per-} \\ \text{son)} \end{array} \right.$:	future $d\bar{i}-k!a'lsida^{\epsilon}$
$gwel-sal-t!ey\bar{s}na^{\epsilon}n$ I have no flesh on my legs and feet	:	future $t!e\bar{s}ide^{\epsilon}$

It may be observed that the existence of a form like **gwel-sal-t!e\bar{s}inan* was denied, so that we are not here dealing with a mere mistaken mixture of distinct, though in meaning identical, verbs.

3. The most curious set of verbs belonging to Class IV is formed by a small number of intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, with a thoroughly transitive aorist, but with non-aorist forms belonging entirely to Class II. This is the only group of verbs in which a difference in tense is associated with a radical difference in class. Examples are:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d\bar{a}^a-sgek!i\bar{y}a'^{\epsilon}n \text{ I listened} \\ d\bar{a}^a-sgek!i\bar{y}a't' \text{ you listened} \\ d\bar{a}^a-sgek!i\bar{r} \text{ he listened } 102.8 \end{array} \right.$:	future $d\bar{a}^a-sge'k!i't'e^{\epsilon}$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} al-we'k!ala^{\epsilon}n \text{ I shine} \\ al-we'k!alat' \text{ you shine} \end{array} \right.$:	future $al-we'k!alt'e^{\epsilon}$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} al-we'k!alana'k' \text{ we shine} \end{array} \right.$:	future $al-we'k!alp'igam$ (third person inferential $al-we'-$ $k!alp'k')$
$al-geyana'^{\epsilon}n$ I turn away my face	:	future $al-ge'yande^{\epsilon}$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} da-smayama'^{\epsilon}n \\ da-smaya\tilde{m}ha^{\epsilon}n \end{array} \right\}$ I smile	:	future $da-sma-ima'sde^{\epsilon}$
$da-smaya\tilde{n}$ he smiles $da-smayamana'k'$ we smile		

To these should probably be added also *da-sgayana'^{\epsilon}n* I lie down (3d *da-sgaya\tilde{n}*), though no future was obtained. Here again it may be noted that the existence of **da-sma-ima'n* as a possible (and indeed to be expected) future of *da-smayama'^{\epsilon}n* was denied.¹

¹ There are in Takelma also a number of logically intransitive verbs with transitive forms throughout all the tense-modes: *al-xaliyana'k'* WE ARE SEATED (56.2; 150.20); passive *al-xaliya'n* PEOPLE ARE SEATED 152.18. Similar is *sal-zogwi* THEY STAND; cf. also *gel-hewe'hau* HE THINKS, p. 179, note 1. As these, however, have nothing to mark them off morphologically from ordinary transitives, they give no occasion for special treatment. It is probable that in them the action is conceived of as directed toward some implied third personal object.

5. Auxiliary and Subordinating Forms (§§ 68-72)

§ 68. PERIPHRASTIC FUTURES

Periphrastic future forms are brought about by prefixing to the third personal (unexpressed) objective forms of the *aurist* stem *-gulug^w-* DESIRE, INTEND the verb-stem (if transitive, with its appended pronominal object) of the verb whose future tense is desired. The pronominal subject of such a form is given by the transitive subject pronoun of the second element (*-gulug^w-*) of the compound; while the object of the whole form, if the verb is transitive, is coincident with the incorporated pronominal object of the first element. The form of the verb-stem preceding the *-gulug^w-* suffix is identical with the form it takes in the inferential. Thus:

ba-i-hema'k'ulu'k^w he will take it out (cf. inferential *ba-i-hema'k' = -hemg-k'*), but imperative *ba-i-he'mk'* 16.10

but, without inorganic *a*:

i-hēmgu'lu'k^w he will wrestle with him (cf. inferential *hēm'k'*)

Indeed, it is quite likely that the main verb is used in the inferential form, the *-k'* of the inferential amalgamating with the *g-* of *-gulug^w-* to form *g* or *k'*. This seems to be proved by the form:

loho'k'-di-gulugwa't' do you intend to die? (*dī* = interrogative particle)

Morphologically the verb-stem with its incorporated object must itself be considered as a verb-noun incorporated as a prefix in the verb *-gulug^w-* and replacing the prefix *gel-* BREAST of *gel-gulugwa'ēn* I DESIRE IT 32.5, 6, 7. Alongside, e. g., of the ordinary future form *dō^uma'n* I SHALL KILL HIM may be used the periphrastic *dō^um-gulugwa'ēn* literally, I KILL (HIM)-DESIRE, INTEND. This latter form is not by any means a mere desiderative (I DESIRE TO KILL HIM would be expressed by *dō^umia' gel-gulugwa'ēn* [=TO-KILL-HIM I-IT-DESIRE]), but a purely formal future. Similarly, *dūmxi-gulu'k^w* is used alongside of the simpler *dūmxink'* HE WILL KILL ME. As a matter of fact the third personal subjective future in *-gulu'k^w* is used about as frequently as the regular paradigmatic forms heretofore given:

yana'-k'ulu'k^w he will go (128.9)

sana'p'-gulu'k^w he will fight (cf. 48.10)

yomo'k'wagulu'k^w she was about to catch up with him 140.18

alxi'ēxbi-gulu'k^w he will see you

The reason is obvious. The normal futures (*yana'et'* HE WILL GO; *sana'p'dā^a*; *alxi'ebink'*) imply a bald certainty, as it were, of the future action of a third person, a certainty that is not in ordinary life generally justifiable. The periphrastic forms, on the other hand, have a less rigid tone about them, and seem often to have a slight intensive force: HE INTENDS, IS ABOUT TO GO. The difference between the two futures may perhaps be brought out by a comparison with the English I SHALL KILL HIM (= *dō^uma'n*) and I'M GOING TO KILL HIM (*dō^um-gulugwa'εn*).

Though a form like *dūmxi-gulu'k'w* HE WILL KILL ME is in a way analogous to *s'in-ī-lets!e'xi* HE TOUCHES MY NOSE, the incorporated object *dūmxi-* KILL-ME of the former being parallel to *s'in-* NOSE of the latter, there is an important difference between the two in that the object of the periphrastic future is always associated with the logically (*dō^um-*), not formally (*-gulug^w-*), main verb. This difference may be graphically expressed as follows: HE-[KILL-ME]-INTENDS-IT, but HE-[NOSE-HAND]-TOUCHES-ME; strict analogy with the latter form would require **dō^um-gülü'xi* HE-[KILL]-INTENDS-ME, a type of form that is not found. It is not necessary to give a paradigm of periphrastic future forms, as any desired form can be readily constructed from what has already been said. The incorporated pronominal object is always independent of the subject-suffix, so that YOU WILL KILL ME, for example, is rendered by *dūmxi-gulugwa't'*, the ordinary YOU—ME forms (singular *-dam*, plural *-dap'*) finding no place here.

Inasmuch as all active periphrastic futures are transitive in form, passive futures of the same type (all ending in *-gulugwa'n*) can be formed from all verbs, whether transitive or intransitive. When formed from transitive stems, these forms are equivalent to the normal future passives in *-(a)na^ε*:

dō^um-gulugwa'n he will, is about to, is going to be killed

dūmxi-gulugwa'n I am to be killed, it is intended to kill me

As the intransitive stem in the periphrastic future is never accompanied by pronominal affixes, there is only one passive future form that can be constructed from an intransitive verb. This form always refers to the third person, generally to the intended or imminent action of a group of people:

hoida-gulugwa'n (verb-stem *hoid-* + inorganic *-a-*) there will be dancing

lō^u-gulugwa'n people are going to play (literally, it is play-intended)

The passive future in *-gulugwa'n* can also be used with the indefinite form in *-iau-*:

sana'xiniau-gulugwa'n it is intended, about to be that people fight one another; there will be fighting

The extreme of abstract expression seems to be reached in such not uncommon forms as:

we'e'giau-gulugwa'n it was going to be daylight (literally, it was being-daylight intended) 48.13

As the suffixed pronominal objects of reciprocal forms are intransitive in character, the first element of a periphrastic future of the reciprocal must show an incorporated intransitive pronoun, but of aorist, not future form:

ī-di-lasgi'xant'p'-gulugwa't'p' are you going to touch one another?
(aorist *ī-lats!a'xant'p'*; future *ī-lasgi'xant'ba'*)

§ 69. PERIPHRASTIC PHRASES IN *na(g)-* DO, ACT

The verbal base *na(g)*¹ (intransitive *na-*; transitive *nā^ag-*) has hitherto been translated as SAY (intransitive), SAY TO (transitive). This, however, is only a specialized meaning of the constantly recurring base, its more general signification being DO, ACT, BE IN MOTION indefinitely. It is really never used alone, but is regularly accompanied by some preceding word or phrase with which it is connected in a periphrastic construction; the *na(g)-* form playing the part of an auxiliary. As a verb of saying, *na(g)-* is regularly preceded by a quotation, or else some word or phrase, generally a demonstrative pronoun, grammatically summarizing the quotation. Properly speaking, then, a sentence like I SHALL GO, HE SAID (TO ME) (= *yana't'e^e [ga] naga't^{ie} [ōr nege's'i]*) is rendered in Takelma by I SHALL GO (THAT) HE DID (or HE DID TO ME), in which the quotation *yana't'e^e I SHALL GO*, or else its representative *ga* THAT, is incorporated as prefix in the general verb of action.

The most interesting point in connection with periphrastic phrases in *na(g)-* is the use of a number of invariable, generally monosyllabic, verbal bases as incorporated prefixes. The main idea, logically speaking, of the phrase is expressed in the prefix, the *na(g)-*

¹ Most of its forms, as far as known, are listed, for convenience of reference, in Appendix A, pp. 286-90. It will be seen to be irregular in several respects. Examples of its forms are to be found in great number in "Takelma Texts."

element serving merely to give it grammatical form. This usage is identical with that so frequently employed in Chinookan dialects, where significant uninflected particles are joined into periphrastic constructions with some form of the verb-stem *-x-* DO, MAKE, BECOME (e. g., Wasco *lq!u'b itciux* HE CUT IT [literally, CUT HE-IT-MADE]), except that in Takelma the particles are identical with the bases of normally formed verbs. It is not known how many such verb-particles there are, or even whether they are at all numerous. The few examples obtained are:

na^ε do (cf. *na't'e^ε* I shall say, do)

s'as' come to a stand (cf. *s'as'inⁱ* he stands 144.14)

s'il paddle canoe (cf. *ei-ba-i-s'ili'xgwa* he landed with his canoe 13.5)

t'gel^ε fall, drop

ts'el rattle (cf. *ts'ele'εm* it rattles 102.13)

t'bō'ux make a racket (cf. *t'bō'uxde^ε* I make a noise)

liwā'a look (cf. *liwila'ut'e^ε* I looked [60.7])

le'yas lame (cf. *gwel-le'ye'sde^ε* I am lame)

p'i'was jumping lightly (cf. *p'i'wits!ana'εn* I make it bounce)

we'k!alk' shining (cf. *al-we'k!ala'εn* I shine)

sgala'uk' look moving one's head to side (cf. *al-sgalawi'n* I shall look at him moving my head to side)

The last two are evidently representatives of a whole class of quasi-adverbial *-k'*-derivatives from verb-stems, and, though syntactically similar to the rest, hardly belong to them morphologically. The *-k'* of these invariable verb-derivatives can hardly be identified with the inferential *-k'*, as it is treated differently. Thus:

we'k!al-k' shining 126.3; 128.14, but inferential *al-we'k!al-p'-k'* (Class IV, 3) he shone

Most frequently employed of those listed is *na^ε*, which is in all probability nothing but the base *na-* DO, to forms of which it is itself prefixed; its function is to make of the base *na(g)-* a pure verb of action or motion in contradistinction to the use of the latter as a verb of saying:

ga-nāk'i say that to him! 55.8, but *ga-na^εnāk'i* do that to him! 182.4; 184.4

ga-naga'^{iε} he said that 72.12, but *ga-na^εnaga'^{iε}* he did that 58.3
gwałt' a-na^εna'εt' the wind will blow as it is blowing now (literally, wind [*gwałt'*] this [*a-*]-do [*na^ε*]-act-will [*na'εt'*]) (152.8)

ga-na^εne'x thus, in that way (literally, that do-acting, doing) 71.6; 110.21; but *ga-ne'x* that saying, to say that 184.10

Examples of the other elements are:

*ei-s'i'l-naga'^{ie}*¹ he paddled his canoe (literally, he canoe-paddle-did) 13.5

s'as'-naga'^{ie} he came to a stand 22.6; 31.14, 15; 55.12; 96.23

s'as'-nā^agi'n I shall bring him to a halt (literally, I shall *s'as'*-do to him)

liwā'^a-nagaⁱt'e^ε I looked (55.6; 78.10, 13; 79.5)

t'ge'l^ε-nagaⁱt'e^ε I fell, dropped down

t'gel^ε naga^εnā'^{aε}k' he always fell down 62.8

ts!e'l naga'^{ie} (bones) rattled (literally, they did *ts!el*) 79.8

t'bō'^ux naga' they made a racket so as to be heard by them 192.9

we'k!alk'-naga'^{ie} he shines

sgala'uk'-naganā'^{aε}k' he looked continually moving his head from side to side 144.14, 17

gwēlx^{dā}a le'yas-na'k' his leg was laming 160.17

p'i'was-naga'^{ie} he jumped up lightly 48.8

Syntactically analogous to these are the frequent examples of postpositions (see § 96), adverbs, and local phrases prefixed to forms of the undefined verb of action *na(g)*-, the exact sense in which the latter is to be taken being determined by the particular circumstances of the locution. Examples are:

gada'k'-naga'^{ie} they passed over it (literally, thereon they did) 190.21

ganau-nagana'^εk' he went from one (trap) to another (literally, therein he kept doing) 78.5

hawi-nāk'i tell him to wait! (literally, still do to him!)

hagwā'la'm (in the road) *-naga'^{ie}* (he did) (= he traveled in the road)

haxiya' (in the water) *-naga'^{ie}* (= he went by water)

dak'-s'inī'i^ada (over his nose) *-nabā'^{aε}ha'n* (let us do) (= let us [flock of crows] pass over him!) 144.11

dak'k'dā^ada (over him) *-na''* (do!) (= pass over him!)

dak'-yawadē (over my ribs) *-naga'^{ie}* (= he passed by me)

ge (there) *-naga'^{ie}* (= they passed there) 144.18

he^{εε}-wila'mxa-hi (beyond Mount Wila'mxa) *-nāk'^w* (do having it!) (= proceed with it to beyond Mount Wila'mxa!) 196.14

These examples serve to indicate, at the same time, that the particles above mentioned stand in an adverbial relation to the *na(g)*- form:

s'as'-naga'^{ie} he come-to-a-stand-did, like *ge naga'^{ie}* he there-did

Compare the similar parallelism in Wasco of:

¹ *is'il* has been found as a prefix also in the comitative *ei-s'il-yā^angwa'^εn* I COME IN A CANOE (literally, I-CANOE-PADDLING-GO-HAVING).

k'wa'c gali'xux afraid he-made-himself (= he became afraid) (see "Wishram Texts," 152.9)

kwô'ba gali'xux there he-made-himself (= he got to be there, came there)

Here may also be mentioned the use of verb-stems prefixed to the forms of *k'lemn-* MAKE and *nā^g-* SAY TO. Such locutions are causative in signification, but probably differ from formal causatives in that the activity of the subject is more clearly defined. Examples are:

wede wo'k' k'lemnā't do not let him arrive! (literally, not arrive make-him!)

wo'k' k'lemana'nxi let me come! (literally, arrive make-me!)

gwel-leis k'lemnā'n I shall make him lame (literally, be-lame I-shall-make-him)

yana nāk'i let him go (literally, go say-to-him)

The forms involving *k'lemen-* are quite similar morphologically to periphrastic futures in *-gulug^w-*, the main point of difference being that, while *k'lemen-* occurs as independent verb, *-gulug^w-* is never found without a prefix. The forms involving *nā^g-* are probably best considered as consisting of an imperative followed by a quotative verb form. Thus *yana nāk'i* is perhaps best rendered as "GO!" SAY IT TO HIM! The form *hoida-yo'k'ya^s* (*hoid-* DANCE + connective *-a-*) ONE WHO KNOWS HOW TO DANCE suggests that similar compound verbs can be formed from *yok'y-* KNOW.

§ 70. SUBORDINATING FORMS

A number of syntactic suffixes are found in Takelma, which, when appended to a verbal form, serve to give it a subordinate or dependent value. Such subordinate forms bear a temporal, causal, conditional, or relative relation to the main verb of the sentence, but are often best translated simply as participles. Four such subordinating suffixes have been found:

-da^ε(-t'a^ε), serving to subordinate the active forms of the aorist.

-ma^ε, subordinating those of the passive aorist.

-na^ε, subordinating all inferential forms in *-k'*. Periphrastic inferential forms in *ei't* and *ei't'p'* are treated like aorists, the form-giving elements of such periphrases being indeed nothing but the second person singular and plural aorist of *ei-* BE.

-k'i^ε(-gi^ε), appended directly to the non-aorist stem, forming dependent clauses of unfulfilled action, its most frequent use being

the formation of conditions. Before examples are given of subordinate constructions, a few remarks on the subordinate forms themselves will be in place.

The aoristic *-da^ε*- forms of an intransitive verb like *hōg^w*- RUN are:
Singular:

	Independent	Subordinate
First person . .	<i>hō'k'de^ε</i> I run	<i>hō'k'de^εda^ε</i> when I ran, I running
Second person .	<i>hōgwa't^ε</i>	<i>hōgwada'a^ε</i>
Third person .	<i>hō'εk^ε</i>	<i>hō'k'da^ε</i>

Plural:

First person . .	<i>hōgwi'k^ε</i>	<i>hōgwiga'm</i>
Second person .	<i>hōgwa't'p^ε</i>	<i>hōgwa't'ba^ε</i>
Impersonal . . .	<i>hōgwia'u^ε</i>	<i>hōgwia'-uda^ε</i>

Of these forms, that of the first person plural in *-a'm* is identical, as far as the suffix is concerned, with the future form of the corresponding person and number. The example given above (*hōgwiga'm*) was found used quite analogously to the more transparently subordinate forms of the other persons (*alx'i'xam hōgwiga'm* HE SAW US RUN, like *alx'i'xi hō'k'de^εda^ε* HE SAW ME RUN); the form of the stem is all that keeps apart the future and the subordinate aorist of the first person plural (thus *hogwiga'm* WE SHALL RUN with short *o*). No form in *-i'k'da^ε*, such as might perhaps be expected, was found. The catch of the first and third person singular of class I verbs disappears before the *-da^ε* (see § 22). The falling accent of the stem, however, remains, and the quantity of the stressed vowel is lengthened unless followed by a diphthong-forming element. Thus:

yā'a^εda^ε when he went 58.8 (*ya'^ε* he went 96.8); cf. 188.17
ba-i-k!iyi'k'da^ε when he came (*ba-i-k!iyi'εk^ε* he came 156.24)
yawa'ida^ε as they were talking 130.13 (*yawa'ie* they talked)
xebe'nda^ε when he did so 142.10 (*xebe'εn* he did so 118.14)

The subordinate form of the third person aorist of class II intransitives ends in *-t'a^ε* if the immediately preceding vowel has a rising accent. Thus:

s'as'inīt'a^ε when he stood (*s'as'inī* he stood 120.12)
lop!ōt'a^ε when it rained (*lop!o't^ε* it rained 90.1)

In the second person singular the personal *-t^ε* and the *-d-* of the subordinating suffix amalgamate to *-d-*. The subordinate second person plural in *-t'ba^ε* is not improbably simply formed on the analogy of the corresponding singular form in *-da^ε*, the normal difference

between the singular and plural of the second person consisting simply of the added *-b-* (*-p'*) of the latter; similarly, *e-ida'*^ε WHEN THOU ART and *ēū'ba'*^ε WHEN YE ARE. Judging by the analogy of the subordinates of transitive forms in *-dam* and *-dap'* the subordinate forms of the second persons of class II intransitives end in *-t'a'*^ε (*-da'*^ε) and *-t'aba'*^ε (*-daba'*^ε):

s'as'inīt'a'^ε when you stood (*s'as'inīt'am* you stood)

s'as'inīt'ba'^ε when ye stood (*s'as'inīt'ap'* ye stood)

Note the ambiguity of the form *s'as'inīt'a'*^ε WHEN HE OR YOU STOOD; compare the similar ambiguity in *naga'-ida'*^ε WHEN HE SAID and *naga-ida'*^ε WHEN YOU SAID 130.14; 132.23.

The transitive subordinates of the aorist are also characterized by a suffixed *-da'*^ε, except that forms with a third personal subject invariably substitute *-(a)na'*^ε (*-ina'*^ε with first person plural object), and that the personal endings *-dam* (THOU—ME) and *-dap'* (YE—ME) become simply *-da'*^ε and *-daba'*^ε respectively. The latter forms are thus distinguished from non-subordinate futures merely by the aoristic stem (*al-xī'xda'*^ε WHEN YOU SAW ME, but *al-xī'xda'*^ε YOU WILL SEE ME). Analogously to what we have seen to take place in the intransitive, *-t'p'* becomes *-t'ba'*^ε. The subordinate aorists of *t!omom-* KILL are:¹

Subjective	Objective				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>t!omōxbīnda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxbi'n</i>)	<i>t!omoma'nda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omoma'n</i>)		<i>t!omōxanbanda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxanba'n</i>)
2d per.	<i>t!ūmūzda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!ūmūzdam</i>)		<i>t!omomada'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omoma'r</i>)	<i>t!omōxīmīda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxīmīl'</i>)	
3d per.	<i>t!ūmūzina'</i> ^ε (<i>t!ūmūzi</i>)	<i>t!omōxbīna'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxbī</i>)	<i>t!omomana'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōm</i>)	<i>t!omōxīmīna'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxām</i>)	<i>t!omōxanbana'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxanp'</i>)
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>t!omōxbīnagam</i> (<i>t!omōxbīnak'</i>)	<i>t!omomanaga'm</i> (<i>t!omomana'k'</i>)		<i>t!omōxanbanagam</i> (<i>t!omōxanbanak'</i>)
2d per.	<i>t!ūmūzdaba'</i> ^ε (<i>t!ūmūzdap'</i>)		<i>t!omoma't'ba'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omoma't'p'</i>)	<i>t!omōxīmīl'ba'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxīmīl'p'</i>)	

The forms with first personal plural subject (*-na'k'*) and second personal object were not obtained, but the corresponding forms in *-iga'm* (first person plural intransitive) and *-anaga'm* (first person plural subject third person object) leave no doubt as to their correctness. These forms differ from ordinary futures of the same

¹ The corresponding non-subordinate forms are given in parentheses.

number and person only in the use of the aorist stem. Only very few examples of subordinate *-anaga'm* have been found:

aga'hi ligigwanaga'm just-these which-we-brought-home 134.18;
contrast *li'igwanaga'm* we shall bring them home
yewē xebe'yagwanaga'm if we should slay him (literally, perhaps that-
we-slay-him) 136.23; contrast *xe'bagwanaga'm* we shall slay him

The use of the aorist stem in the subordinate, it will be observed, is also the only characteristic that serves to keep distinct the third personal subjective subordinates and the future forms of the passive:

al-xi'ixbina^ε when he saw you, but *al-xi'εxbina^ε* you will be seen

It may be noted that the third personal subjective aorist forms of the transitive may be mechanically formed, like the passives of the same tense, from the first person singular subject third person object aorist by merely dropping the glottal catch of the latter form and adding *-a^ε*. Thus:

gel-hewe'hana^ε when he thought 45.2; 142.10, 13, 16 (cf. *gel-hewe'ha^εn* I thought); but *gel-hewe'haru* he thought 44.11

The subordinate of the form with personal object *-k'va* is formed by adding *-na^ε*:

malāk'wana^ε when he told him 72.14 (*malāk'va* he told him 142.4)

The aorist passive subordinates cause no trouble whatever, the characteristic *-ma^ε* being in every case simply appended to the final *-n* of the passive form:

t!omoma'nma^ε when he was killed 146.22 (from *t!omoma'n* he was killed 148.3)

t!omōxanbanma^ε when you (plural) were killed

The complete subordinate inferential paradigm is rather motley in appearance; *-na^ε* is suffixed to the third personal subject in *-k'*:

p!āk'na^ε when he bathed

laba'k'na^ε when he carried it 126.5

gaṛk'na^ε when he ate it

dūmxik'na^ε when he killed me

The first person singular in *-k'a^ε(n)* becomes *-k'anda^ε*; the first person plural subordinate was not obtained, but doubtless has *-k'anaga'm* as ending. The subordinate of the passive in *-k'am* is regularly formed by the addition of *-na^ε*:

gaṛk'amna^ε when it was eaten

dōmxamk'amna^ε when we were killed

The periphrastic forms in *ēt'* and *ēt'p'* become *-k' + eida'ε* and *ēt'ba'ε* in the subordinate; e. g., *wā^{ah}mt'k!eida'ε* WHEN YOU ANSWERED HIM. The active inferential subordinates of *dō^um-* with third personal object thus are:

Singular:

First person, *dōmk'anda'ε*

Second person, *dō^umk!eida'ε*

Plural:

First person, *dōmk'anaga'm*

Second person, *dō^umk!ēt'ba'ε*

Third person, *dōmk'na'ε*; personal, *dōmk'wak'na'ε*

Impersonal *dō^umiaūk'na'ε*

The subordinating element *-na'ε* also makes a subordinate clause out of a *-t'* participle (see §76):

gwi na't'na'ε ga' a'ldi naga'n how-he-looked (*gwi na't'* how-looking) that all he-was-called 60.5; (cf. 78.3)

yap!a ga na't'na'ε that number of people 110.15

Also adjectives and local phrases may be turned into subordinate clauses by the suffixing of *-na'ε*:

xilam-na'ε when she was sick 188.10

aga dō^uk' gwelda-na'ε this log under-it when (=while he was under this log) 190.20

Examples will now be given of constructions illustrating the use of subordinate forms. It is artificial, from a rigidly native point of view, to speak of causal, temporal, relative, and other uses of the subordinate; yet an arrangement of Takelma examples from the view-point of English syntax has the advantage of bringing out more clearly the range of possibility in the use of subordinates. The subordinate clause may be directly attached to the rest of the sentence, or, if its temporal, causal, or other significance needs to be clearly brought out, it may be introduced by a relative adverb or pronoun (WHERE, WHEN, HOW, WHO). Both constructions are sometimes possible; e. g., a sentence like I DO NOT KNOW WHO KILLED HIM may be rendered either by NOT I-IT-KNOW WHO HE-HIM-KILLING or NOT I-WHOM-KNOW HE-HIM-KILLING. Subordinate constructions with causal signification are:

ts'!olx (1) *ü's'i* (2) *t!ümũxda'ε* (3) give me (2) dentalia (1), for you have struck me (3) (cf. 15.8)

a'nĩ'ε (1) *gel-gülü'xi* (2) *gayawa'nda'ε* (3) he does not (1) like me (2), because I ate it (3)

gāx̄de^ε (1) *gayawana'*^ε (2) *goyo'* (3) *yap!a* (4) *ald̄r* (5) *he^ε-ī-lemē'k'it'* (6) you killed off (6) all (5) the people (4), because shamans (3) ate (2) your wife (1) 146.11

a'n̄i^ε (1) *ya'*^ε (2) *gī*ⁱ (3) *me^ε-wō^uk'de^εda^ε* (4) *ga^εa'l* (5) he did not (1) go (2), because I (3) came (4); *ga^εa'l* (on account of, for) is employed to render preceding subordinate unambiguously causal

a'n̄i^ε (1) *s'in-ho'k'wal* (2) *yu'k'na^ε* (3) *ga* (4) *ga^εal* (5) *sb̄n^εa* (6) *xa'm-hi* (7) *lāp'k'* (8) not (1) being (3) nose-holed (2), for (5) that (4) (reason) Beaver (6) got to be (8) under water (7) 166.18

A temporal signification is found in:

hā^{aε}-yewe'^{iε} (1) *ald̄l* (2) *t!omoma'nma^ε* (3) they all (2) returned far off (1), after (many of them) had been slain (3) 146.22

goyo (1) *gel-lohoigwa'nma^ε* (2) when shamans (1) are avenged (2) 148.2

ba-i-k'iyi'^εk' (1) *p'im* (2) *gayawa'nda^ε* (3) he came (1) when I was eating (3) salmon (2)

al-x̄i'gī^εn (1) *gwi^εne* (2) *yā^ada^ε* (3) I saw him (1) when (2) he went (3)

Relative clauses of one kind and another, including indirect questions, are illustrated in:

a'n̄i^ε (1) *nek'* (2) *yok!oya'^εn* (3) *lege'xina^ε* (4) I do not (1) know (3) who (2) gave me to eat (4) (literally, not I-whom-know he-giving-me-to-eat)

yok!oya'^εn (1) *nek'* (2) *laga'ximina^ε* (3) I know (1) who (2) gave us to eat (3)

mān (1) *mi'xal* (2) *ha-lohō^unana'^ε* (3) he counted (1) how many (2) he had trapped (3) 100.8

a'n̄i^ε (1) *yok!ōl* (2) *gwi* (3) *giniyagwa'nma^ε* (4) he did not (1) know (2) where (3) she had been taken to (4) 13.12

ga'hi (1) *dūk'* (2) *dī-t!ūgūl* (3) *wa-k!ododi'nma^ε* (4) they wore (3) the same (1) garments (2) with which they had been buried (4) 96.16

gīⁱ (1) *na^εnagaīt'e^εda^ε* (2) *na^εna'^εk'* (3) do (future imperative) (3) what I (1) am doing (2)

ī-k'we'^εxi (1) *ulum* (2) *waik'anda^ε* (3) they awoke me (1) who (or while, when I) before (2) was sleeping (3) 74.5; 75.6

Purpose may be implied by the subordinate in:

p'im (1) *gayawana'^ε* (2) *laga'k'i* (3) he gave them (3) salmon (1) to eat (2) 30.11

The subordinate serves very frequently as a clause of indirect discourse after such verbs as KNOW, SEE, DISCOVER. With a regular

verb of saying, such as *na(g)-*, it is nearly always necessary to report the exact words of the speaker.

- al-xī'igi^εn* (1) *xebeyigi'k'wana^ε* (2) I saw him (1) hurt him (2)
yok'oya^εn (1) *p'im* (2) *gaik'na^ε* (3) I know (1) that he has
 been eating (3) salmon (2) (literally, I-know-him salmon he-
 having-eaten)
al-xī'ixi (1) *t!omōxanbanda^ε* (2) he saw me (1) strike you (pl.) (2)
al-xī'igi^εn (1) *dal-yewe'ida^ε* (2) I saw him (1) run away (2)

Not infrequently an adverb is to be considered the main predicate, particularly when supported by the unanalyzable but probably verbal form *wala'εsi(na^ε)*, while the main verb follows as a subordinate clause. Compare such English turns as **IT IS HERE THAT I SAW HIM**, instead of **HERE I SAW HIM**:

- eme^ε* (1) *wala'εsi* (2) *εit'e^εda^ε* (3) I am (3) right (2) here (1)
 (literally, here it-is really [?] that-I-am)
eme^ε (1) *wala'εsi* (2) *eida'ε* (3) you are (3) right (2) here (1)
māⁱ (1) *wala'εsi* (2) *ī-k!ūmanana'nhik'na^ε* (3) he had already
 fixed it for him (literally, already (1) it-was-really (2) that-
 he-had-fixed-it-for-him (3))

Examples of subordinates depending on predicatively used adverbs without *wala'εsi* are:

- a'nē^ε* (1) *wanā* (2) *eme^ε* (3) *nē'ida^ε* (4) [it is] not (1) even (2) here
 (3) that they did (4) (probably=even they did not get here)
 61.3
hop!ē'εn (1) *plā'as* (2) *hī's* (3) *lop!ōt'a^ε* (4) it used to snow long
 ago (long ago [1] that snow [2] almost [3] stormed [4])
ālī (1) *he^ε-ī-leme'k!inda^ε* (2) [it is] right here (1) that I destroy
 them (2) 108.20

An example of a subordinate depending on a demonstrative pronoun is:

- ī'daga* (1) *yap!a* (2) *s'as'inīt'a^ε* (3) that man is standing (literally,
 [it is] that [1] man [2] that is standing [3])

The form *wala'εsina^ε* is in all probability a third personal aorist transitive subordinate form in *-na^ε*, as is shown by its use as a substantive verb for the third person when following an adverb, apparently to supply the lack of a third person in the regular substantive verb *ei-*:

- eme^ε* (1) *wala'εsina^ε* (2) *ā'k!a* (3) he (3) is right (2) here (1)
 (literally, something like: [it is] here that-it-really-is he)
ge (1) *wala'εs'ina^ε* (2) he is over there (literally, [it is] there [1]
 that-he-really-is [2])

Most astonishing is the use of *wala'ᵉs'inaᵉ* as a modal prefix of a subordinate verb (of the movable class treated above, see § 34) to assert the truth of an action in the manner of our English DID in sentences like HE DID GO. Thus, from *dak'-da-hālsbi* HE ANSWERED YOU, is formed the emphatic *dak'-da-wala'ᵉs'inaᵉ-hālsbinaᵉ* HE DID ANSWER YOU. The only analysis of this form that seems possible is to consider the verbal prefixes *dak'-da-* as a predicative adverb upon which *wala'ᵉs'inaᵉ* is syntactically dependent, the main verb *-hālsbinaᵉ* itself depending as a subordinate clause on its modal prefix. The fact that *dak'-da-* has as good as no concrete independent existence as adverb, but is idiomatically used with the verbal base *hal-* to make up the idea of ANSWER, is really no reason for rejecting this analysis, strange as it may appear, for the mere grammatical form of a sentence need have no immediate connection with its logical dismemberment. The above form might be literally translated as (IT IS) ABOVE (*dak'-*) WITH-HIS-MOUTH (*da-*) THAT-IT-REALY-IS THAT-HE-ANSWERED-YOU.

§ 71. CONDITIONALS

Conditionals differ from other subordinate forms in that they are derived, not from the full verb-form with its subject-affix, but, if intransitive, directly from the verb-stem; if transitive, from the verb-stem with incorporated pronominal object. In other words, the conditional suffix *-k'iᵉ* (*-giᵉ*) is added to the same phonetic verbal units as appear in the inferential before the characteristic *-k'*, and in the periphrastic future before the second element *-gulugʷ-*. The phonetic and to some extent psychologic similarity between the inferential (e. g., *dūmxik'* HE EVIDENTLY STRUCK ME) and the conditional (e. g., *dūmxigiᵉ* IF HE STRIKES, HAD STRUCK ME) makes it not improbable that the latter is a derivative in *-iᵉ* of the third personal subjective form in *-k'* of the latter. The conditional, differing again from other subordinates in this respect, shows no variation for pronominal subjects, the first and second personal subjective forms being periphrastically expressed by the addition to the conditional of the third personal subjective of the appropriate forms of *ei-* BE. From verb-stem *yana-* GO, for example, are derived:

Singular:

First person, *yana'k'iᵉ eit'eᵉ*

Second person, *yana'k'iᵉ eit'*

Third person, *yana'k'iᵉ*

Plural:

First person, *yana'k'i^ε e^εbi'k'*

Second person, *yana'k'i^ε eīt'p'*

Impersonal: *yanayaūk'i^ε*

The conditional is used not merely, as its name implies, to express the protasis of a condition, but as the general subordinate form of unrealized activity; as such it may often be translated as a temporal or relative clause, an introductory adverb or relative pronoun serving to give it the desired shade of meaning. Examples of its use other than as a conditional, in the strict sense of the word, are:

yok!oya'εn (1) *nek'* (2) *lāxbigi^ε* (3) I know (1) who (2) will give you to eat (3)

dewe'nxa (1) *al-xi'k'in* (2) *gwi^εne* (3) *yana'k'i^ε* (4) I shall see him (2) to-morrow (1), when (3) he goes (4)

al-xi'εxink' (1) *gwi^εne* (2) *yana'k'i^ε eīt'e^ε* (3) he will see me (1) when (2) I go (3)

gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'danda (1) *ts'!ō'utligi^ε* (2) *yā'a* (3) *he^εne* (4) *yā'a* (5) *xe^εbagwa'n* (6) just (3) 'when they touch (2) the eastern extremity of the earth (1), just (5) then (4) I shall destroy them (6) 144.15

It has a comparative signification (AS THOUGH) in:

p!i^ε (1) *de-gū'k!alxgi^ε* (2) *na^εnaga'i^ε* (3) it was (3) as though fire (1) were glowing (2) 142.1

Conditional sentences are of two types:

(1) Simple, referring to action of which, though unfulfilled, there yet remains the possibility of fulfillment.

(2) Contrary to fact, the hypothetical activity being beyond the possibility of fulfillment.

Both types of condition require the conditional form in the protasis, but differ in the apodosis. The apodosis of a simple conditional sentence contains always a future form (or inferential, if the apodosis is negative), that of a contrary-to-fact condition, a potential. Examples of simple conditions are:

ga (1) *na^εnāk'i^ε eīt'* (2) *haxada'ε* (3) if you do (2) that (1), you'll get burnt (3)

āk' (1) *yana'k'i^ε* (2) *gīⁱ* (3) *hono^ε* (4) *yana't'e^ε* (5) if he (1) goes (2), I (3) go (5) too (4)

wede (1) *yana'k'i^ε* (2) *gīⁱ* (3) *hono^ε* (4) *wede* (5) *yana'k'a^ε* (6) if he does not (1) go (2), I (3) won't (5) go (6) either (4)

gwałt' (1) *mahai* (2) *wo'k'i^ε* (3) *ga* (4) *nā^agi'εk'* (5) if a great (2) wind (1) arrives (3), say (5) that! (4) 196.19

¹Just when = AS SOON AS.

The apodosis of such conditions is sometimes introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *ga* THAT, which may be rendered in such cases by THEN, IN THAT CASE:¹

aga (1) *xā-sgō'usgi*^ε (2) *ga* (3) *loho't'e*^ε (4) if this (1) string parts (2), in that case (3) I shall be dead (4) 59.10, (11)

Of this type are also all general conditions referring to customary action that is to take place in time to come, such as are often introduced in English by words like WHENEVER, WHEREVER, and so on.¹ Examples of such general conditions are:

wi'lau (1) *k'emniyaūk'i*^ε (2) *wa-t'bā'agamdina*^ε (3) whenever people will make (2) arrows (1), they (arrows) will be backed (literally, tied) with it (3) (with sinew) 28.2

wā'dī'i (1) *dū* (2) *ba-i-gināk'wi*^ε (3) *goyo*^ε (4) *he^εne* (5) *dō^u-mana*^ε (6) whenever a shaman (4) goes out with (3) one whose body (1) is good (2), then (5) he shall be slain (6) 146.6
goyo (1) *gel-lohogwiaūk'i*^ε (2) *he^εne* (3) *yā'as'i*^ε (4) *yap!a* (5) *gama'xdi* (6) *p!ē't* (7) whenever one takes vengeance for (2) a shaman (1), just (4) then (3) ordinary (6) people (5) will lie (7) (i. e., be slain) 146.8

wede (1) *hono*^ε (2) *ne'k'* (3) *al-xi'εk'wak'* (4) *yap!a* (5) *loho'k'i*^ε (6) no (1) one (3) will see him (4) again (2), when a person (5) dies (6) 98.10

gana^εne'x (1) *yo'et*^ε (2) *yap!a* (3) *gārk'i*^ε (4) thus (1) it shall be (2) as people (3) grow, multiply (4) 146.15

Examples of contrary-to-fact conditions are:

aldī (1) *yuk'ya'k'i*^ε *ēt'e*^ε (2) *mala'xbi^εn* (3) if I knew (2) all (1), I should tell it to you (3) 162.5

nek' (1) *yo'k'i*^ε (2) *dak'-limxgwa*^ε (3) if it were (2) anyone else (1), it (tree) would have fallen on him (3) 108.11, 13

i'daga (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i*^ε (3) *wede* (4) *dō^uma^εn* (5) if that one (1) had been (3) there (2), I should not (4) have killed him (5)

g'i (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i*^ε *ēt'e*^ε (3) *bō^u* (4) *yana^ε* (5) *haga'* (6) if I (1) were (3) there (2), he would have gone (5) in that event (4)

In the last example, *haga'* is a demonstrative adverb serving to summarize the protasis, being about equivalent to our IN THAT EVENT, UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. This word may be the adverbialized

¹ General conditions, however, that apply to past time, or that have application without reference to time-limit, are constructed by the use of the subordinate for the protasis, and aorist for the apodosis, both verbs being, if possible, frequentative or continuative in form: *ts'ixi* (1) *k'ewē'ek'awalda*^ε (2) *he^εne* (3) *yap!a* (4) *al-t'ayaik'* (5) WHENEVER THE DOG (1) BARKED (2), THEN (3) HE FOUND (5) A PERSON (4).
² = *-gināk'w + -k'i*^ε.

³ Causes the death of.

form of the demonstrative pronoun *hā'ēga* THAT ONE; it is used also with persons other than the third:

yana't'e^ε haga I should have gone in that event

§ 72. USES OF POTENTIAL AND INFERENTIAL

The potential and inferential modes differ from the aorist in the negative particle with which they may be combined. An indicative non-future statement, such as is expressed by the aorist, is negated, without change of the verb-form, by means of the negative adverb *a'nē^ε*:

yānt'e^ε I went; *a'nē^ε yānt'e^ε* I did not go

An imperative or future form, however, can not be directly negated, but must be expressed by the potential and inferential respectively, the non-aoristic negative adverb *wede* being prefixed. Thus we have:

Negative future:

<i>yana't'e^ε</i> he will go	:	<i>wede yana'k'</i> he will not go
<i>yanada'e^ε</i> you will go	:	<i>wede yana'k!tēt'</i> you will not go
<i>yana't'e^ε</i> I shall go	:	<i>wede yana'k'a^ε</i> I shall not go
<i>dōmxbin</i> I shall kill you	:	<i>wede dōmxbiga^ε</i> I shall not kill
178.15	:	you (cf. 178.15)
<i>dō^uma'nk'</i> he will kill him	:	<i>wede</i> (1) <i>ne'k'</i> (2) <i>yap!a</i> (3)
		<i>gama'xdi</i> (4) <i>dō^umk'</i> (5) no
		(1) one (2) will slay (5) a
		person (3) who is no shaman
		(4) 146.16

Negative imperative:

<i>yana</i> go! (sing.)	:	<i>wede yana't'</i> do not go!
<i>yana'np'</i> go! (pl.)	:	<i>wede yana't'p'</i> do not go! (156.9)
<i>dō^um</i> kill him!	:	<i>wede dō^uma't'</i> do not kill him!
<i>ga na^εna'</i> do that!	:	<i>wede ga na^εna't'</i> do not do that!

The particle *wede* is used with the inferential and potential, not only to form the negative future and imperative, but in all cases in which these modes are negated, e. g., *wede dō^uma'ēn* I SHOULD NOT HAVE KILLED HIM, I WOULD NOT KILL HIM. There is thus no morphologic distinction between a prohibitive DO NOT GO! and a second person subject negative apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition, YOU WOULD NOT HAVE GONE. It is probably not a mere accident that the negative particle *wede* is phonetically identical with the verb-stem *wede*-TAKE AWAY. This plausible etymology of *wede* suggests that the origin of

the negative future and imperative constructions lies in such periphrastic sentences as:

Remove (all thought from your mind) that I (inferentially) go
(i. e., I shall not go)

Remove (all thought from your mind) that you might, would
go (i. e., do not go!)

The inferential, as we have seen above (see § 59), is used primarily to indicate that the action is not directly known through personal experience. An excellent example of how such a shade of meaning can be imparted even to a form of the first person singular was given in § 70; *s'ε¹-k'we'ε¹xi ulum wark'anda^ε* THEY WOKE ME UP WHILE I WAS SLEEPING! 74.5 In the myth from which this sentence is taken, Coyote is represented as suffering death in the attempt to carry out one of his foolish pranks. Ants, however, sting him back into life; whereupon Coyote, instead of being duly grateful, angrily exclaims as above, assuming, to save his self-esteem, that he has really only been taking an intentional nap. The inferential form *wark'anda^ε* is used in preference to the matter-of-fact aorist *wayānt'e^εda^ε* I SLEEPING, because of the implied inference, I WASN'T DEAD, AFTER ALL, ELSE HOW COULD THEY WAKE ME? I WAS REALLY SLEEPING, MUST HAVE BEEN SLEEPING. Closely akin to this primary use of the inferential is its frequent use in rhetorical questions of anger, surprise, wonder, and discovery of fact after ignorance of it for some time. Examples from the myths, where the context gives them the necessary psychological setting, are:

geme'εdi (1) *gi¹* (2) *wayaūxagwat¹* (3) *yu'k'a^ε* (4) how (1) should I (2) be (4) daughter-in-lawed (3) (i. e., how do I come to have any daughter-in-law?) 56.10 I didn't know that you, my son, were married!

gi¹ (1) *di¹* (2) *ha'mi¹t'ban* (3) *dō^umk'a^ε* (4) did I (1) kill (4) your father (3) ? (2) 158.2

s-gwi dī¹ (1) *le'mk'iauk¹* (2) where (1) have they all gone (2), any way? 90.25, 27 says Coyote, looking in vain for help

ō + (1) *mī¹* (2) *dī¹* (3) *s'amgia'uk¹* (4) Oh! (1) has it gotten to be summer (4) already (2)? (3) says Coyote, after a winter's sleep in a tree-trunk 92.9

ga (1) *dī¹* (2) *xēp'k¹* (3) *ga* (4) *dī¹* (5) *gū^uxde'k¹* (6) *garik¹* (7) so it is those (1) that did it (3) ? (2) those (4) that ate (7) my wife (6) ? (5) 142.18

1s^ε- merely marks the Coyote (see footnote, § 2).

e'me^ε (1) *daba'*^ε*x* (2) *di* (3) *εe'*^ε*a* (4) *yu'*^k (5) are (5) canoes (4) (to be found) only (2) here (1) ? (3) 114.7 (i. e., why do you bother me about ferrying you across, when there are plenty of canoes elsewhere?)

ga (1) *di'* (2) *p!ā'*^{ant} (3) *gaik'*^{aε} (4) so that (1) was their livers (3) that I ate (4) ? (2) 120.14 says Grizzly Bear, who imagined she had eaten not her children's, but Black Bear's children's, livers, on discovering her mistake

A peculiar Takelma idiom is the interrogative use of *gwi'ne* WHEN, HOW LONG followed by *wede* and the inferential, to denote a series of repetitions or an unbroken continuity of action. Examples are:

gwi'ne (1) *di'* (2) *wede* (3) *waik'* (4) he kept on sleeping (literally, when [1] did he not [3] sleep [4] ? [2]) 142.11; 152.24

gwi'ne' (1) *di* (2) *wede* (3) *ho'*^k (4) he ran and ran (literally, how long [1] did he not [3] run [4] ? [2]) 78.14.

gwi'ne (1) *di'* (2) *wede* (3) *dāk'am* (4) he kept on being found, they always stumbled upon him again (literally, when [1] was he not [3] found [4] ? [2]) 110.15

Similar psychologically is the non-negative future in:

ge'me'di (1) *hono*^ε (2) *al-dā'gi'nk'* (3) they never found him again (lit., when [1] will they find him [3] again? [2]) 190.25

6. Nominal and Adjectival Derivatives (§§ 73-83)

§ 73. INTRODUCTORY

Although such derivatives from the verb-stem as infinitives and nouns of agency should logically be treated under the denominating rather than the predicative forms of speech, they are in Takelma, as in most other languages, so closely connected as regards morphology with the latter, that it is much more convenient to treat them immediately after the predicative verb-forms. The number of nominal and adjectival forms derived from the Takelma verb-stem is not very large, comprising infinitives or verbal nouns of action, active and passive participles, nouns of agency, and a few other forms whose function is somewhat less transparent. The use made of them, however, is rather considerable, and they not infrequently play an important part in the expression of subordinate verbal ideas.

§ 74. INFINITIVES

Infinitives, or, as they are perhaps better termed, verbal nouns, may be formed from all verbs by the addition of certain suffixes to the stem or stem + pronominal object, if the verb form is transitive.

Inasmuch as infinitives, being nothing but nouns in form, may take possessive affixes, forms may easily result that combine a transitive object and a possessive pronoun; e. g., *dōmxbiyat'k'* MY (*-t'k'* scheme III § 92) KILLING YOU (*-bi-*), FOR ME TO KILL YOU (cf. *yēxbiyaxdek'* MY BITING YOU 116.9; *-x-dek'* scheme II § 92). The classification of verbs into classes is reflected also in the infinitive forms, each of the three main classes being distinguished by a special infinitive suffix. The suffixes are:

Intransitive I (*-a'*)*x*.

Intransitive II *-k'wa* (*-gwa*).

Transitive *-ia* (*-ya*).

The peculiar sub-classes that were grouped together as Class IV all form their infinitives in *-k'wa* (*-gwa*). Besides these three main suffixes, *-(d)epx-* (*-apx-*) with possessive suffixes is employed to form infinitives from reflexives in *-gwi-*, while active intransitives in *-xa-* form their infinitives by employing the bare stem-form with verbal derivative *-xa*. Infinitives in *-xa'k'wa* also occur. The infinitive often shows the stem in a purer form than the non-aorist finite forms; in particular the non-aoristic *-p'* of Class II intransitive verbs regularly disappears before the *-gwa* of the infinitive.

Examples of infinitives are:

1. From Class I intransitives:

waixde your sleeping

bā^a-dawix to fly up

hogwa'x to run

t!e^ewa'x to play shinny

ne'x saying 108.16; 184.10

yana'x to go

hoida'x to dance

lō^ux to play 31.7

na^ene'x doing 94.10; 72.4;
148.13

gina'x to go (176.8) (from simple base *gin-*; contrast third person future *ging-a'^et'*)

Stems ending in long diphthongs either take *-x* or *-ax*. Thus we have either *ha-yēū-x-dā^ada* or *ha-yē^ew-a'x-dā^ada* IN THEIR RETURNING 124.15.

2. From Class II intransitives:

k'wā^{a^e}xgwa to wake up (intransitive)

geiwa'lxgwa to eat

lāk'wa to become

p!ala'k'wa to tell a myth

t'gēlxgwa to run around, roll

ba-i-di'n^exgwa to march

s'a's'ank'wa to stand

sana'k'wā to fight

3. From Class IV verbs:

ī-he^εgwa'k'wa (= *-he^εg^whag^w-k'wa*) to work

al-we'k!alk'wa to shine
da-bo^εk'ba'xgwa to bubble
 under water (observe verb-suffix *-x-* of infinitive; but *da-bok!oba'k'na^εn* I make bubbles)

4. From *-xa-* verbs:

lū^εxwa' (= *lūk!-xa'*) to trap

p'e'lxa to go to war (but also *p'elxa'k'wa*¹)

5. From reflexives:

t'gwā^axa'nt'gwidepxdagwa to tattoo himself

lū^εxagwant'gwiapxde'k' to trap for myself

se'la'mt'gwidepxdek' to paint myself

han-se^εgwa'nt'gwiapxdek' to paddle myself across

From non-reflexive verbs are derived:

ga-iwiapxde'k' my eating

wūxiapxdā^a his coming to get me

6. From transitives:

p!ala'xbiya to tell you a myth

ī-gaxga'xgwia to scratch one's self

ī-k'wā^ak!wia to wake him

*ī-gi's'gis'ia*² to tickle him

ī-k'we^εxiya to wake me (164.20)

wayanaqwia' to run after him

dā^a-aganā' to hear about it

lō^wgwia' to play with it

wa^ε-ī-dōxia to gather them

*dōmk'wia*³ to kill him

The syntactical usage of verbal nouns of action is illustrated in the following examples:

hūli'nk'wat'k' k!emna'nk' he will make me tired (literally, my-tiredness he-will-make-it)

t!omōxā^ada wiγina'εn I help him kill (literally, his-killing [no object] I-aid-it)

ho'gwax gel-gulugwa'εn I like to run (lit., running I-like-it) (196.8)

a'nī^ε yok!ōi nexde'k' he does not know what I said (literally, not he-knows-it my-saying)

xi-εūgwia ga^al in order to drink water (literally, water-drinking for)

ba-i-k!iγi'εk' al-xī'εxbiya ga^al he came to see you (literally, he-came seeing-you for)

¹ Infinitives in *-k'wa* seem sometimes to be formed from other Class I intransitives, e. g., *wisma'k'wa* TO MOVE; *haza'k'wā* TO BURN (also *haza'xgwā*).

² Umlauted from **ī-gi's'gas'ia*.

³ *-k'wi-* here represents objective *-k'wa-* umlauted by infinitive ending *-(y)a* (see § 8). Similarly *s'ām'ia* TO BOIL IT 170.16 from *-t'aya*.

The normal method of expressing purpose, as the last two examples show, is by the use of an infinitive followed by the general locative postposition *ga^al* TO, AT, FOR. The infinitive, as its inclusion of the object shows, preserves its verbal character almost completely, and may itself govern another infinitive:

k!emnia` al-we`k!alk`wā^a to make it shine (literally, to-make-it its-shining)

Not a few infinitives have become more or less specialized as regular nouns, though it is extremely doubtful if the transparently verbal origin of such nouns is ever lost sight of. Such nouns are:

<i>p!ala`k`wa</i> myth 50.4; 172.17	<i>ts`!ip`na`x</i> speech, oration (cf. <i>ts`!i`p`nan</i> I shall make a speech to them [146.11])
<i>t`ge`mt`ga`mxgwa</i> darkness	<i>sana`k`wa</i> fight, battle
<i>gina`x</i> passage-way 176.9	<i>ts`!e`ma`x</i> noise (cf. <i>dā^a-ts!ēm-xde^e</i> I hear a big noise 90.21)
<i>ye`l`sgwix</i> sweat (cf. <i>ye`l`sgwade^e</i> I shall sweat [140.1])	

PARTICIPLES (§§ 75-78)

§ 75. General Remarks

Participles are either active or passive, and may be formed with considerable freedom from all verbs. They have not been found with incorporated pronominal objects, the active participles being more adjectival than verbal in character, while the passives naturally hardly allow of their incorporation. The passive participle is often provided with possessive affixes that correspond to the transitive subjects of the finite verb; the active participle, on the other hand, undergoes no modification for person, but, like any adjective, is brought in connection with a particular person by the forms of the copula *ei-* BE.

§ 76. Active Participle in -t'

This participle is formed by simply appending a -t', one of the characteristic adjectival suffixes, to the verb-stem. Inferential and imperative -p'- of Class II intransitives disappears before this element (e. g., *se`nsant`* WHOOPING), but not the non-aoristic -p'-, which is characteristic (see § 42, 1) of some of the verbs of the same class; e. g., *sana`p`* FIGHTING (from **sana`p`t'*). Participles in -t' never denote particular action, but regularly indicate that the action predi-

cated of a person is one that in a way marks him off from others, and that may serve as a characteristic attribute. Not infrequently, therefore, a *-t'*- participle has the value of a noun of agency; the fact, however, that it never appears with pronominal elements, but is always treated as an adjective, demonstrates its attributive, non-substantival character. It is possible to use it with a preceding nominal object, so that sentences may result that seem to predicate a single act definitely placed in time; yet an attributive shade of meaning always remains. For example, *wihin dōmt' eit'e^ε* (literally, MY-MOTHER HAVING-KILLED I-AM) and *wihin t!omoma'e^εn* both mean I KILLED MY MOTHER, but with a difference. The latter sentence simply states the fact, the emphasis being on the act itself; the former sentence, on the other hand, centers in the description of the subject as a matricide, I AM ONE WHO HAS KILLED HIS MOTHER. The latter sentence might be a reply to a query like WHAT DID YOU DO? the former, to WHO ARE YOU?

Examples of *-t'* participles are:

- { *gwi-na't'* how constituted, of what kind? (*gwi-* [how, where]
+ *na't'* [from *na-* do, act]) 14.4, 9, 10; 15.6
- { *ga-na't'* of that kind, so in appearance 63.12; 192.7
- wūnt' k!emē^εn* I make him old (cf. *wunūnt'e^ε* I grow old)
- t'gā^a haxa't'* burnt field (not passive, but really=field that has
at one time burned) 92.29
- hēlt' eit'e^ε* I know how to sing (literally, singing I am)
- yap!a lohōnt' eit'e^ε* I have killed (many) people (literally, people
causing [or having caused]-to-die I am)
- loho't'* having died, dead 148.13
- hawa'x-xiwi't'* (it is) rotting
- xuda'mt' eit'e^ε* I am whistler
- nī'xa yi'lt'* having copulated with his mother (insulting epithet
applied to Coyote) 86.5, 6, 16

Examples of participles with lost *-t'* have been given above (see § 18).

§ 77. Passive Participle in *-(a)k'w*, *-i'k'w*

Nominal participial forms in *-k'w* of passive signification can be freely formed from all transitive verb-stems, the stem invariably undergoing palatalization (see § 31). The suffix *-k'w* ordinarily requires a preceding connective *-a-* replaced, as usual, by an instrumental *-i-* in such passive participles as are derived from verb-forms themselves provided with *-i-*. Participles in *-ak'w* tend to be accented on the

syllable immediately preceding the suffix, in which case an inorganic *-h-* generally appears before the *-a-*; *-hak'w* is also regularly used with preceding fortis (see § 19). It is not unlikely that the suffix is organically *-hak'w*, the *-ha-* implying continuity (see § 43, 5). Instrumental passives in *-ik'w*, on the other hand, are generally accented, with raised pitch, on the *-i-* of the suffix. For example, *dūmhak'w* (ALWAYS) KILLED OR STRUCK PERSON, but *wa-dū^wmi'k'w* THING WITH WHICH ONE KILLS (literally, KILLED-WITH thing). Inasmuch as *-k'w-* participles, differing in this respect from active participles in *-t'*, are distinctly nominal in character, they may be provided with possessive suffixes; e. g., *dūmhak'w-dek'* MY STRUCK ONE. Forms thus arise which, like *-t'*-participles supplemented by forms of *ei-* BE, have independent predicative force. What we have seen to apply to *-t'*-participles, however, in regard to particularity of action, applies with equal if not greater force to predicatively used passives in *-k'w*. While a sentence like *ī'daga t!omoma'n* (*dōmk'am*) THAT ONE WAS SLAIN, with finite passive, implies the fulfillment of a single act, a sentence whose predicate is supplied by a passive participle (like *ī'daga dūmhak'w* THAT ONE IS [REGULARLY] SLAIN, STRUCK) necessarily refers to habitual or regularly continued activity: *ī'daga dūmhak'w-de'k'* THAT ONE IS MY (REGULARLY) STRUCK ONE thus approaches in signification the finite frequentative *ī'daga t!omo'amaⁿ* THAT ONE I (ALWAYS) STRIKE, but differs radically in signification from both *ī'daga t!omoma'ⁿ* I KILLED THAT ONE and *ī'daga dōmt' eīt'e^s* I AM ONE THAT HAS KILLED THAT ONE.

Examples of *-k'w-* participles are:

gwen-sgū^wet'ōk'w (those) with their necks cut off (21.2, 4, 5)

xa-ī-sgī^{iε}p'sgibik'w (bodies) cut in two 21.2; 22.3

(*mīⁱ*) *gela'p'ak'w*¹ something which is (already) twisted

gūhak'w na^{nε} like something planted, sown

wa^ε-ī-dūxik'wdek' I have been gathering them (literally, my gathered ones)

dal^ε-wa-p'ūⁱt'ik'w (manzanita) mixed with (sugar-pine nuts) 178.5

t'ān t'gwīl gūt'ōk'w^wdā^a squirrel has been burying (*gō^wd-*) hazel-nuts (literally, squirrel hazel-nuts [are] his-buried-ones)²

sēk'ak'w^wde'k' I (always) shoot (*sā^ag-*) him (literally, my shot one)

mīla'shak'wdek' I love her (literally, my loved one)

¹ Cf. *galabaⁿ* I TWIST IT; *-a'*- above is inorganic, hence unpalatalized to *-ε-*.

² *t'gwīl* (HAZEL-NUTS) is the grammatical subject; *gūt'ōk'w^wdā^a* predicates the subject; *t'ān* (SQUIRREL) is outside the main core of the sentence, being merely in apposition with the incorporated *-dā^a* (HIS) of the nominal predicate.

As the last example shows, the indirective *-s-* of verbs with indirect object is preserved in *-hak'w* participles (contrast *mīla't'-k'* HE LOVED HER [inferential]).

Participles of instrumental signification in *-i'k'w* are freely employed to make up instrumental nouns, such as names of implements. Examples are:

dō'uk'-sgū'ut/i'k'w log-cut-with (=saw)

se'l-wa-se'la'mdik'w black paint (writing) - therewith - painted (written) (=pencil)

ī-smī'lsmīlik'w (thing) swung (=swing)

dūk'w-wa-sgū'ut/i'k'w dress-therewith-cut (=scissors)

k!wā-bā^a-sgēk'sgīgik'w grass-up-pitched-with (=pitchfork)

yap!a-wa-dō^umī'k'w people-therewith-killed, e. g., arrow, gun

da^ema'xau al^e-wa-xī'i'k/i'k'w far therewith-seen, e. g., telescope

mūlmīli'k'w something to stir (mush) up with

It is interesting to note that forms in *-k'w* may be formed from the third person possessive of nouns, chiefly terms of relationship. These are shown by the palatalized form of the stem to be morphologically identical with passive participles in *-k'w*. Examples are:

Noun	Participle
<i>ts'!ele'i</i> his eye 86.7, 9	<i>ts'!ele'ik'w</i> eye-having 27.9
<i>ni'xa</i> his mother 17.11; 126.7	<i>ni'xak'w</i> he has a mother
<i>ma'xa</i> his father 17.12; 126.6	<i>me'xak'w</i> he has a father
<i>k'a^εlā'p'ik/i'k'w</i> his woman (178.8)	<i>k'e^εlē'p'ik/i'k'w</i> he has a wife 142.6
<i>t/i^εlā'p'ik/i'k'w</i> her husband 46.1	<i>t/i^εlē'p'ik/i'k'w</i> she has a husband

Such forms in *-k'w* may well be compared to English adjectives of participial form in *-ed*; e. g., LEFT-HANDED, FOUR-CORNERED. They may be further adjectivalized by the addition of *-at'* (see below, § 108); e. g., *me'xagwat'* FATHER-HAVING.

§ 78. Passive Participles in *-xap'* (*-sap'*)

Less common than passive participles in *-(a)k'w* are certain forms in *-xap'* (*-sap'*), which, like the former, show a palatalized form of the stem, and seem to be identical in function with them. Like *-k'w*- participles, again, they may be provided with possessive pronominal suffixes, though these belong to another scheme of endings:

gel-gūla'k'ak'w-de'k' my liked one, I like him (= *gel-gūla'xab-at'k'*)
gel-gūla'k'ak'w-da they like him (= *gel-gūla'xap'*)

Forms in *-xap'* are in particular use as names of articles of clothing. Examples are:

gwen-wi'^{iε}xap' handkerchief, neckerchief 188.5 (cf. *gwen-wi'ⁱk!an*

I shall wind it about my neck)

dak'-wi'^{iε}xap' something wound about one's head

xā^a-le'^{eε}sap' (= *-t!-xap'*) belt (cf. *xā^a-lā'^{at}!an* I shall put it about my waist)

gwen-p!ⁱxap' pillow (cf. *gwen-p!ⁱk!wan* I shall lie on pillow)

ha-lū'^{uε}xap' shirt (cf. *ha-lō'^{uk!}in* I shall put on shirt)

ha-ya-u-t'^{ge'nε}sap' (= *-ts!-xap'*) vest (cf. *ha-ya-u-t'^{ge'nts}!an* I shall put it about my middle, ribs)

sge'^{eε}xap' man's hat

NOUNS OF AGENCY (§§ 79-82)

§ 79. Introductory

Four suffixes have been found that are employed to form nouns of agency from verb-stems, *-εs*, *-sā^a*, *-sīⁱ*, and *-xi*. The first of these is more strictly verbal in character than the other three, being capable, unlike these, of incorporating the pronominal object. *-sā^a* and *-sīⁱ*, probably genetically related suffixes, are used apparently only with intransitive stems (including, however, such as are partly transitive in form, i. e., that belong to Class IV). *-εs* and *-xi* are used with both transitive and intransitive stems.

§ 80. Nouns of Agency in *-(a')εs*

This suffix is used to form agentives with more freedom than the others seem to be. The ending *-εs* is added directly to the verb-stem, with connective *-a'-* (instrumental *-i-*) if phonetically necessary. No examples have been found of agentives in *-εs* from intransitives of Class II. Examples are (49.4; 60.10):

hoida'^{εs} dancer

hāpxi-t'^{āga'}εs child-crier (= cry-baby)

he^εla'^{εs} singer

xut'ma'^{εs} whistler

p!^{āga'}εs bather

k'aiwi'^ε wa^ε-i-dōxi'^{εs} one who gathers everything

yā^ada'^{εs} swimmer

xuma-k!^{emna'}εs food-maker (= cook) 54.4

ts!^a-uya'^{εs} fast runner 138.2

dōmxi'^{εs} one who kills you

ei-sā^agwa'^{εs} canoe paddler

mala'ximi'^{εs} one who tells us

The last two examples show incorporated pronominal objects; the first personal plural object *-am-* is, as usual, followed by the connective

tive *-i-*. The strongly verbal coloring of the agentive in *-s* is perhaps best indicated by its employment as a final clause. Examples of this use are:

ba-i-k'iyi'k'de° al-xi'ixbi°s I came to see you (literally, as one-seeing-you)

me°-gini'ek° al-xi'ixxi°s he came to see me

hoida'°s di me°-giniga't° did you come to dance? (i. e., as dancer)

a'nĩ° me°-gini'k'de° lō°s. I did not come to play, as player 31.6
(cf. § 74 for another method of expressing this idea)

§ 81. Nouns of Agency in *-sĩ*, *-sā*

These, as already observed, are less distinctly verbal in force than the preceding. Some verbs have agentives in both *-s* and *-sā*; e. g., *he'la'°s* and *hēlsā* SINGER. Not infrequently there is a distinct feeling of disparagement in a *-sā*- agentive as compared with one in *-s*; e. g., *hog°wa'°s* GOOD RUNNER, but *ho'k'sā* ONE WHO ALWAYS RUNS (BECAUSE OF FEAR). Both of these suffixes are added directly to the stem without connecting vowel. If stressed, they have the falling accent. *-sā* is the regular agentive ending of Class II intransitives; *-p-* is or is not retained before it under the same conditions as in the case of the participial *-t'* (see § 76).

Further examples of agentives in *-sĩ* and *-sā* are:

ĩ-he°gwa'k°wsiĩ worker

da-lōsi liar (but non-disparaging *lō°s* player)

ũ'ixs'ĩ (= *ũ'ixs'-s'ĩ*) *k!emē°n* I make him laugh (literally, laughter)

{ *al-t'wā°p't'wa'p'sĩ* blinker

{ *al-t'wā°p't'wa'p'sā*

xā°-wīsā go-between (settler of feud) 178.11

dā°-p'iya wīsā one going, dancing by side of fire (=medicine-man)

yims'ā'a (= *yims'-s'ā'a*) dreamer (=medicine-man)

wāisā big sleeper

eseūsā big sneezer

se'nsansā one knowing how to whoop

sana'p'sā one knowing how to fight

s'a's'ansā one always standing

s'ũ'°alsā one always sitting

nōts!adam yu'sā e°bik' we are neighbors (literally, neighboring-to-us being [stem *yu-*] we-are)

t!obaga'sā (= *-a's-sā*) *eit'* you are always lying like dead

A few nouns in *-sĩ*, in which an agentive meaning can not well be detected, nevertheless doubtless belong here: *lō°si'* PLAYTHING

(110.6,11) (cf. verb-stem *lō^w*- PLAY); less evidently, *le^epsi*` FEATHER 28.2; *ala'ksī*` HIS TAIL (86.21, 23)

§ 82. Nouns of Agency in -*xī*

Only a few verbal derivatives in -*xī* have been obtained. They are:

al-hūyūxī (= -*x-xī*) hunter

ye^exī` needle, awl (literally [?], biter [cf. verb-stem *ye^eg^w*- bite])

122.8

gel-dula'xī *er't'e^e* I am lazy, one who is lazy

gel-he'^{ie}xī stingy (cf. verb-stem *he'^{ie}x*- be left over)

s'ūmxi` paddle stirrer (cf. *s'ūm-t'a*- boil) (170.16)

er t'gēlxī wagon (literally, canoe one-that-rolls)

§ 83. FORMS IN -*'ya*

Two or three isolated verb-forms in -*'ya*¹ have been found that appear to be of a passive participial character. There are not enough such forms available, however, to enable one to form an idea of their function. The few examples are:

t'gā^a (1) *haxani'ya* (2) *mī*ⁱ (3) *al-t!aya'k'* (4) then (3) he discovered (4) a burnt-down (2) field (1) 92.26

yap!a (1) *dō^wmi'ya* (2) *al-t!aya'k'* (3) he discovered (3) killed (2) people (1)

Both of these forms in -*'ya*, it will be observed, are derived from transitive stems (*haxani'ya* from causative *haxa-n*- CAUSE TO BURN, BURN), and would seem to be best interpreted as attributive passives corresponding to the attributive actives in -*t'*. To these forms belongs probably also:

dīⁱ-he'liya (1) *wa-iwīⁱ* (2) girl (2) who sleeps on a raised board platform (1) (literally, perhaps, up-boarded girl [cf. *he^ela'm* board]) 13.2

II. The Noun (§§ 84-102)

§ 84. Introductory

Despite the double-faced character of some of the nominal derivatives of the verb-stem (e. g., the passive participles), there is formally in Takelma a sharp line of demarcation between denominating and predicative elements of speech. This is evidenced partly by the distinct sets of pronominal suffixes peculiar to noun and verb, partly by certain nominal elements appearing before the possessive affixes and serving, perhaps, to distinctly substantivize the stem. Only a

¹ Not to be confused with transitive infinitives in -*ia'*.

small number of stems have been found that can, without the aid of nominal (or verbal) derivative elements, be used as both nouns and verbs. Such are:

Noun	Verb
<i>se'el</i> black paint, writing	<i>se^{el}-a'md-a^{en}</i> I paint it
<i>he'el</i> song 106.7; (164.16)	<i>həl</i> sing! (170.12)
<i>liw-ā'a naga'ie</i> he looked (perhaps = his-look he-did) 55.6	<i>liwila'u-t'e^e</i> I looked (152.17)
<i>dūk'w</i> shirt 96.16	(imperative <i>liā</i> 14.11; [60.2])
<i>t!i'l</i> gambling-sticks in grass-game	<i>dī-dūk'w</i> wear it! (55.9; 96.16)
<i>xle'e^ep'</i> dough-like mass of camass or fat	<i>t!i'lt!al-siniba^e</i> let us gamble at grass-game 31.9
<i>xān</i> urine	<i>ī-xlep!e'xlib-i^{en}</i> I mash it into dough (94.11)
	<i>xala'xam-t'e^e</i> I urinate

A number of cases have been found of stem + suffix serving as noun and verb (e. g., *wiū'łha'm* MENSTRUAL "ROUND" DANCE 100.10, 16: *wiū'łha'mt'e^e* I SHALL HAVE FIRST COURSES 162.7, 8); but in these it is probable that the verb is a secondary derivative of the noun. Even in the first two examples given above, a difference in pitch-accent serves to distinguish the noun from the verb-stem: *həl-gulu'k'w* HE WILL SING, but *he'el gel-gulu'k'w* HE LIKES, DESIRES, A SONG. The use of a stem as both noun and verb in the same sentence may lead to such cognate accusative constructions as the English TO LIVE A LIFE, DREAM A DREAM:

se'el-se'la'msi write to me!

dū'gwī'i dī-dū'gwa'nk' she shall wear her skirt 55.9

If we analyze noun forms like *t!ibagwa'nt'k'* MY PANCREAS and *dā'axde'k'* MY EAR, we find it necessary to consider five more or less distinct elements that go to make up a noun with possessive suffix, though all of these but the radical portion of the word may be absent.

First of all we have the stem (*t!iba-*; *dā^a-*) which may or may not be similar in form to a verbal base, and which occurs either as an absolute noun unprovided with a pronominal suffix (body-part nouns and terms of relationship, however, do not ordinarily appear in their naked stem-form), or as an incorporated noun; e. g., *t!iba-wēsin* I AM PANCREAS-DEPRIVED, MY PANCREAS HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM ME.

Appended to the stem are the purely derivational or formative elements of the noun. Takelma is characterized rather by a paucity than an abundance of such elements, a very large proportion of its nouns being primitive, i. e., non-derivative, in character. Of the

two nouns that we have chosen as types *dā^anxde'k'* shows no formative element in the proper sense of the word, while the *-gw-* of *t!ibagwa'nt'k'* is such an element (cf. from stem *liu-* LOOK *liu-gw-ax-de'k'* MY FACE).

More characteristic of the Takelma noun than derivational suffixes is a group of elements that are never found in the absolute form of the noun, but attach themselves to it on the addition of a pronominal suffix or local pre-positive. The *-n-* and *-(a)n-* of *dā^anxde'k'* and *t!ibagwa'nt'k'*, respectively, are elements of this kind (cf. *ha-da-n-dē* IN MY EAR; *ha-t!ibagw-an-dē* IN MY PANCREAS), also the *-a-* of *dana't'k'* MY ROCK (cf. *ha-dan-a'* IN THE ROCK [from *da'n* rock]), and the *-u* of *ha-t'gāū* IN THE EARTH 33.7 (from *t'gā* EARTH). The function of these elements, if they have any and are not merely older formative suffixes that have become crystallized in definite forms of the noun, is not at all clear. They are certainly not mere connective elements serving as supports for the grammatical suffixes following, as in that event it would be difficult to understand their occurrence as absolute finals in nouns provided with pre-positives; nor can they be plausibly explained as old case-endings whose former existence as such was conditioned by the preceding pre-positive, but which now have entirely lost their original significance, for they are never dependent on the pre-positive itself, but vary solely with the noun-stem:

ha-dan-a' in the rock; *dā^a-dan-a'* beside the rock; *dal-dan-a'* among the rocks; *dan-a'-t'k'* my rock; *dak'-dan-a-dē* over my rock (with constant *-a-* from *da'n* rock 16.12)

ha-gwā^al-a'm in the road 62.6; *dā^a-gwā^al-a'm* along the road; *gwā^al-a'm-t'k'* my road (96.8); *dak'-gwā^al-am-dē* over my road (48.6, 8) (with constant *-am-* from *gwān* road 148.7)

For want of a better term to describe them, these apparently non-significant elements will be referred to as noun-characteristics. Not all nouns have such characteristics:

ha-gela'm in the river (from *gela'm* river 21.14) as opposed to *xā^a-gūlm-a'n* among oaks (from *gulu'm* oak 22.10, 11)

Whether such nouns were always without them, or really preserve them, but in a phonetically amalgamated form, it is, of course, impossible to decide without other than internal evidence.

A fourth nominal element, the pre-pronominal *-x-*, is found in a large number of nouns, including such as possess also a characteristic

(e. g., *dā^a-n-x-de`k'*) and such as are not provided with that element (e. g., *sal-x-de`k'* MY FOOT); a large number, on the other hand, both of those that have a characteristic (e. g., *tlibagw-a`n-t`k'*) and of those that lack it (e. g., *bēm-t'ā^a* HIS STICK) do without the *-x*. A considerable number of nouns may either have it between the characteristic and the pronominal ending or append the personal endings directly to the characteristic, no difference in signification resulting. In such doublets, however, the pronominal suffixes belong to different schemes:

bilg-an-x-de`k' and *bilg-a`n-t`k'* my breast

se^{ens}-i-x-da`ε and *se^{ens}-i'-εt'* your hair

wā^ad-i'-x-da (92.24) and *wā^ad-ī'ī* his body 146.6

The characteristic *-a-* never tolerates a following *-x*. Where doublets occur, these two elements seem to be mutually equivalent: *ey-a`-t`k'* (112.6) and *ei-x-de`k'* MY CANOE (from *eī* CANOE 114.3). Such doublets, together with the fact that nothing ever intervenes between it and the personal suffix, make it possible that this *-x-* is a connective element somewhat similar in function to, and perhaps ultimately identical with, the connective *-x-* of transitive verbs. This, however, is confessedly mere speculation. What chiefly militates against its interpretation as a merely connective element is the fact of its occurrence as a word-final in phrases in which no possessive element is found:

dagax wō`k'ī^s head without

ha-dā^a-n-x molhi`t' in-ear red (i. e., red-eared) 14.4; 15.13

If the local phrase involves a personal pronominal element, the *-x-* disappears:

dā^a-n-x-de`k' my ear, but *ha-da-n-dē* in my ear

This treatment marks it off sharply from the noun-characteristics.

Fifthly and lastly, in the integral structure of the noun, comes the possessive pronominal suffix (the first person singular of terms of relationship, however, is a prefixed *wi-*). The following tabulated summary shows the range of occurrence of the various elements of the noun:

1. **Stem.** Occurs as absolute noun (*gwān*), or incorporated in verb (*dā^a-*).
2. **Derivative element.** Occurs as ending of absolute form of noun whose stem appears only in incorporation: *tliba`-k'w* pancreas.

3. **Noun characteristic.** Occurs with all increments of absolute form of noun; i. e., with pronominal suffix (*gwā^al-a'm-t'k'*), with pre-positive (*ha-gwā^al-a'm*), and with pre-positive and pronominal element (*ha-gwā^al-am-dē*).
4. **Pre-pronominal -x-** Occurs with pronominal suffix (*dā^a-n-x-de'k'*) and pre-positive (*ha-dā^a-n-x*), but never with pre-positive and pronominal element.
5. **Pronominal suffix.** Occurs in two distinct forms: one for nouns without pre-positives (*dā^a-n-x-de'k'*), and one for nouns accompanied by pre-positive (*ha-da-n-dē*).

A tabulated analysis of a few typical words follows:

Stem	Derivative	Character- istic	Pre-pro- nominal	Pronominal	Meaning
(ha-) <i>wax</i> . ¹		<i>g-a'n</i>			in the creek
<i>le'</i>	<i>k'w-</i>	<i>an-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my anus
<i>da-wyā'a-</i>	<i>k'w-</i>			<i>de'k'</i>	my medicine-spirit
<i>dān-</i>		<i>n-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my ear
<i>bo'k'd-</i>	<i>an-</i>		<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my neck
<i>k'aie-</i>	<i>lā'p'a.-k!-</i>	<i>i-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my woman
<i>lōu-</i>	<i>s'i'-</i>			<i>t'k'</i>	my plaything
<i>sg'e'e-</i>	<i>xab-</i>	<i>a-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my hat
<i>l'u-</i>	<i>gw-</i>		<i>ax-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my face
<i>xān-</i>		<i>ha'm-</i>		<i>da</i>	on his back
<i>ts!e'k'ts!ig-</i>		<i>i-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my backbone
(ha-) <i>yaw-</i>		<i>a-</i>		<i>dē</i>	in my ribs
<i>dōum-</i>		<i>a'l-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my testicles
<i>xāal-(xān.)</i>		<i>a'm-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my urine
<i>ī-</i>		<i>ū-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my hand
(ha ^a)- <i>ī-</i>		<i>ū-</i>		<i>dē</i>	in my hand }

¹ A point (.) shows the absolute form of the word.

1. Nominal Stems (§§ 85, 86)

§ 85. GENERAL REMARKS

The stem is in a very large number of cases parallel in form to that of a verbal base (e. g., with *da'n* ROCK, *s'om* MOUNTAIN, *mēx* CRANE, cf. *t!an-* HOLD, *s'om-* BOIL, *he'm-* WRESTLE). An extensive number of noun-stems, however, are apparently amplifications of a simpler monosyllabic base, and have all the outward appearance of an aorist stem in the verb. It becomes, then, not only possible, but fundamentally important, to classify noun-stems into types that seem, and ultimately doubtless are, entirely analogous in form to corresponding verbal types. The noun-stem *wili-* HOUSE, for example, can be conceived of as formed from a base *wil-* in the same manner

as the aorist *naga-* is formed from the verb-stem *nā^ag-* SAY TO SOME ONE. Similarly, the noun *yelē`x* BURDEN-BASKET is phonetically related to a hypothetical base **yelx-*, as is the aorist *leme-k!-* to the non-aorist *lem-k!-*. A small number of nouns appear in two forms, one corresponding to the aorist stem, the other to the verb-stem of a verb: *gulu`m* OAK, but with characteristic *-(a)n-*: *gulm-an-* (the non-aorist *gula`m* with inorganic *-a-* also occurs). Similarly, *yulu`m* and *yula`m* EAGLE. In such variable nouns we have a complete morphologic analogy to Type 2 (or 3)) verbs like aorist *xuḍum-* WHISTLE, verb-stem *xut`m-* (with inorganic *-a-*: *xuḍam-*). In both *gulu`m* and *xuḍum-* the *-m-* is almost certainly a suffixed element. It must be carefully noted, however, that, while in the verb we very often have both the aorist stem and the base (as verb-stem) in actual existence, in the case of nouns we rarely can go beyond the stem as revealed in an absolute or incorporated form. It is true that sometimes a hypothetical noun-base phonetically coincides with a verbal base, but only in the minority of cases can the two be satisfactorily connected. Thus, *yut!-*, abstracted from *yūt!u`n* DUCK, is very probably identical with the *yut!-* of aorist *yut!uyad-* SWALLOW GREEDILY LIKE HOG OR DUCK. On the other hand, little is gained by comparing the *yul-* of *yulu`m* EAGLE with the *yul-* of aorist *yuluyal-* RUB; the *p!i'y-* of *p!i'yin* DEER and *p!i'yax* FAWN with the aorist *-p!i'yin-(k'wa-)* LIE ON PILLOW (cf. *gwen-p!ixap`* PILLOW), unless the deer was so called, for reasons of name-taboo, because its skin was used for the making of pillows (or, more naturally, the reverse);¹ the *way-* of *waya`* KNIFE with *way-* SLEEP; or the noun-stem *yaw-* RIB (occurring as *ya-u-* when incorporated) with the verb-stem *yaw-* (*yiw-*) TALK. It is not justifiable to say that noun-stems of apparently non-primitive form are necessarily amplified from the bases that seem to lie back of them (e. g., *wili-* from *wil-*; *yulu-m* from *yul-*), but merely that there is a strong tendency in Takelma for the formation in the noun of certain typical sound-groups analogous to those found in the verb.

§ 86. TYPES OF STEM FORMATION

Though it is probably impossible to duplicate all the various types of aorist and verb stem found in the verb, most of those that are at all frequent occur also in the noun.

¹Improbable, however, if aorist *p!eyen-* LIE and *p!i'yin-k'wa-* LIE ON PILLOW are radically connected (see § 31).

1. The most characteristic type of noun-stem in Takelma is the monosyllabic group of consonant (less frequently consonant-cluster) + vowel (or diphthong) + consonant (less frequently cluster). This type may be considered as corresponding to the normal monosyllabic verb-stem. Out of a very large number of such primitive, underived noun-stems are taken a selection of examples.

Occurring as naked stems only when incorporated:

<i>s'in</i> - nose	<i>gwel</i> - leg
<i>dā^a</i> - ear	<i>yaw</i> - rib
<i>gel</i> - breast	<i>i</i> - hand
<i>gwen</i> - neck	<i>xā^a</i> - back
<i>dag</i> - head	<i>dē^e</i> - lips, mouth
<i>s'al</i> - foot	<i>ha</i> - woman's private parts

Occurring as absolute nouns:

<i>nōx</i> rain 90.1	<i>mo^x</i> grouse
<i>p'i</i> fire 62.10; 78.13	<i>t'gwe^llk^w</i> rat (sp.?)
<i>bē</i> sun 54.3; 122.15; 160.20	<i>t'iⁱs</i> gopher 78.4, 7
<i>bēm</i> tree, stick 25.5; 48.7	<i>sbīn</i> beaver 112.1; 166.12
<i>xi^l</i> water 15.1; 57.14	<i>s'ūx</i> bird 22.4; 166.10
<i>t'gā</i> land 49.12; 73.9	<i>dāⁿ</i> rock 13.6; 16.12
<i>t'gwa^l</i> thunder 55.8	<i>lā^apⁱ</i> leaves
<i>p'lā^as</i> snow 90.2, 3; 152.16	<i>s'ix</i> venison 16.6; 55.1
<i>p'i^m</i> salmon 17.12; 30.10	<i>xīn</i> mucus
<i>lān</i> salmon-net 31.2; 33.4	<i>la^l</i> excrement 122.2
<i>māl</i> salmon-spear shaft 28.7	<i>t'ga^m</i> elk 158.4; 196.6
<i>t'gwaⁿ</i> slave 13.12	<i>t!ākⁱ</i> mussel 26.7
<i>gwān</i> trail 148.7	<i>bō^un</i> acorn-hopper
<i>būs</i> fly	<i>xoⁱ</i> fir 24.10; 54.6
<i>dēl</i> yellow-jacket 73.7, 10	<i>hūlkⁱ</i> panther 42.1
<i>mēx</i> crane 13.1	<i>bīk^w</i> skunk 164.2
<i>xē^m</i> raven 162.8, 12	<i>t'ān</i> squirrel 94.2, 4
<i>s'ēm</i> duck 55.2; 166.10	<i>s'o^m</i> mountain 43.6
<i>sēl</i> kingfisher	<i>xān</i> urine
<i>mēl</i> crow 144.9; 162.7	<i>dō^um</i> testicles 130.20
<i>yāk^w</i> wildcat 42.1; 46.9	<i>dō^um</i> spider
<i>xa^mlkⁱ</i> grizzly bear 106.14	<i>hōū</i> jack-rabbit 108.8
<i>dīpⁱ</i> camass 108.18; 124.12	<i>ga^le</i> bow
<i>k!wāi</i> grass 31.8	<i>hāi</i> cloud 13.3
<i>hīx</i> roasted camass 178.4	<i>bīū</i> grasshopper 92.28, 29
<i>ō^upⁱ</i> tobacco 194.1	<i>xnī^k</i> acorn dough 16.12
<i>k!wāl</i> pitch 88.13; 158.9	<i>gūi</i> thick brush 71.1
<i>yūpⁱ</i> woman's basket-cap 178.3	<i>t'gwīl</i> hazelnut 116.5, 11, 14

Occurring generally with possessive suffix:

<i>ma</i> ⁻¹	} father 17.12; 70.7; 158.3	<i>wā^ad-</i>	body 92.24; 130.24;
<i>ham-</i>			146.6
<i>nī-</i>	} mother 17.9; 76.10, 13; 172.17	<i>xū^ul-</i>	brains
<i>hin-</i>		<i>seⁿ-</i>	skin
		<i>dełg-</i>	buttocks 45.9; 72.10; 94.15
<i>gū^ux-</i>	wife 13.2; 45.3; 64.5; 142.12	<i>bīlg-</i>	breast
<i>t'vⁱ-</i>	male, husband 45.14; 126.14	<i>k'ū^ub-</i>	hair 24.8; 162.4
<i>nīⁱ-</i>	teats 30.14 (<i>nī'</i> found as absolute form 130.9)	<i>a-is-</i>	property 23.2; 154.13
<i>p!āⁿ-</i>	liver 120.15 (<i>p!ān</i> found as absolute form 57.9, 13)		

These lists might be very greatly increased if desired. It will be noticed that a considerable number of the nouns given are such as are generally apt to be derivative or non-primitive in morphology.

In regard to accent monosyllabic nouns naturally divide themselves into two classes:—those with rising or raised accent, embracing the great majority of examples, and those with falling accent. Of the latter type a certain number owe their accent to a glottal catch of the stem. Besides *ga'l^e*, already given above, may be cited:

t'go^{iε} leggings
k!a'l^es sinew 27.13; (28.1)
p!e'el^e basket-plate 168.15
k'o^ex tar-weed seeds 26.15

These offer no special difficulty. There is a fairly considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, however, in which the falling accent can not be so explained, but appears to be inherently characteristic of the nouns. Besides *ō'u^up'*, *p!ā'a^s*, *t'vⁱs*, and *lā'a^p'*, may be mentioned:

<i>ne'el</i> song 106.7	<i>t!e'ek^w</i> yellowhammer 90.18; 194.15
<i>se'el</i> black paint, writing	<i>t'be'ek^w</i> shinny-ball
<i>ge'et^t</i> xerophyllum tenax	<i>ā'lk^t</i> silver-side salmon
<i>ye'et^t</i> tears	<i>p!e'es</i> (with derivative -s? see § 87, 8) flat rock on which acorns are pounded 74.13; 75.2; 118.17
<i>wā'a^s</i> bush (sp.?) 25.12	

For two of these nouns (*he'el* and *se'el*) the etymology is obvious. They are derived from the verb-stems *heel-* SING and *seel-* (amd-) PAINT; it may well be that the falling accent here characterizes substantives of passive force (THAT WHICH IS SUNG, PAINTED). Possibly *lā'a^p'* and *ō'u^up'* are to be similarly explained as meaning THOSE THAT

¹ Most nouns of relationship show monosyllabic stems; none can be shown to be derivative in character.

ARE CARRIED (BY BRANCHES) and THAT WHICH IS DUG UP¹ (cf. aorist stems *lā^ab-* CARRY and *ō^ub-* DIG UP).

2. A very considerable number of noun-stems repeat the vowel of the base, corresponding to aorist stems of Type 2 verbs. Such are:

<i>wi'li</i> house 13.1; 14.8; 192.6	<i>gwit'li-(n)-</i> wrist
<i>ts'li'zi</i> dog	<i>k'aba-</i> son 23.2; 128.5; 138.14
<i>moxo'</i> buzzard 105.23	<i>xaga-</i> maternal aunt
<i>sgi'si</i> coyote 13.1; 70.1; 108.1	<i>xli'wi</i> war-feathers 110.18
<i>sgwini'</i> raccoon	<i>waya'</i> knife 73.3; 144.20; 172.12
<i>k!a'ma</i> spit for roasting 170.17	<i>goyo'</i> shaman 47.11; 142.7; 188.7
<i>yap!a'</i> person 14.12; 96.2; 128.2	<i>wō^up!u-(n)-</i> eyebrows
<i>yana'</i> acorn 15.16; 16.9; 58.9	

With probably derivative final consonant are:

<i>lege'm-</i> kidney	<i>daga'n</i> turtle
<i>lap'am</i> frog 102.10; 196.3	<i>ts'!axā'an</i> blue-striped lizard
<i>yulu'm</i> eagle 77.2; 122.15; 164.8	<i>wigīn</i> red lizard
<i>gulu'm</i> oak 22.10	<i>li'bin</i> news 108.20; 194.9
<i>k'ülūm</i> fish (sp. ?)	<i>yi'win</i> speech 126.10; 136.12
<i>loxo'm</i> manzanita 126.17; 178.5	<i>ts'!amāl</i> mouse 102.10; 104.9; 142.4
<i>yūt!u'n</i> white duck 55.5	<i>s'imi'l</i> dew
<i>p!i'yin</i> deer 17.1; 42.2; 54.2	<i>(k!el)mehel-ī'i</i> basket for cooking 178.4
<i>ga'k!an</i> ladder 176.8	

Here again it will be observed that the rising or raised accent is the normal one for the second syllable of the stem. But here also a well-defined, if less numerous, group of noun-stems is found in which the repeated long vowel bears a falling accent. Examples are:

<i>t'gwālā'a</i> hooting owl 194.9	<i>t!ibis-ī'i</i> ant 74.4; 75.5
<i>hūs-s-ū'u</i> chicken-hawk 142.6	<i>da-uyā'a</i> shaman's spirit (? from <i>dawy-</i> fly) 164.14
<i>s'ühū'u</i> quail 70.2, 5; 71.4	<i>mayā'a-k'w-</i> orphan 154.5

Compare also *t!onō'us-* below (Type 3); *ts'!ilī'ik!-* and *t'bele'es* (Type 3) owe their falling accent to the presence of a glottal catch.

Very remarkable is the stem formation of the noun *t!ūxū'i* DRIFTWOOD 75.5. It is evidently formed from the verb-stem *dō^ux-* (aorist stem *t!oxox-*) GATHER (WOOD) according to aorists of Type 7b, at the same time with vowel ablaut (cf. theoretic *t!ūxū-xi* HE GATHERS ME) and falling accent, perhaps to give passive signification (see § 86, 1); its etymologic meaning would then be THAT WHICH IS GATHERED. No other noun of similar stem formation has been found.

¹ If this etymology of *ō^up'* is correct, Pit River *ōp'* TOBACCO must be borrowed from Takelma.

3. It is not strictly possible to separate noun-stems corresponding to aorists of verbal Type 2 from those that are to be compared with aorists of Type 3. The doubt that we found to exist in the verb as to the radical or suffixal character of certain consonants is present also in regard to the final consonant of many dissyllabic nouns. The following nouns with repeated vowel show final consonants that are not thought to be elements of derivation. If this view is correct, they are to be compared with Type 3 aorist stems.

<i>libis</i> crawfish 30.2	<i>ü'lük!</i> - hair 27.1; 140.6; 158.1
<i>nihwi'k'^w</i> black bear 116.1;	<i>degēs¹</i> - sifting basket-pan
118.1	196.13
<i>ts'li'li'k!</i> - elbow	<i>k!aba's</i> porcupine-quills
<i>s'idib-i-</i> (house) wall 176.4, 9	<i>t'gwaya'm</i> lark 22.1; 160.3
<i>lep!ēs</i> cat-tail rushes	<i>hülün</i> ocean 60.8; 154.14
<i>t'bele'ēs</i> pine-nuts	<i>oho'p'</i> black shells (sp.?) 55.9
<i>t!ewēx</i> flea	<i>mot!o'p'</i> seed-beater
<i>s'elēk'^w</i> pestle 56.1	<i>yuk!um-</i> salmon-tail 198.9
<i>s'ülūk'</i> cricket	<i>dugu'm</i> baby 126.9
<i>t!onō'us</i> humming-bird (per- haps with derivative -s)	

4. Analogous to aorist stems of Type 4 verbs (e. g., *yewei-*) are a few nouns with repeated vowel and following *-i-* to form a diphthong. Of such nouns have been found:

<i>ts'!elei-</i> eye 27.8; 86.7; 92.20	<i>da-k!olo'i-da-x-</i> cheek
<i>k'wedēi-</i> name 100.21	<i>maha'i</i> (adjective) large 196.10
<i>k!elei-</i> bark 54.6	(cf. plural <i>mahmī</i> 130.4 for base)
<i>k!oloī</i> storage basket 61.5;	
138.17	

That the final *-i-* of these nouns is not an added characteristic, but an integral part of the noun-stem, is proven by the facts that no examples have been found of vowels followed by noun-characteristic *-i-* (ordinarily *-n-* or *-m-* is employed), and that *ts'!elei-* has been found incorporated in that form.

5. A few nouns are found that show a repeated initial consonant; they may be compared to Type 10 aorist stems. Examples are:

<i>seⁿns-</i> hair 136.28 (cf. <i>seⁿ-</i> <i>skin</i>)	<i>bo'p'</i> alder (94.17)
<i>liū^l!</i> - throat 25.2 (? cf. aorist <i>lomol</i> choke)	<i>ts'!u'nēs</i> (<i>ts'!unts'!</i> -) deer- skin cap embroidered with woodpecker-scalps

¹ Absolute form *dega's* 178.4; cf. *yula'm* 164.3 alongside of *yulu'm* 77.8?

<i>suñs</i> thick, deep (of snow) 90.3	<i>ts'!e'n^εs' (ts'!ents'!-)</i> wild-rose berry 92.23
<i>bebe'-n</i> rushes	<i>bāp'</i> seeds (sp.?) (34.1; 79.9; 94.19)
<i>bū^ub-a'n</i> arm 23.2, 4; (172.4)	<i>ts'!a'is^s.¹</i> bluejay (onomatopoeic) 22.14; 102.10; 166.11
<i>sēns</i> bug (sp.?)	<i>belp'²</i> swan 102.10; 104.14

Here may also be mentioned *k!a'mak!ā^a* HIS TONGS (also *k!a'mā^a*).

6. Reduplicated nouns are not frequent in Takelma, particularly when one considers the great importance of reduplication as a grammatical device in the verb. Examples corresponding in form to Type 12 aorists (i. e., with *-a-* [umlauted to *-i-*] in second member) are:

<i>t'gwi'nt'gwin-i-</i> shoulder (also <i>t'gwi'nt'gw-i-</i>)	<i>ts'!e'k'ts'!ig-i-</i> backbone 112.4; 198.6
<i>gelga'l</i> fabulous serpent (cf. aorist <i>gelegal-amd-</i> tie hair into top-knot 172.3)	<i>gi'xgap'</i> medicine, poison (irreg.) 188.12
<i>sī'nsa'n</i> decrepit old woman	<i>gwi'sgwas</i> chipmunk
<i>yūk'ya'k'w-a</i> (place name) 188.13	<i>p'ā't'p'id-i-</i> salmon-liver (with dissimilated catch) 120.19, 20
<i>t'ga'lt'gil-i-</i> belly	<i>bōut'bid-i-</i> orphans (also <i>bōt'ba</i>)

Also *wa-iwī'i* GIRL 55.7; 96.23 doubtless belongs here; the *-wī'i* of the second syllable represents a theoretic *-wī'y*, umlauted from *-wa'y*, the falling accent being due to the inorganic character of the repeated *a*. A very few nouns repeat only the first consonant and add *a*, leaving the final consonant unreduplicated. Such are:

<i>ba'k'bā^a</i> red-headed woodpecker (onomatopoeic) 92.2, 6
<i>ha'εk'ā^a</i> (= * <i>hak!-hā^a</i>) goose 102.10; 106.2, 5
<i>bōt'bā^a</i> orphan 122.1, 5

A few nouns, chiefly names of animals, show complete duplication of the radical element without change of the stem-vowel to *-a-* in the second member. This type of reduplication is practically entirely absent in the verb. Examples are:

<i>ts'!e'εts'!e^ε</i> small bird (sp.?)	<i>al-k!ok!o'k'</i> (adj.) ugly-faced 60.5
<i>dalda'l</i> dragon-fly 21.1; 28.6	<i>bobo'p'</i> screech-owl 194.1
<i>p'abā'a'p'</i> manzanita-flour	<i>t'ga'nt'gan</i> fly (upper dialect)

Even all of these are not certain. Those with radical *-a-* might just as well have been classified with the preceding group (thus

¹ That *-εs* is felt to be equivalent to *-ts'!* is shown by Bluejay's song: *ts'!a'its'!ā gwa'tca gwatca* 104.7.

² *bel-* is felt as the base of this word, cf. Swan's song *beleldō+ wa'inha* 104.15, which shows reduplication of *bel-* like aorist *helel-* of *hel-* SING.

dalda'l may be very plausibly connected with aorist *t!alat!al-* from *t!alal-*, non-aorist *dā^aldal* from *dā^al-* CRACK); while *p'abā^ap'* and *bobo^ap'* may, though improbably, show Type 1 reduplication (*p'ab-ā^ab-* like *p!ab-ab-* CHOP). This latter type of reduplication seems, however, to be as good as absent in the noun (but cf. *sgwôgwô^k'w* ROBIN; *mele'lx* BURNT-DOWN FIELD 92.27 may be morphologically verbal, as shown by its probably non-agentive *-x*). The fullest type of reduplication, that found exemplified in the aorists of Type 13 verbs, has not been met with in a single noun.

2. Noun Derivation (§§ 87, 88)

§ 87. DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES

The number of derivative suffixes found in the noun, excluding those more or less freely employed to form nominal derivatives from the verb-stem, are remarkably few in number, and, for the most part, limited in their range of application. This paucity of live word-forming suffixes is, of course, due to a great extent, to the large number of nominal stems in the language. The necessity of using such suffixes is thus greatly reduced. The various derivational affixes found in the Takelma noun will be listed below with illustrative examples.

1. *t'(a)-*. This is the only derivational prefix, excluding of course such considerably individualized elements as the body-part prefixes of the verb, found in Takelma. It is employed to form the words for the female relationships corresponding to ELDER BROTHER and YOUNGER BROTHER.

wāxa his younger brother 54.1, 5 *t'awāxa* his younger sister 55.2
wi-^εobī my elder brother 46.10 *wi-t'obī* my elder sister (55.14)

2. *-lā'p'a(k!-)*. This suffix is found only in a number of nouns denoting ranks or conditions of persons; hence it is not improbable that it was originally a separate word meaning something like PERSON, PEOPLE. That it is itself a stem, not a mere suffix, is shown by its ability to undergo ablaut (for-*lē'p'i-* see § 77). *-k!-* is added to it in forms with possessive or plural affix. For example, from *t!i^{is}lā'p'a* 178.7 MALE, HUSBAND are formed *t!i^{is}lā'p'ik!i^tk'* MY HUSBAND (142.7) and *t!i^{is}lā'p'ak!an* HUSBANDS, MEN (130.1, 7). The fact that the stem preceding *-lā'p'a* appears also as a separate word or with other elements indicates that words containing *-lā'p'a* may be best considered as compounds.

Examples are:

- t!i^εlā'p'a* male, husband 178.7 (cf. *t!i^ε*- husband, male)
k'a^εlā'p'a woman 25 9, 12; 108.4, 5 (cf. *k'a^εs'o'k'da* girl who has
 already had courses)
mologolā'p'a old woman 26.14, 16; 56.3 (cf. *mologo'l* old woman
 168.12; 170.10)
bō^ut'bā^alā'p'ak!an orphans (cf. *bōt'ba* orphan and *bō^ut'bid-i-t'k'*
 my orphaned children)
lomt!i^εlā'p'ak!an old men 128.11; 130.1 (cf. *lomt!i^ε* old man 24.11;
 126.19)
os'ō^ulā'p'a poor people

3. *-k'*. A number of place-names with suffixed *-k'* have been found:

- La'mhik'* Klamath river
Sbink' Applegate creek (cf. *sbin* beaver)
Gwen-p'uñk' village name 114.14 (cf. *p'u'n* rotten 140.21)
Ha-t!ōnk' village name
Dak'-t'gamik' village name (cf. *t'ga'm* elk)
Gel-yālk' village name 112.13; 114.8 (cf. *yāl* pine)
Somolu'k'¹ village name
Dal-danik' village name (cf. *da'n* rock)

4. *-a^ε(n)*. Nouns denoting PERSON COMING FROM are formed by adding this suffix to the place-name, with loss of derivative *-k'*.

Examples are:

- Ha-gwā^ala^ε* person from Ha-gwāl, Cow creek
Lamhīⁱya^ε person from La'mhik', Klamath river
Sbīⁱna^ε person from Sbink', Applegate creek
Dal-sa'lsana^ε person from Dal-salsañ, Illinois river
Dī^ε-lōmīya^ε person from Dī^ε-lōmī
Gwen-p'u'na^ε person from Gwen-p'uñk'
Dal-danīya^ε person from Dal-danik'
S'omola^ε person from S'omolu'k' (see footnote)
Ha-t!ō^una^ε person from Ha-t!ōnk'
La-t'gā^awa^ε person from La-t'gāū, uplands 192.14
Dak'-t'gamīya^ε person from Dak'-t'gamik'
Ha-t'īⁱla^ε person from Ha-t'īl
Gel-yā^ala^ε person from Gel-yālk'

- { *Dak'-ts!ā^awana^ε* person from dak'-ts!ā^awa'n, i. e., above the
 lakes (= Klamath Indian)
Dak'-ts!ā^amala^ε

¹The *-u-* of this word is doubtless merely the pitch-accentual peak of the *-l-*, the *-u-* resonance of the liquid being due to the preceding *-o-*. The word is thus to be more correctly written as *Somolk'* (similarly, *wulx* ENEMY was often heard as *wulu'x*), as implied by *S'omola^ε* ONE FROM SOMOLK'. In that event *s'omol-* is very probably a frequentative in *v+l* (see § 43, 6) from *s'om̄* MOUNTAIN, and the place-name means VERY MOUNTAINOUS REGION.

Dā^a-gelma'^ε*n* person from *Dā^a-gela'm*, Rogue river (= Takelma Indian)

Dī-dalama'^ε*n* person from *Didalam̃*, Grant's Pass

Judging from the material at hand, it seems that *-a'^εn* is used only when the place-name ends in *-m*, though the ease with which *-a'^εn* may be heard as *-a'^ε* (see first footnote § 60) detracts from the certainty of this generalization.

5. *-gw-*. This element occurs as a suffix in a number of terms relating to parts of the body. Examples are:

tliba'k'^w pancreas 47.17; *tlibagw-a'n-t'k'* my pancreas (47.5, 6, 7, 13) (incorporated *tliba-* 46.1, 9)

li'ugw-ax-dek' my face (cf. verb-stem *liu-* look)

da^εmadagw-a'n-t'k' my shoulder

da-uyā'a'k'^w*-dek'* my medicine-spirit (incorporated *da-uyā-* 164.14)

le'k'w-an-t'k' my rectum (cf. *la''* excrement 122.2)

ma'p'lagw-a-t'k' my shoulder-blade

6. *-(a)n-* (or *-m-*, *-l-*). There are so many nouns which in their absolute form end in *-(a)n* or its phonetic derivatives *-(a)m-* and *-(a)l-* (see § 21) that there is absolutely no doubt of its suffixal character, despite the impossibility of ascribing to it any definite functional value and the small number of cases in which the stem occurs without it. The examples that most clearly indicate its non-radical character will be conveniently listed here:

he'la'm board 176.5 (cf. *dīⁱ-he'liya* sleeping on board platform 13.2)

ts'ela'm hail 152.12, 16 (cf. verb-stem *ts'el-* rattle)

p'i'yin deer 13.10; 42.2 (cf. *p'i'yax* fawn 13.11; 49.11)

yi'win speech 126.10; 138.4 (cf. verb-stem *yiw-* talk)

li'bin news 194.9 (? cf. verb-stem *laba-* carry)

yūt!u'n white duck 55.5 (cf. verb-stem *yut!-* eat greedily)

do'lk'am-a- anus (also *do'lk'-i-* as myth form 106.4, 8)

do'lk'im-i-

do'lk'in-i- 106.6, 9

xdān eel (cf. reduplicated *hā^ε-xdā^axdagwa^εn* I throw away something slippery, nastily wet [49.7])

s'ugwa'n root basket 124.5 (cf. *s'ugwid̃* it lies curled up like bundled roots or strings)

dan ye'ewald-in-ī rocks returning-to- them, myth name of Otter 160.10, 13 (cf. verb-stem *ye'ew-ald-* return to)

Other examples, etymologically untransparent, will be found listed in § 21. The difference between this derivational *-n* (*-m*) and

noun-characteristic *-n-* (*-m*) lies in the fact that the former is a necessary part of the absolute form of the word, while the latter appears only with grammatical increments. Thus the *-am* of *he^lla^m* BOARD can not be identified with the *-am* of *ha-gwā^lla^m* IN THE ROAD, as *gwā^lla^m* has no independent existence. The exact morphologic correspondent of *gwā^l-am-* is *he^llam-a-* (e. g., *he^llam-a^{-t}k[']* MY BOARD). A doubt as to the character of the *-n-* can be had only in words that never, or at least not normally, occur without possessive suffix:

lege^m-t[']k['] my kidneys

wō^up!uⁿ-t[']k['] my eyebrows¹

7. *-a*. There are a rather large number of dissyllabic nouns or noun-stems with final *-a*, in which this element is to outward appearance an integral part of the radical portion of the word. The number of instances in which it occurs, however, is considerable enough to lead one to suspect its derivational character, though it can be analyzed out in an even smaller number of cases than the suffix *-n* above discussed. The most convincing proof of the existence of a suffix *-a* is given by the word *xu[']ma* FOOD, DRY FOOD, 54.4; 188.1, a derivative of the adjective *xu[']m* DRY 168.15 (e. g., *p[']im xu[']m* DRIED SALMON; cf. also *xūmū[']k[']de^s* I AM SATIATED [132.1]). Other possible examples of its occurrence are:

yola['] fox (? cf. verb-stem *yul-* rub) 70.1, 4, 5; 78.2, 3, 9

mena['] bear 72.3; 73.2, 3, 4, 5; 106.7, 10

p!elda['] slug 105.25

noxwa['] small pestle

t[']e[']lma small pestle 62.1; 116.18, 19; 118.2

ma[']xla dust 172.3; 184.5, 9

k!eda['] grass for string (sp.?)

t!ela['] shinny-stick (? cf. verb-stem *t!èu-* play shinny)

t!ela['] louse (? cf. verb base *t!el-* lick) 116.3, 6, 7, 8, 11

t!iba- pancreas 46.1, 9; 49.7

ela- tongue (characteristic *-a*?)

dola['] old tree 24.1

yana['] oak 22.11; 168.1, 2, 3, 6, 7 (cf. *yangwa[']s* oak sp.; with *-gwas* cf. perhaps *al-gwa[']s-i-* yellow)

It is of course possible that some of the dissyllabic nouns in *-a* listed above (§ 86, 2) as showing a repeated vowel (e. g., *ya[']p!a*) really belong here.

¹ These seem to be parallel to *gwit!iⁿ-t[']k[']* MY WRIST, in which *-n-*, inasmuch as it acts as the equivalent of the characteristic *-ū-* (cf. *gwit!iⁿū^rde[']k[']* MY WRIST with *iū^rde[']k[']* MY HAND), is itself best considered characteristic element.

8. -s. This element is in all probability a derivational suffix in a fairly considerable number of words, as indicated particularly by the fact of its frequent occurrence after a consonant. Examples are:

p!e'es mortar-stone fastened in ground (cf. verb-stem *p!è-* lie) 74.13; 120.17

la'ps blanket (? cf. base *lab-* carry on shoulder) 98.14, 15, 19, 21
p!e'ns squirrel

gũms (adj.) blind 26.14 (? cf. *gomha'k'w* rabbit)

bēls moccasin

k!u'ls worm (? cf. verb-stem *gōw-*, aorist *k!olol-* dig)

yōls steel-head salmon (? cf. *yola'* fox)

bīls moss 43.16; 44.1; 47.15

bam'i's sky 79.7 (cf. verb-prefix *bam-* up)

bāls (adj.) long 14.5; 15.12, 15 (? cf. *da-balni'-xa* [adv.] long time)

Also some of the dissyllabic nouns in -s with repeated vowel listed above (§ 86, 3) may belong to this set.

A few other stray elements of a derivational aspect have been found. Such are:

-ax in *p!i'yax* fawn 13.11; 16.8; 17.1, 2 (cf. *p!i'yin* deer)

-xi¹ in *bomxi'* otter 13.5; 17.13; 154.13; 156.14; *ū'exi* seed-pouch;

hā^apxi' child 13.8, 13 (cf. *hāp'da* his child 98.13 and *hā^ap'-* incorporated in *hā^ap'-k!emna'es* Children-maker 172.15)

pluralic -x- in *hāpxda* his children 16.3; 118.1, 14

-x- varies with -s- in adjective *hāpsdi* small; *hā^apxi'* *hapsdi* little children 30.12

A large number of dissyllabic and polysyllabic nouns still remain that are not capable of being grouped under any of the preceding heads, and whose analysis is altogether obscure:

bāxdis wolf 13.1; 16.10; 17.10

domxa'u Chinook salmon

yīk'a't' red deer

yība'xam small skunk

bīxa'l moon 196.1

k!a'nak!as basket cup (probably reduplicated and with derivative -s)

§ 88. COMPOUNDS

Of compounds in the narrower sense of the word there are very few in Takelma. Outside of personal words in *-lā'p'a*, which we have suspected of being such, there have been found:

lomt!i'ī old man 24.11, 12; 126.19 (cf. *t!i'ī-* male)

k'a^{iε}s-o'k'da girl who has had courses (cf. *k'a^{iε}lā'p'a* woman)

¹ Cf. -xi above, § 82.

Independent nouns may, however, be juxtaposed without change of form to make up a descriptive term, the qualifying noun preceding:

hapxi-t!i't'ā child male-person (=boy) 14.1, 6; 17.3, 6; 156.10

hapxi-wa-iw'i child female-person (=girl) 29.7; 30.1; 71.3

hapxi-t'āga's child crier (=cry-baby)

da'n mologo'l rock old-woman 170.10, 15, 20; 172.1

dan hapxi-t!i't'ā rock boy 17.8

dan wi'l'i his rock knife 142.20

gwa's' wili brush house (for summer use) 176.14

yāx wili graveyard house 14.8, 9; 15.5, 6

wil'i he'la'm house boards 176.5

xamk' wa-iw'i grizzly-bear girl 124.10; 130.6, 7, 26

mena dap!ā'la-ut'an bear youths 130.11

yap!a goyo' Indian doctor 188.12

Examples of compounds in which the first element is modified by a numeral or adjective are:

wili ha'igo' yap!a' house nine people (=people of nine houses)
150.16

yap!a' alt'gu'is' goyo' person white doctor (=white doctor) 188.11

A certain number of objects are described, not by a single word, but by a descriptive phrase consisting of a noun followed by an adjective, participle, or another noun provided with a third personal possessive suffix. In the latter case the suffix does not properly indicate a possessive relation, but generally a part of the whole or the fabric made of the material referred to by the first noun. Such are:

lasgu'm-wūxgwa't' snake handed (=lizard) 196.4

t'gwil ts'!i't'k'da hazel its-meat (=hazel-nut)

t'gwa he'lamā'a thunder its-board (=lumber) 55.8, 10

p'liyin sge'εxabā deer its-hat (not deer's hat, but hat of deerskin)

p'liyin ts'!u'nts'!i deer its-cap-embroidered-with woodpecker-scalps

k'ai mologolā'p'axdā what its-woman (=what kind of woman?)
122.3

wi'li gwalā' houses many (=village)

ts'!i'xi maha'i dog big (=horse)

p'im sin'xdc salmon its-nose (=swallow) (perhaps so called because the spring run of salmon is heralded by the coming of swallows)

mena' alt'guna'px bear + ? (=dormouse [?])

xi'lam sebe't' dead-people roasting (=bug [sp. ?])¹ 98.13, 15

p'un-yi'lt' rotten copulating-with (=Oregon pheasant)

¹ See Appendix B, note 2 of first text.

§ 89. 3. *Noun-Characteristics and Pre-Pronominal -x-*

As noun-characteristics are used four elements: *-(a)n* (including *-am* and *-al*), *-a-*, *-i-*, and *-u-*. Although each noun, in so far as it has any noun-characteristic, is found, as a rule, to use only one of these elements, no rule can be given as to which of them is to be appended to any given noun. Nouns in suffixed *-(a)n*, or *-(a)m*, for example, are found with characteristic *-i-* (*bū^ubin-i-* [from *bū^u-ba'n* ARM]), *-a-* (*he^elam-a-* [from *he^ela'm* BOARD]), *-(a)n* (*gūlm-an-* [from *gūla'm* OAK]), and without characteristic (*bo'k'dan-x-dek'* MY NECK [from *bo'k'dan* 15.12, 15]).

1. *-(a)n*. Examples of this characteristic element are:

gwi^ti-n- wrist (cf. variant *gwi^ti-ū-*)

tⁱibagw-an- pancreas 45.15; 46.5 (absolute *tⁱiba'k^w* 47.17)

da^emadagw-an- shoulder

lek^w-an- rectum

dā^a-n-x- ear 14.4; 15.13 (incorporated *dā^a-*)

tsⁱā^w-an- lake, deep water 59.16 (absolute *tsⁱā^u* 162.9; 166.15)

gūlm-an- oak (absolute *gūla'm*)

*bob-in-*¹ alder 94.17 (absolute *bo'p'*)

Its phonetic reflexes *-al* and *-am* occur in:

s^oō^um-al- mountain 124.2; 152.2 (absolute *s^oō^m* 43.6; 122.16)

dō^um-al- testicles 130.8 (absolute *dō^um* 130.20)

tsⁱā^am-al- (in *Dak'-tsⁱā^amala'^e* Klamath Indian, parallel to *Dak'-tsⁱā^wana'^e*)

gwā^a-am- trail 48.6, 8; 96.8, 9 (absolute *gwān* 148.7)

xā^a-am- urine (absolute *xān*)

-am- is also found, though without apparent phonetic reason, in *xā^a-ham-* BACK (incorporated *xā^a-*). Certain nouns add *-g-* before taking *-an-* as their characteristic:

wax-gan- creek (absolute *wa'x*)

dēl-gan-(x-) anus 45.9; 72.10; 94.15

bīl-gan-(x-) breast

gēl-gan- breast (cf. variant *gel-x-*)

2. *-a-*. More frequently occurring than *-(a)n-* is *-a-*, examples of which are:

dana- rock (absolute *da'n* 17.8; *dāl-am-* as possible variant in place-name *Dī-dala'm* over the rocks [?])

ey-a- canoe 112.6; 114.5, 13; 156.2 (cf. variant *ei-x-*)

tⁱgwan-a- slave (absolute *tⁱgwa'n* 13.12)

he^elam-a- board 55.8, 10 (absolute *he^ela'm* 176.5)

yō^uk^w-a- bone 186.1; 196.17 (absolute *yō^uk^w*)

¹ This word happened to occur with following emphatic *yā^a*, so that it is probably unlauded from *bob-an-*.

p'im-a- salmon 31.1; 32.4 (absolute *p'i'm* 30.10, 11; 31.3.)

do'lk'am-a- rectum (cf. variant *do'lk'im-i-*)

ma'p!agw-a- shoulder blade (absolute *ma'p!ak'u*)

yaw-a- rib 194.10 (incorporated *ya-u-*)

xiy-a- water 58.6; 156.19; 162.13 (absolute *xi'* 162.7, 8, 14)

p'iy-a- fire 118.4; 168.19 (absolute *p'i* 88.12, 13; 96.17)

All nouns in *-xab-* take *-a-* as their characteristic, e. g., *sg'e'εxab-a-t'k'*

MY HAT (from *sg'e'εxap'* HAT)

3. *-i-*. Examples of nouns with *-i-* as their characteristic are:

dū'gw-i- shirt 13.4; 96.26; 192.4 (absolute *dūk'u* 96.16)

bū'bin-i- arm 31.4; 172.4, 5, 6 (absolute *bū'ba'n* 23.2, 4, 9)

t'gwi'nt'gwin-i- shoulder

ts'!ugul-i- rope (cf. absolute *ts'!ūk'*)

k'ū'b-i- hair, skin 24.8; 160.6

ūlūk!-i- hair 27.1, 4; 126.11; 136.20; 158.1; 188.4, 5; 194.7.

k!alts!-i- sinew 28.1 (absolute *k!a'l's* 27.13)

bā^ab-i- seeds (sp.?) 34.1; 79.9; 94.19 (absolute *bāp'*)

k!elw-i- basket bucket 170.14, 16, 18, 19 (absolute *k!e'l* 186.17)

mā^al-i- spear-shaft 156.1 (absolute *māl* 28.7, 9, 10)

dū'ul-i- spear-point (absolute *dūl* 28.8, 9; 156.19, 20)

lū'ul-i-(x)- throat 25.2

mū'ul-i- lungs

t!egilix-i- skull 174.3

t'galt'gil-i-(x)- belly

ts'!ek'ts'ig-i-(x)- backbone 112.4

ham-i- father 158.3 (e. g., *ham-i'εt'* your father, but *wi-ha'm* my father 138.19)

A number of terms of relationship show an *-i-* not only in the second person singular and plural and first person plural but also, unlike *ham-i-* FATHER, in the first person singular, while the third person in *-xa(-a)* and the vocative (nearly always in *-ā*) lack it. They are:

wi-k'abaī my son (23.2, 3) : *k'aba'-xa* his son 138.16

wiε-obī my elder brother : *o'p-xa* his elder brother 48.3; 62.2
(46.10)

wi-t'obī my elder sister : *t'o'p-xa* his elder sister 55.14; 56.6

wi-k!a'si my maternal grandparent 14.2; (15.12) : *k!a's-a* his maternal grandparent 16.1, 2; (154.18)

wi-xdāī my paternal uncle : *xdā-xa* his paternal uncle

wi-hasi' my maternal uncle : *ha's-a* his maternal uncle

wi-t'adi' my paternal aunt : *t'a'd-a* his paternal aunt (63.9; 22.14 77.14)

wi-xagaī my maternal aunt : *xaga'-xa* his maternal aunt

wi-ts!aī my (woman's) brother's child 22.1; 23.8, 10; my (man's) sister's child 148.19; 150.4 : *ts!a'-xa* her brother's child; his sister's child

Still other terms of relationship have an *-i-* in all forms but the vocative. It is probable, though not quite so certain for these nouns, that the *-i-* is not a part of the stem, but, as in the preceding group, an added characteristic element. Such nouns are:

	Vocative
<i>gamdi'-xa</i> his paternal grand- parent (170.21; 188.13)	<i>gamdā</i>
<i>siwi'-xa</i> her sister's child; his brother's child	<i>siwā</i>
<i>wak'di'-xa</i> his mother's broth- er's son 77.6; 88.14; (188.9)	<i>wak'dā</i> 77.4
<i>t!omxi'-xa</i> ¹ his wife's parent	<i>t!omxā</i>
<i>lamts!i'-xa</i> her brother's wife	<i>lamts!ā</i>
<i>yidi'-xa</i> her husband's sister	<i>yidā</i>
<i>nanbi'-xa</i> his brother's wife; his wife's sister	<i>nanbā</i>
<i>ximni'-xa</i> his relative by mar- riage after linking member has died	<i>ximnā</i>

The *-i-* has been found in the vocative before the *-ā* (but only as a myth-form) in *obiya* O ELDER BROTHER! 59.3; 62.4 (alongside of *obā*), so that it is probable that the vocative *-ā* is not a mere transformation of a characteristic vowel, but a distinct element that is normally directly appended to the stem. Other examples of myth vocatives in *-ā* appended to characteristic *-i-* are *ts!aya* O NEPHEW! 23.1 (beside *ts!ā*) and *wō'k'dia* O COUSIN! 88.14, 15 (beside *wak'dā*). The stem *ham-* with its characteristic *-i-* is used as the vocative: *hami* O FATHER! 70.5; 71.7; also O SON! Quite unexplained is the not otherwise occurring *-i-* in the vocative of *mot'-* SON-IN-LAW: *mot'ia* 166.6, 7. As already noted (see § 88, 2), nouns in *-lā'p'a* regularly take an *-i-* after the added *-k!-* of possessive forms: *-lā'p'ik!-i-*.

4. *-u-*. Only a few nouns have been found to contain this element as their characteristic. They are:

- ī-ū-x-* hand 58.2; 86.13 (incorporated *ī-*)
- gwiť!ī-ū-x-* wrist² (cf. variant *gwiť!i-n-*)
- ha-u-x-* woman's private parts 108.4; 130.8 (incorporated *ha-*)
- t'gā-u-* earth, land 55.3, 4; 56.4 (absolute *t'gā* 73.9, 11, 13)
- t!omxa'u* wife's parent (cf. *t!omxi'xa* his wife's parent 154.16; 164.19; see footnote, sub 3).

¹ The first person singular shows *-u* as characteristic: *wi-t!omxa'u*.

² It is highly probable that this word has been influenced in its form by *īūx-* HAND, which it resembles in meaning, if it is not indeed a compound of it.

The pre-pronominal element *-x-* is in some words appended directly to the stem or stem + derivational suffix; in others, to one of the noun-characteristics *-(a)n*, *-i*, and *-u* (never *-a*). A considerable number of words may or may not have the *-x-* after their characteristic; a few show variation between *-a-* and *-x-*; and but a very small number have *-x-* with or without preceding characteristic (e. g., *gel-x-*, *gel-gan-*, and *gel-gan-x-* BREAST). Examples of *-x-* without preceding characteristic are:

- dag-ax-* head ¹ 90.12, 13; 116.8; 188.4, 5 (incorporated *dak'-*)
sal-x- foot 120.18 (incorporated *sal-*)
gwel-x- leg 15.15; 86.18; 122.10; 160.17 (incorporated form *gwel-*)
de^e-x- lips (incorporated *de^e-*) 186.18
gwen-ha-u-x- nape (incorporated *gwen-ha-u-*)
ei-x- canoe (absolute *ei*)
dī^εmo-x- hips (incorporated *dī^εmo-*)
liugw-ax- face
bok'dan-x- neck (absolute *bo'k'dan*)
hā^an-x-² brothers 136.7

Rather more common than nouns of this type seem to be examples of *-x-* with preceding characteristic, such as have been already given in treating of the noun-characteristics. A few body-part nouns in *-x-* seem to be formed from local third personal possessive forms (*-da*); e. g., *dī^εalda-x-dek'* MY FOREHEAD from *dī^εalda* AT HIS FOREHEAD (but also *dī^εa'l-t'k'* with first personal singular possessive ending directly added to stem or incorporated form *dī^εal-*); *da-k'olo'ida-x-dek'* MY CHEEK is evidently quite parallel in formation. Body-part nouns with pre-pronominal *-x-* end in this element when, as sometimes happens, they occur absolutely (neither incorporated nor provided with personal endings). Examples of such forms follow:

- haux* woman's private parts 130.19
da'gax head
yū'k!akx teeth 57.4
dayawa'nt!ixi^εiū'x other hand 86.13
gwelx dayawa'nt!ixi other leg 86.18

¹ *-ax-* contains inorganic *-a-*, and is not to be analyzed as characteristic *-a-* + *-x-* (parallel to *-i-* + *-x-*). This is shown by forms in which *-x-* regularly disappears; e. g., *dak'-dē* OVER ME (not **dag-a-dē* as parallel to *-s-in-i-dē*).

² Perhaps with pluralic *-x-* as in *hāap-x-* CHILDREN, p. 225.

4. Possessive Suffixes (§§ 90-93)

§ 90. GENERAL REMARKS

The possessive suffixes appended to the noun embrace elements for the first and second persons singular and plural and for the third person; the form expressing the latter is capable of further amplification by the addition of an element indicating the identity of the possessor with the subject of the clause (corresponding to Latin *suus* as contrasted with *eius*). This element may be further extended to express plurality. Altogether four distinct though genetically related series of possessive pronominal affixes are found, of which three are used to express simple ownership of the noun modified; the fourth is used only with nouns preceded by pre-positives and with local adverbial stems. The former set includes a special scheme for most terms of relationship, and two other schemes for the great mass of nouns, that seem to be fundamentally identical and to have become differentiated for phonetic reasons. . None of these four pronominal schemes is identical with either the objective or any of the subjective series found in the verb, though the pronominal forms used with pre-positives are very nearly coincident with the subjective forms found in the future of Class II intransitives:

ha-wilidē in my house, like *s'a's'ant'e^e* I shall stand

ha-wilī'i'da in his house, like *s'a's'ant'ā^a* he will stand

The following table gives the four possessive schemes, together with the suffixes of Class II future intransitives, for comparison: ¹

	Terms of relationship	Scheme II	Scheme III	With pre-positives	Future intransitives II
Singular:					
First person . . .	<i>wi-</i>	<i>-dēk^s</i>	<i>-t'kⁱ</i>	<i>-dē</i>	<i>-dē^e</i>
Second person . . .	<i>-etⁱ</i>	<i>-dē^s</i>	<i>-et^s</i>	<i>-da^s</i>	<i>-da^s</i>
Third person . . .	<i>-xa, -a</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-', -tⁱ</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-da</i>
Plural:					
First person . . .	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-(p')igam</i>
Second person . . .	<i>-etⁱban</i>	<i>-daba^sn</i>	<i>-et^sban</i>	<i>{-daba^sn -etⁱban}</i>	<i>{-daba^s</i>
Singular reflexive:					
Third person . . .	<i>-xagwa, -agwa</i>	<i>-dagwa</i>	<i>-t'gwa</i>	<i>{-dagwa -t'gwa}</i>	
Plural reflexive:					
Third person . . .	<i>-xagwan, -agwan</i>	<i>-dagwan</i>	<i>-t'gwan</i>	<i>{-dagwan -t'gwan}</i>	

¹ A complete comparative table of all pronominal forms is given in Appendix A.

It will be observed that the main difference between the last two schemes lies in the first person plural; the first scheme is entirely peculiar in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural possessive suffix (-*da'm*) resembles the endings of the subjunctive future of the same person (-*iga'm*, -*anaga'm*) in the falling accent; evidently there is a primary element -*a'm* back of these various endings which has amalgamated with other suffixes. As seen from the table, reflexive suffixes exist only for the third person. The plural reflexive in -*gwan* has often reciprocal significance:

wu'lxdagwan their own enemies (= they are enemies)

The suffixes of the first and second person plural may also have reciprocal significance:

wulxda'm e^{eb}i'k' we are enemies (lit., our enemies we are) cf. 180.13

§ 91. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

ham- (*ma-*) FATHER, *hin-* (*ni-*) MOTHER, *k'las-* MATERNAL GRAND-PARENT, and *beyan-* DAUGHTER may be taken as types of the nouns that form this group.¹

Singular:				
First person	<i>wiha'm</i>	<i>wihi'n</i>	<i>wik'asi'</i>	<i>wibeya'n</i>
Second person	<i>hami'et'</i>	<i>hi'net'</i>	<i>k'asi'et'</i>	<i>beya'net'</i>
Third person	<i>ma'za</i>	<i>ni'za</i>	<i>k'a'sa</i>	<i>beya'n</i>
Plural:				
First person	<i>hamida'm</i>	<i>hinda'm</i>	<i>k'asida'm</i>	<i>beyanda'm</i>
Second person	<i>hami'et'ban</i>	<i>hi'net'ban</i>	<i>k'asi'et'ban</i>	<i>beya'net'ban</i>
Singular reflexive:				
Third person	<i>ma'zagwa</i>	<i>ni'zagwa</i>	<i>k'a'sagwa</i>	<i>beya'nt'gwa</i>
Plural reflexive:				
Third person	<i>ma'zagwan</i>	<i>ni'zagwan</i>	<i>k'a'sagwan</i>	<i>beya'nt'gwan</i>
Vocative	<i>hami</i>	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{hi'ndē} \\ \text{[s'nā]} \end{Bmatrix}$	<i>k'asā</i>	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{hi'ndē} \\ \text{[s'nā]} \end{Bmatrix}$

The first two of these are peculiar in that they each show a double stem; the first form (*ham-*, *hin-*) is used in the first and second persons, the second (*ma-*, *ni-*) in the third person. Despite the phonetically symmetrical proportion *ham-* : *ma-* = *hin-* : *ni-*, the two words are not quite parallel in form throughout, in that *hin-* does not show the characteristic -*i-* found in certain of the forms of *ham-*.

¹ Out of thirty-two terms of relationship (tabulated with first person singular, third person, and vocative in American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 9, pp. 268, 269) that were obtained, twenty-eight belong here.

Of the other words belonging to this group, only that for FRIEND shows, or seems to show, a double stem: *wik!ū^uya'm* MY FRIEND and *k!ū'yam* O FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 but *k!ū^uya'pxa* HIS FRIEND 190.2, 4 and *k!ūyaba'εt* (with inorganic rather than characteristic *a*) YOUR FRIEND 198.2. Irregular is also *wi-k!ō^uxa'* MY SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS: *k!ō^uxa'm-xa* HIS SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS 178.9, in which we have either to reckon with a double stem, or else to consider the *-m-* of the latter form a noun-characteristic. Other terms of relationship which, like *hin-*, append all the personal endings without at the same time employing a characteristic are:

wā^a- younger brother 42.1; 64.4 (also *t'awā^a-* younger sister 58.1, 5; 188.10)

k!e^εb- husband's parent

wayau- daughter-in-law ([?] formed according to verb-type 11 from *way-* sleep) 56.8, 9

s'iyā^εp'- woman's sister's husband *or* husband's brother

hasd-¹ man's sister's husband *or* wife's brother 152.22

k!ūya { *m-* } friend 180.13; 196.19; 198.2
 { *b-* }

beyan- DAUGHTER 13.2; 70.1, 4; 118.1, 4 belongs, morphologically speaking, to the terms of relationship only because of its first personal singular form; all its other forms (the vocatives really belong to *hin-*) are built up according to Scheme III.

As far as known, only terms of relationship possess vocative forms, though their absence can not be positively asserted for other types of nouns. The great majority of these vocatives end in *-ā*, which, as in *wā* O YOUNGER BROTHER! may be the lengthened form with rising accent of the final vowel of the stem, or, as in *k!asā* O GRANDMOTHER! 16.3, 5, 6; 17.2; 154.18 added to the stem, generally with loss of the characteristic *-i-*, wherever found. *wayau-* and *s'iyā^εp'-*, both of which lack a characteristic element, employ as vocative the stem with rising accent on the *a-* vowel: *wayaū* O DAUGHTER-IN-LAW! and *s'iyā^εp'* O BROTHER-IN-LAW! (said by woman). This method of forming the vocative is in form practically equivalent to the addition of *-ā*. *s'nā²* MAMMA! and *haik!ā* O WIFE! HUSBAND! are vocatives without corresponding noun-stems provided with pronominal suffixes. *beyan-* DAUGHTER and *k'aba-* SON, on the other hand, have no vocative

¹ *wiha'st'* MY WIFE'S BROTHER is the only Takelma word known that terminates in *-st'*.

² Inasmuch as there is hardly another occurrence of *s'n-* in Takelma, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to analyze *s'nā* into *s'-* (cf. second footnote, p. 8) + *nā* (vocative of *ni-* in *ni'xa* HIS MOTHER).

derived from the same stem, but employ the vocative form of MOTHER and FATHER respectively. Of other vocatives, *k!ū'yam*¹ O FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 is the bare stem; *hamī* 70.5; 71.7, the stem with added characteristic *-i-*; *hindē* O MOTHER! DAUGHTER! 56.7; 76.10, 13; 186.14 is quite peculiar in that it makes use of the first personal singular ending (*-dē*) peculiar to nouns with possessive suffix and preceding pre-positive. Only two other instances of a nominal use of *-dē* without pre-positive or local adverb have been found: *mo't'e* MY SON-IN-LAW! (as vocative) 164.19; and *k'wi'naxdē* MY FOLKS, RELATIONS, which otherwise follows Scheme II (e. g., third person *k'wi'naxdā*^a).

The normal pronominal suffix of the third person is *-xa*; *-a* is found in only four cases, *k!a'sa* HIS MATERNAL GRANDPARENT, *ha'sa* HIS MATERNAL UNCLE, *t'a'da* HIS PATERNAL AUNT, and *ha'sda* HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. The first two of these can be readily explained as assimilated from **k!a'sxa* and **ha'sxa* (see § 20, 3); **t'adx* and **hasdx*, however, should have become **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa* respectively. The analogy of the first two, which were felt to be equivalent to stem + *-a*, on the one side, and that of the related forms in *-d-* (e. g., *t'adā* and *hasdā*) on the other, made it possible for *t'a'da* and *ha'sda* to replace **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa*, the more so that a necessary distinction in form was thus preserved between *ha'sa* HIS MATERNAL UNCLE and *ha'sda* (instead of **ha'sa*) HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW.

The difference in signification between the third personal forms in *-xa* and *-xagwa* (similarly for the other pronominal schemes) will be readily understood from what has already been said, and need not be enlarged upon:

ma'xa wā^a-himi't' he spoke to his (some one else's) father

ma'xagwa wā^a-himi't' he spoke to his own father

There is small doubt that this *-gwa* is identical with the indirect reflexive *-gwa* of transitive verbs with incorporated object. Forms in *-gwan* seem to refer to the plurality of either possessor or object possessed:

k'aba'xagwan their own son or his (her) own sons

eixdagwan their own canoe or his own canoes

The final *-n* of these forms is the indefinite plural *-an* discussed below (§ 99). Plural (?) *-gwan* is found also in verb forms (144.12; 150.24).

¹*k!ūyam-* is perhaps derived, by derivational suffix *-(a)m*, from verb-stem *k!ūy-* GO TOGETHER WITH ONE.

§ 92. SCHEMES II AND III

As examples may be taken *dagax*- HEAD, which follows Scheme II, and *wili*- HOUSE, *dana*- ROCK, *tlibagwan*- LIVER, and *xā^aham*- BACK, which follow Scheme III.

Singular:					
1st person	<i>da'gazdek'</i>	<i>wili't'k'</i>	<i>dana't'k'</i>	<i>tlibagwa'nt'k'</i>	<i>xā^aha'mt'k'</i>
2d person	<i>da'gazde^s</i>	<i>wili'e^t</i>	<i>dana'e^t</i>	<i>tlibagwa'nt'e^t</i>	<i>xā^aha'me^t</i>
3d person	<i>da'gazda</i>	<i>wili'i</i>	<i>danā'a</i>	<i>tlibagwa'n</i>	<i>xā^aha'm</i>
Plural:					
1st person	<i>dā'gazdam</i>	<i>wilida'm</i>	<i>danada'm</i>	<i>tlibagwa'ndam</i>	<i>xā^aha'mdam</i>
2d person	<i>daga'xdabaⁿ</i>	<i>wili'e^tban</i>	<i>dana'e^tban</i>	<i>tlibagwa'nt'e^tban</i>	<i>xā^aha'me^tban</i>
Singular reflexive:					
3d person	<i>daga'xdagwa</i>	<i>wili't'gwa</i>	<i>dana't'gwa</i>	<i>tlibagwa'nt'gwa</i>	<i>xā^aha'mt'gwa</i>
Plural reflexive:					
3d person	<i>daga'xdagwan</i>	<i>wili't'gwan</i>	<i>dana't'gwan</i>	<i>tlibagwa'nt'gwan</i>	<i>xā^aha'mt'gwan</i>

A third person plural *-dan* also occurs, as in *dūmhak'^wdan* HIS SLAIN ONES OF THEIR SLAIN ONE 180.2.

Scheme II is followed by the large class of nouns that have a prenominal *-x-*, besides a considerable number of nouns that add the endings directly to the stem. Noun-characteristics may not take the endings of Scheme II unless followed by a *-x-* (thus *-a'nt'k'* and *-anxde'k'*; *-i't'k'* and *-ixde'k'*). Examples of Scheme II nouns without preceding *-x-* are:

a-is'de'k' my property (though *-s-* may be secondarily derived

from *-s-x-* or *-tx-*) 23.2, 3; 154.18, 19, 20; 158.4

mo't'ek' my son-in-law (152.9) (incorporated *mot'*-)

se'e^tek' my writing, paint (absolute *se'e^t*)

he'e^tek' my song (164.16; 182.6) (absolute *he'e^t* 106.7)

ts'!i^tk'dek' my meat (44.3, 6; 170.6)

wila'ut'ek' my arrow (45.13; 154.18) (absolute *wila'u* 22.5; 28.1, 2; 77.5)

ga'lt'ek' my bow (154.19; 190.22) (absolute *ga'l^s*)

la'psdek' my blanket (absolute *la'ps* 98.14, 15, 19, 21)

ts'!ixi-maha'it'ek' my horse (absolute *ts'!i'xi-maha'i*)

Scheme III is followed by all nouns that have a characteristic immediately preceding the personal suffix or, in nearly all cases, whose stem, or stem + derivative suffix, ends in *-a-* (e. g., *t!ela't'k'* MY SHINNY-STICK [from *t!ela'*]), *-i-*, *-ei-* (e. g., *ts'!eleit'k'* MY EYE [from *ts'!elei-*]), *-n* (e. g., *sēnt'k'* MY SKIN), *-m*, or *-l¹* (e. g., *dīⁱεa'lt'k'*

¹ In most, if not all, cases the *-n*, *-m*, or *-l* is a non-radical element. It is not quite clear in how far stems ending in these vowels and consonants follow Scheme II or Scheme III.

MY FOREHEAD [from *d̄i^εal-*]). The third person is, at least superficially, without ending in all nouns of this group whose pre-nominal form is not monosyllabic. The third personal form is characterized by a falling accent on the final syllable, *-a-* and *-i-* being lengthened to *-ā^a* and *-īⁱ* respectively. Other forms are:

ts¹!eleⁱ his eye 27.8; 86.7, 9; (cf. 54.6)

dō^uma^l his testicles 130.8; 136.5

xā^ala^m his urine

gwitⁱn his wrist

There is no doubt, however, that these forms without ending originally had a final *-tⁱ*, as indicated by the analogy of third personal forms in *-da* in Scheme II, and as proved by the preservation of the *-tⁱ* before the reflexive suffix *-gwa* and in monosyllabic forms:

p!ā^antⁱ his liver 120.2, 15

nīⁱtⁱ her teats 30.14; 32.7

t!īⁱtⁱ her husband (17.13)

sā^atⁱ his discharge of wind 166.8

Though the conditions for the loss of a final *-tⁱ* are not fully understood, purely phonetic processes having been evidently largely intercrossed by analogic leveling, it is evident that the proportion *witⁱ* HIS HOUSE: *nīⁱtⁱ* HER TEATS = *s^asⁱnī* HE STANDS: *witⁱ* HE TRAVELS ABOUT represents a by no means accidental phonetic and morphologic correspondence between noun and verb (Class II intransitives). The falling pitch is peculiar to the noun as contrasted with the verb-form (cf. *he^el* SONG, but *hēl* SING!). Monosyllabic stems of Scheme III seem to have a rising accent before *-tⁱgwa* as well as in the first person. Thus:

lātⁱgwa his own excrement 77.1

t!tⁱgwa her own husband (despite *t!īⁱtⁱ*) 45.14; (59.16; 60.2); 128.22

Nouns with characteristic *-i-* prefer the parallel form in *-iⁱ-x-dagwa* to that in *-iⁱ-tⁱgwa*. Thus:

bū^ubiniⁱxdagwa his own arm, rather than *bū^ubiniⁱtⁱgwa*, despite *bū^ubiniⁱtⁱkⁱ* MY ARM

The limitation of each of the two schemes to certain definite phonetically determined groups of nouns (though some probably merely apparent contradictions, such as *gal^l-tⁱekⁱ* MY BOW and *d̄i^εa^l-tⁱkⁱ*

¹ *-tⁱkⁱ* always requires preceding rising or raised accent. As *gal^l* bow seems to be inseparably connected with a falling accent (very likely because of the catch in its absolute form), it is, after all, probably a phonetic reason that causes it to follow Scheme II rather than III.

MY FOREHEAD, occur), together with the evident if not entirely symmetrical parallelism between the suffixes of both, make it practically certain that they are differentiated, owing to phonetic causes, from a single scheme. The *-a-* of *-da* (*-dagwa*) and *-daba^{en}* (as contrasted with *-t'* and *-t'^{en}ban*) may be inorganic in origin, and intended to support phonetically difficult consonant combinations:

gūxda his wife (from **gūx-t'*) 13.2; 43.15; 49.6, like *ī-lasga'* touch it (from stem *lasg-*)

The *-e-*, however, of *-dek'* 32.6 and *-de^e* 31.1; 59.3 can not be thus explained. It is not improbable that part of the endings of Scheme III are due to a loss of an originally present vowel, so that the primary scheme of pronominal suffixes may have been something like:

Singular: First person, *-d-ek'*; second person, *-d-e^e*; third person, *-t'*. Reflexive: Third person, *-t'-gwa*. Plural: First person, *-d-a'm*; second person, *-t'-ba^{en}*.

It can hardly be entirely accidental that all the suffixes are characterized by a dental stop; perhaps an amalgamation has taken place between the original pronominal elements and an old, formerly significant nominal element *-d-*.

§ 93. POSSESSIVES WITH PRE-POSITIVES

As examples of possessive affixes attached to nouns with prepositives and to local elements may be taken *dak'*- OVER, *wa-*¹ TO, *haw-an-* UNDER, and *ha-^eīū-* IN HAND.

Singular:				
First person	<i>dak'dē</i> over me	<i>wadē</i> to me	<i>hawandē</i> under me	<i>ha^eīūdē</i> in my hand
Second person	<i>dāk'da^e</i>	<i>wada^e</i>	<i>hawanda^e</i>	<i>ha^eī'ūda^e</i>
Third person	<i>dā'k'dāda</i>	<i>wā'ada</i>	<i>hawa'nda</i>	<i>ha^eī'ūda</i>
Plural:				
First person	<i>dak'da'm</i>	<i>wada'm</i>	<i>hawanda'm</i>	<i>ha^eīūda'm</i>
Second person	<i>dā'k'daba^{en}</i>	<i>wā'a^et'ban</i>	<i>hawa'n^et'ban</i>	<i>ha^eī'ū^et'ban</i>
Singular reflexive:				
Third person	<i>dā'k'dagwa</i>	<i>wa't'gwa</i>	<i>hawa'ni'gwa</i>	<i>ha^eī'ūt'gwa</i>
Plural reflexive:				
Third person	<i>dā'k'dagwan</i>	<i>wa't'gwan</i>	<i>hawa'ni'gwan</i>	<i>ha^eī'ūt'gwan</i>

The apparently double ending *-dā^ada* of the third person of *dak'*- is not entirely isolated (cf. *ha-ye^ewa'x-dā^ada* IN THEIR TIME OF RETURNING; *he'^e-dā^ada* BEYOND HIM), but can not be explained. The use of

¹ It is possible that this *wa-* is etymologically identical with the verbal prefix *wa-* TOGETHER. The forms of *wa-* given above are regularly used when reference is had to persons, the postposition *ga'a'l* being employed in connection with things: *wā'ada gini'^ek'* HE WENT TO HIM (56.11); 148.6; *s'om ga'a'l gini'^ek'* HE WENT TO THE MOUNTAIN (43.6).

-*dagwa* and -*daba^εn* on the one hand, and of -*t'gwa* and -*εt'ban* on the other, is determined by the same phonetic conditions as differentiate Schemes II and III. A third personal plural in -*t'an* (apparently = -*d* + -*han*) is also found: *de'εt'an* IN FRONT OF THEM 190.13 (but *de'eda* BEFORE HIM 59.14); *xā^a-s'ogwi't'an* BETWEEN THEM (see below, p. 240); *wā'at'an* TO THEM 160.15. A form in -*xa* seems also to occur with third personal plural signification: *wa'xa ts'!inā'ts'!anx* HE GOT ANGRY AT THEM; *dihau^xa* AFTER THEM, BEHIND THEIR BACKS 132.13.

The number of local elements that directly take on possessive suffixes seems fairly considerable, and includes both such as are body-part and local prefixes in the verb (e. g., *dak'*-) and such as are used in the verb only as local prefixes (e. g., *wa*-, *dal*-); a few seem not to be found as verbal prefixes. Not all adverbially used verbal prefixes, however, can be inflected in the manner of *dak'dē* and *wadē* (e. g., no **hadē* can be formed from *ha*-). A number of body-part and local stems take on a noun-characteristic:

haw-an- under (from *ha-u*-)

xā^a-ham-dē¹ about my waist (from *xā^a-*)

The local elements that have been found capable of being followed by pronominal affixes are:

dak'dē over me (56.9; 110.18); 186.4, 5

wadē to me (56.15; 60.1; 63.14; 88.13; 150.18; 194.1)

xā^ahamdē about my waist

gwelda' under it 190.17

gwe'nda (in *Gwenda yu'sā^a* = being at its nape, i. e., east of it)

dī'i'da close in back of him, at his anus 138.2

dīndē behind me (? = verb-prefix *dī^ε*- anus, behind + noun-characteristic -*n*-) (86.9; 138.3; 170.1)

hawandē under me (71.1, 5, 12)

geldē in front of me, for (in behalf of) me

dedē in front of me (59.14; 124.20)

hā^εyadē around me

he'εdā^ada beyond him 148.9

ha'nda across, through it

da'lt'gwan among themselves 98.2

gwen-ha-udē at my nape; *gwen-haūt'gwa* in back of his own neck 75.2

dī-ha-udē after I went away, behind my back (132.10; 186.8; 192.4)

¹ It is only the different schemes of personal endings that, at least in part, keep distinct the noun *xāham*-BACK and the local element *xāham*- ON BACK, ABOUT WAIST: *xāha'm* HIS BACK, but *xāha'mda* ON HIS BACK, AT HIS WAIST; *xāha'mdam* OUR BACKS and ON OUR BACKS.

dĩ^{is}-a'lda over his eyes, on his forehead (172.3)

nō'ts!adam neighboring us (= stem *nōts!*- next door + noun-characteristic *-a-*) (98.13)

When used as local pre-positives with nouns, these local stems drop their characteristic affixes, and thus appear in the same form in which they are found in the verb (e. g., *xā^a-gweldē* BETWEEN MY LEGS), except that *ha-u-* UNDER as pre-positive adds an *-a-*: *hawa-* (e. g., *hawa-saldē* UNDER MY FEET). The various pre-positives found prefixed to nouns with possessive suffixes are:

ha- in

hawa- under

dak'- over

dĩⁱ- above

dā^a- alongside

al- to, at

dē-, *dā-* in front of

xā^a- between, in middle of

gwen- at nape, east of

dĩ^{is}- at rear end, west of

dāl- away from

han- across (?)

gel- facing

gwel- under, down from

The noun itself, as has already been seen, appears with its characteristic. *t'gā* EARTH, however, perhaps for some unknown phonetic reason, does not retain its characteristic *-u-* before the possessive suffixes (*ha-t'gāū* IN THE COUNTRY 33.7, but *ha-t'gā^adē* IN MY COUNTRY 194.4) Examples of forms of the type *ha^{is}ūdē* IN MY HAND are:

ha-dĩ't'gwa in back of him, in his anus (incorporated *dĩ^{is}-*) 94.11

*dā^a-yawadē*¹ aside from me (literally, alongside my ribs)

dak'-saldē on top of my feet 198.6; (cf. 44.8)

hawa-liⁱlidē under my throat

dak'-s-inĩⁱda over his nose 144.11

al-guxwida'm wōk' we have enough of it (literally, to-our-hearts it-has-arrived) 128.1

ha-wilidē in my house (64.2; 88.18; 120.14)

ha-ye^ewaxdē in my returning (= when I return) (124.15)

dĩ-dēlga'nt'gwa behind himself, at his own anus (72.10)

al-wā^adĩ't'gwan at one another (literally, to each other's bodies;

wā^ad-i- body) (96.22; 146.2; 190.19)

¹ Also *dāl-yawadē* ASIDE FROM ME (with verb of throwing) (=literally, AWAY FROM MY RIBS).

ha-sa'lda (thinking) of her (literally, in her footsteps) 142.13
dīⁱ-dandē over my ear
dīⁱ-ts'!eleidē over my eyes
ha-dedē in my mouth (170.2; 182.17)
gwen-bok'dandē at my nape
xā^a-s'inidē resting on my nose (like spectacles)
gwel-^εwā^adidē down from my body 198.4

Several such forms with apparently simple local signification contain after the pre-positive a noun stem not otherwise found:

xā^a-s'ogwida'm between us
ha-^εwinidē inside of me (73.1; 92.17)
dī-bō^wwidē at my side
da^εoldidē close to me (124.9) (cf. adverb *da^εo'l* near by 102.6)

Such a non-independent noun is probably also *ha-u-* in *gwen-ha-u-* and *dī-ha-u-*, both of which were listed above as simple local elements.

Instances also occur, though far less frequently, of pre-positives with two nouns or noun and adjective; the first noun generally stands in a genitive relation to the second (cf., § 88, the order in juxtaposed nouns), while the second noun is followed by the third personal possessive *-da*. Such are:

gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'dan-da at nape of earth's neck (= east) 79.6;
 102.4
dī-t'gā^a-yu'k'!umā^a-da at rear of earth's tail (= west) 146.1; 198.9
ha-t'gā^a-yawā^a-da in earth's rib (= north) (cf. 194.9)
dā^a-xi-ts'!ek'ts'!igīⁱ-da alongside water's backbone (= not far from shore)
xā^a-xi-ts'!ek'ts'!igīⁱ-da in middle of water's backbone (= equally distant from either shore) 112.4
Ha-yā^{al}-bā'ls-da¹ in its long (i. e., tall) (*bāls*) pines (*yāl*) (= place-name) 114.9
Dī-p!ol-ts'!i'l-da over (*dīⁱ*) its red (*ts'!il*) bed (*p!ol* ditch) (= Jump-off Joe creek)
Al-dan-k!olo'i-da¹ to its rock (*da'n*) basket (*k!oloī*) (= name of mountain)

Rather difficult of explanation is *de-de-wilīⁱ-da* DOOR, AT DOOR OF HOUSE 63.11; 77.15; 176.6, which is perhaps to be literally rendered IN FRONT OF (first *de-*) HOUSE (*wilī*) ITS (*-da*) MOUTH (second *de-*) (i. e., IN FRONT OF DOORWAY). The difficulty with this explanation is that it necessitates the interpretation of the second noun as a genitive in relation to the first.

¹ Observe falling accent despite rising accent (*bāls*, *k!oloī*) of independent noun. *-da* with pre-positives, whether with intervening noun or noun and adjective, consistently demands a falling accent before it.

5. Local Phrases (§§ 94-96)

§ 94. GENERAL REMARKS

Local phrases without possessive pronouns (i. e., of the type IN THE HOUSE, ACROSS THE RIVER) may be constructed in three ways.

A local element with third personal possessive suffix may be used to define the position, the noun itself appearing in its absolute form as an appositive of the incorporated pronominal suffix:

da'n gwelda' rock under-it (i. e., under the rock)

da'n handa through the rock

dan hā'^{ae}yā^ada around the rock

dan da^eoldi'ⁱda near the rock

dan ge'l^ada in front of the rock

dan di'nda behind the rock

There is observable here, as also in the method nearly always employed to express the objective and genitive relations, the strong tendency characteristic of Takelma and other American languages to make the personal pronominal affixes serve a purely formal purpose as substitutes for syntactic and local cases.

The second and perhaps somewhat more common method used to build up a local phrase is to prefix to the noun a pre-positive, the noun itself appearing in the form it assumes before the addition of the normal pronominal suffixes (Schemes II and III). Thus some of the preceding local phrases might have been expressed as:

gwel-dana' under the rock

han-dana' through the rock

hā'^{ae}ya-dana' around the rock

gel-dana' in front of the rock

dī^e-dana' behind the rock

These forms have at first blush the appearance of prepositions followed by a local case of the noun, but we have already seen this explanation to be inadmissible.

A third and very frequent form of local phrase is the absolute noun followed by a postposition. The chief difference between this and the preceding method is the very considerable amount of individual freedom that the postposition possesses as contrasted with the rigidly incorporated pre-positive. The majority of the postpositions consist of a pre-positive preceded by the general demonstrative *ga-* THAT. *da'n gada'k'* OVER THE ROCK is thus really to be analyzed as ROCK THAT-OVER, an appositional type of local

phrase closely akin in spirit to that first mentioned: *dan da'k'dāda* ROCK OVER-IT. *dak'-dana'*, according to the second method, is also possible.

§ 95. PRE-POSITIVES

The pre-positives employed before nouns without possessive suffixes are identical with those already enumerated (§ 94) as occurring with nouns with possessives, except that *hawa-* UNDER seems to be replaced by *gwel-*. It is doubtful also if *he^{ee}-* BEYOND (also *han-* ACROSS ?) can occur with nouns followed by possessive affixes. Examples of pre-positives in local phrases are:

- han-gela'm* across the river
- han-waxga'n* across the creek
- han-p'liya'* across the fire 168.19
- ha'-waxga'n* in the creek
- ha-xiya'* in the water 58.6; 60.3; 61.11; 63.16
- ha-bini'* in the middle 176.15 (cf. *de-bi'n* first, last 150.15)
- ha-p'ola'* in the ditch
- ha-gwā'la'm* in the road 62.6; 158.19
- ha-s'ugwañ* in the basket (cf. 124.18)
- xa'-s'ōuma'l* halfway up the mountain
- xā'-gulma'n* among oaks
- xā'-xo* (*yā'a*) (right) among firs (cf. 94.17)
- gwel-xi'ya* under water 156.19
- gwel-t'gāu* down to the ground 176.8
- dā'-ts!ā'wa'n* by the ocean 59.16
- dā'-t'gāu* alongside the field
- gwen-t'gāu* east of the field 55.4; 56.4
- gwen-waxga'n* east along the creek
- Gwen-p'uñk'* place-name (= east of rotten [*p'u'n*]) 114.14
- de-wilī* in front of the house (= out of doors) 70.4
- dak'-s'ōuma'l* on top of the mountain 188.15
- dak'-wilī* over the house 59.2; 140.5
- dak'-p'liya'* over the fire 24.6, 7
- he^{ee}-s'ōuma'l* beyond the mountain 124.2; 196.13
- al-s'ōuma'l* at, to the mountain 136.22; 152.8; 192.5, 7, 8
- hā'eya-p'liya'* on both sides of the fire 176.12
- hā'eya-s'ōuma'l* on both sides of the mountain 152.2
- dī-t'gāu* west of the field 55.3
- dī-waxga'n* some distance west along the creek
- dī-s'ōuma'l* at foot ([?]=in rear) of the mountain
- Dvī¹-dala'm* place-name (= over the rock [?])
- Gel-yālk'* place-name (= abreast of pines) 112.13

¹ Perhaps really *Dvī-dala'm* WEST OF THE ROCK (?).

A few cases of compound pre-positives occur:

ha-gwel-p'iya' under the ashes (literally, in-under-the-fire)
118.4

ha-gwel-xiya' at bottom of the water 60.12, 14

ha-gwel-t'ge'et'gam down in dark places 196.7

An example of a pre-positive with a noun ending in pre-pronominal *-x* is afforded by *ha-dā^anx molhi't'* IN-EAR RED 14.4; 15.13; 88.2 (alongside of *dā^amolhi't'* RED-EARED 15.12; 86.6). It is somewhat doubtful, because of a paucity of illustrative material, whether local phrases with final pre-pronominal *-x* can be freely used.

§ 96. POSTPOSITIONS

Not all pre-positives can be suffixed to the demonstrative *ga-* to form postpositions; e. g., no **gaha'*, **gaha'n*, **gagwe'l* are found in Takelma. Very few other words (adverbs) are found in which what are normally pre-positives occupy the second place: *me'εal* TOWARD THIS DIRECTION 58.9; *ye'k'dal* IN THE BRUSH 71.3. Instead of *-ha* IN, *-na'u* is used, an element that seems restricted to the postposition *gana'u* IN. The *ga*-postpositions that have been found are:

gada'k' on 48.15; 49.1

gidīⁱ (= *ga-dīⁱ*) on, over 49.12

gidī^ε (= *ga-dī^ε*) in back

gana'u in 47.2; 61.13; 64.4; 110.9

gada'l among 94.12

ga^εal to, for, at, from 43.6; 44.4; 55.6; 58.11

gadā^a by, along 60.1

gaxā^a between

gede in front (?) 28.8, 9

and possibly:

gasal in adverb *gasa'lhi* quickly 28.10; 29.14; 160.1

Examples of their use are:

wi'li gada'k' on top of the house 14.9; 15.5

da'n gada'k' on the rock

t'gā^a gidī upon the land 49.12

p'i^t gada'l in between the fire 94.12

da'n gada'l among rocks

da'n gadā^a alongside the rocks (cf. 60.1)

wü^ulham-hoidigwia gadā^a gini'εk' he went right by where there was round-dancing (literally, menstruation-dancing-with by he-went) 106.13

eī gana'u in the canoe 96.24; 112.3

dola' gana'u in the old tree 24.1

wa-iwī't'a' ga'a'l to the female 15.14

ga' ga'a'l for that reason 50.2; 124.6; 146.20, 21; 188.6; 194.11

bixal wi'in-wi'e ga'al ya'e he goes every month (literally, month different-every at he-goes)

da'n gaxā^a between the rocks

dā gedē right at the falls 33.13

Yūk'ya'k'wa gedē¹ right by *Yūk'ya'k'wa* 188.17

Postpositions may be freely used with nouns provided with a possessive suffix; e. g., *ela't'k' gada'k'* ON MY TONGUE; *wilī'i gana'u* IN HIS HOUSE, cf. 194.7. There is no ascertainable difference in signification between such phrases and the corresponding pre-positive forms, *dak'-eladē* and *ha-wilī'ida*. Sometimes a postposition takes in a group of words, in which case it may be enclitically appended to the first:

k'iyī'x gan'au ba-igina'xdā^a smoke in its-going-out (= [hole] in which smoke is to go out) 176.7

Although local phrases involving a postposition are always pronounced as one phonetic unit, and the postpositions have become, psychologically speaking, so obscured in etymology as to allow of their being preceded by the demonstrative with which they are themselves compounded (cf. *ga ga'a'l* above), they have enough individuality to render them capable of being used quasi-adverbially without a preceding noun:

gada'k' s'u^ewilī't'e I sat on him

gadak' ts!ā^ak'ts!a'k'de^e I step on top of it (148.17)

gidī'i gaixgwa thereon eating (= table)

gidī'e-hi closer and closer (literally, right in back)

gadā^a yeweyak'w he got even with him (literally, alongside he-returned-having-him) 17.5

māl yaza aba'i dāl gedē salmon-spear-shaft only in-house, spear-point thereby 28.7, 9

gīⁱ gana'u I am inside

ga'nav naga'^{ie} wilī't'k' he went through my house (literally, in he-did my-house [for *naga'^{ie}* see § 69]) cf. 78.5

Other postpositions than those compounded with *ga-* are:

da^eo'l near (cf. *da^eol-* as pre-positive in *da^eoldidē* near me):

wilī't'k' da^eo'l near my house

wa with (also as incorporated instrumental *wa-*, § 38) 25.5; 47.5

¹ *Yūk'ya'k'wa gada* was said to be preferable, whence it seems possible that *gedē* is not really equivalent to *ga* THAT + *de* IN FRONT, but is palatalized as adverb (see below, § 104) from *gadā^a*.

ha-bini in the middle: *wili ha'-bini*¹ in the middle of the house;
ha-be^e-bini noon (literally, in-sun [=day]-middle) 126.21;
 186.8
-di's away: *eme^edis* away from here; *dedewilⁱ'dadi*'s (? outside of)
 the door 176.6

It is peculiar that mountain-names generally have a prefix *al-* and a suffix *-dis*:

al-dauyā^a'ak'wa-dis (cf. *dauyā^a'ak^w* supernatural helper) 172.1
al-wila'mxa-dis
al-sawēnt'a-dis

That both *al-* and *-dis* are felt not to be integral parts of these mountain-names is shown by such forms as *he^e-wila'mxa* BEYOND Alwila'mxadis 196.14 and *al-dauyā^a'ak^w*. In all probability they are to be explained as local phrases, AT, TO (*al-*) . . . DISTANT (*-dis*), descriptive of some natural peculiarity or resident supernatural being.

Differing apparently from other postpositions in that it requires the preceding noun to appear in its pre-pronominal form (i. e., with final *-x* if it is provided with it in Scheme II forms) is *wa'k'i^e* WITHOUT, which would thus seem to occupy a position intermediate between the other postpositions and the pre-positives. Examples are:

ts'lelei wa'k'i^e without eyes 26.14; 27.6
dagax wa'k'i^e without head
yūk'alx wa'k'i^e without teeth 57.4
nixa wa'k'i^e motherless

As shown by the last example, terms of relationship whose third personal possessive suffix is *-xa* (*-a*) use the third personal form as the equivalent of the pre-pronominal form of other nouns (cf. also § 108, 6), a fact that casts a doubt on the strictly personal character of the *-xa* suffix. No third personal idea is possible, e. g., in *maxa wa'k'i^e et'e^e* I AM FATHERLESS. *wak'i^e* is undoubtedly related to *wa* WITH; the *-k'i^e* may be identical with the conditional particle (see § 71).

On the border-line between loosely used preposition and independent adverb are *nogwa* BELOW, DOWN RIVER FROM (? = *nō^w* DOWN RIVER + demonstrative *ga* THAT) : *nogwa wilⁱ* BELOW THE HOUSE 76.7; and *hinwa* ABOVE, UP RIVER FROM (cf. *hina'u* UP RIVER) : *hi'nwa wilⁱ* ABOVE THE HOUSE 77.1.

¹ Properly speaking, *ha-bini* is a pre-positive phrase from noun-stem *bin-* (cf. *de-bin* FIRST, LAST, and [?] *bilgan-z-* BREAST[? = middle part of body-front]) with characteristic *-i-*. *be^e-bin-* SUN'S MIDDLE is compounded like, e. g., *t'gāa-bok'dan-* EARTH'S NECK above (§ 93).

6. *Post-nominal Elements* (§§ 97-102)

§ 97. GENERAL REMARKS

Under the head of post-nominal elements are included a small group of suffixes which, though altogether without the distinct individuality characteristic of local postpositions, are appended to the fully formed noun, pronoun, or adjective, in some cases also adverb, serving in one way or another to limit or extend the range of application of one of these denominating or qualifying terms. The line of demarcation between these post-nominal elements and the more freely movable modal particles discussed below (§ 114) is not very easy to draw; the most convenient criterion of classification is the inability of what we have termed POST-NOMINAL elements to attach themselves to verb-forms.

§ 98. EXCLUSIVE *-t'a*

The suffix *-t'a* is freely appended to nouns and adjectives, less frequently to pronouns, in order to specify which one out of a number is meant; the implication is always that the particular person, object, or quality mentioned is selected out of a number of alternative and mutually exclusive possibilities. When used with adjectives *-t'a* has sometimes the appearance of forming the comparative or superlative; e. g., *aga* (1) *t'los·ō'ut'a* (2) THIS (1) IS SMALLER (2), but such an interpretation hardly hits the truth of the matter. The sentence just quoted really signifies THIS IS SMALL (NOT LARGE LIKE THAT). As a matter of fact, *-t'a* is rather idiomatic in its use, and not susceptible of adequate translation into English, the closest rendering being generally a dwelling of the voice on the corresponding English word. The following examples illustrate its range of usage:

hapxit'ī't'a child male (not female) (i. e., boy) 14.1; 156.8

wa-iwī't'a ga'al yewe'ie the-woman to he-turned (i. e., he now proceeded to look at the woman, after having examined her husband) 15.14

maha'it'a a'nī^ε gwī na^εnaga'ie the-big (brother) not in-any-way he-did (i. e., the older brother did nothing at all, while his younger brother got into trouble) 23.6; (58.3)

aga wāxat'a xebe'^εn this his-younger-brother did-it (not he himself)

k!wa'lt'a younger one 24.1; 58.6

ā'k'da dūt'a gī-s'i ē ī'lts!ak'w et'e ē he (*āk'*) (is) handsome (*dā*)
 I-but ugly I-am
ī's'i nāxdek' al-ts!ī'lt'ā^a give-me my-pipe red-one (implying
 others of different color)
waga't'ā^a dī which one?
aga t!os-ō'ut'a ī'daga yaxa maha'it'a this (is) small, that but
 large (cf 128.7)
ī'daga s-ō'w ē maha'it'a that-one (is) altogether-big (=that one
 is biggest)

It seems that, wherever possible, *-t'a* keeps its *t'* intact. To prevent its becoming *-da* (as in *ā'k'da* above) an inorganic *a* seems to be added in:

k!ulsa't'ā^a soft 57.9 (cf. *k!u'ls* worm; more probably directly from
k!ulsa't' 130.22)

§ 99. PLURAL (*-t'an*, *-han*, *-k'an*)

As a rule, it is not considered necessary in Takelma to specify the singularity or plurality of an object, the context generally serving to remove the resulting ambiguity. In this respect Takelma resembles many other American languages. The element *-(a)n*, however, is not infrequently employed to form a plural, but this plural is of rather indefinite application when the noun is supplied with a third personal possessive suffix (compare what was said above, § 91, in regard to *-gwan*). The fact that the plurality implied by the suffix may have reference to either the object possessed or to the possessor or to both (e. g., *beya'nhan* HIS DAUGHTERS or THEIR DAUGHTER, THEIR DAUGHTERS) makes it very probable that we are here dealing, not with the simple idea of plurality, but rather with that of reciprocity. It is probably not accidental that the plural *-(a)n* agrees phonetically with the reciprocal element *-an-* found in the verb. In no case is the plural suffix necessary in order to give a word its full syntactic form; it is always appended to the absolute noun or to the noun with its full complement of characteristic and pronominal affix.

The simple form *-(a)n* of the suffix appears only in the third personal reflexive possessive *-gwa-n* (see § 91) and, apparently, the third personal possessive *-t'an* of pre-positive local phrases (see p. 238). Many absolute nouns ending in a vowel, or in *l*, *m*, or *n*, also nouns with personal affixes (including pre-positives with possessive suffixes) other than that of the third person, take the form *-han* of the plural

suffix; the *-h-* may be a phonetically conditioned rather than morphologically significant element. Examples are:

Noun	Plural
<i>sinsan</i> decrepit old woman	<i>sinsanhan</i>
<i>ts'li'xi</i> dog	<i>ts'lixi'han</i>
<i>ya'p'a</i> person 176.1, 12	<i>yap'a'han</i> 32.4
<i>eī</i> canoe 13.5; 112.3, 5	<i>eīhan</i>
<i>wik!ū^uya'm</i> my friend	<i>wik!ū^uya'mhan</i>
<i>wits!aī</i> my nephew 22.1	<i>wits!aīhan</i> 23.8, 10; 150.4
<i>bō^ut'bidit'k'</i> my orphan child	<i>bō^ut'bidit'k'han</i>
<i>nō^uts!adē</i> neighboring to me	<i>nō^uts!ade'han</i>
<i>hindē</i> O mother! 186.14	<i>hindēhan</i> O mothers! 76.10, 13

A large number of chiefly personal words and all nouns provided with a possessive suffix of the third person take *-t'an* as the plural suffix; the *-t'an* of local adverbs or nouns with pre-positives has been explained as composed of the third personal suffix *-t'* and the pluralizing element *-han*: *nō^uts!ā^at'an* HIS NEIGHBORS. In some cases, as in *wa-wīⁱt'an* GIRLS 55.16; 106.17, *-t'an* may be explained as composed of the exclusive *-t'a* discussed above and the plural *-n*. The fact, however, that *-t'an* may itself be appended both to this exclusive *-t'a* and to the full third personal form of nouns not provided with a pre-positive makes it evident that the *-t'a-* of the plural suffix *-t'an* is an element distinct from either the exclusive *-t'a* or third personal *-t'*. *-t'ā^at'a-n* is perhaps etymologically as well as phonetically parallel to the unexplained *-dā^ada* of *dā^ak'dā^ada* OVER HIM (see §93). Examples of *-t'an* are:

Noun	Plural
<i>lomt!īⁱ</i> old man 112.3, 9; 114.10; 126.19	<i>lomt!īⁱt'an</i>
<i>mologo'l</i> old woman 168.11; 170.10	<i>mologo'lt'an</i>
<i>wa-iwīⁱ</i> girl 124.5, 10	<i>wa-iwīⁱt'an</i> 55.16; 60.2; 106.17
<i>ā'i-hi</i> just they (cf. 49.11; 138.11)	<i>ā'it'an</i> they
<i>ts'lixi-maha'i</i> horse	<i>ts'lixi-maha'it'an</i>
<i>lō^usīⁱ</i> his plaything 110.6, 11	<i>lō^usīⁱt'an</i>
<i>mō^ut'ā^a</i> his son-in-law	<i>mō^ut'ā^at'an</i> their sister's husband ¹ 150.22; 152.4, 9
<i>t!ela'</i> louse (116.3, 6)	<i>t!elā^at'an</i>
<i>hapxi-t!īⁱt'ā^a</i> boy 14.6; 156.8, 10	<i>hapxi-t!īⁱt'ā^at'an</i> 160.14
<i>dap!ā'la-u</i> youth 132.13; 190.2	<i>dap!ā'la-ut'an</i> 132.12
<i>bala'u</i> young	<i>bala'ut'an</i>
<i>wō^unā^ak'^w</i> old 57.1; 168.2	<i>wō^unā^ak'^wdan</i>

¹ *mo^u* seems to indicate not only the daughter's husband, but also, in perhaps a looser sense, the relatives gained by marriage of the sister.

The plural form *-k!an* is appended to nouns in *-lā'p'a* and to the third personal *-xa(-a)* of terms of relationship. As *-k!-¹* is appended to nouns in *-lā'p'a* also before the characteristic *-i-* followed by a possessive suffix, it is clear that *-k!an* is a compound suffix consisting of an unexplained *-k!-* and the plural element *-(a)n*. Examples of *-k!an* are:

t!i'lā'p'ak!an men 128.11; 130.1, 7, 25; 132.17

k'aⁱlā'p'ak!an women 184.13

mologolā'p'ak!an old women 57.14; 128.3, 10 (also *mologo'lt'an*)

o'pxak!an her elder brothers 124.16, 20; 134.8; 138.7

k'aba'xak!an his, their sons 132.10; 156.14

ma'xak!an their father 130.19, 21; 132.12

t'awāxak!an their younger sister 148.5

k'a'sak!an their maternal grandmother 154.13; 156.8, 15, 18, 21

§ 100. DUAL *-dīl*

The suffix *-dīl(-dī'l)* is appended to a noun or pronoun to indicate the duality of its occurrence, or to restrict its naturally indefinite or plural application to two. It is not a true dual in the ordinary sense of the word, but indicates rather that the person or object indicated by the noun to which it is suffixed is accompanied by another person or object of the same kind, or by a person or object mentioned before or after; in the latter case it is equivalent to AND connecting two denominating terms. Examples illustrating its use are:

gō^umdī'l we two (restricted from *gō^um* we)

gadīl gō^um iħēmxinigam we two, that one and I, will wrestle (literally, that-one-and-another [namely, I] we we-shall-wrestle) 30.5

sgi'sidī'l two coyotes (literally, coyote-and-another [coyote])

wāxadi'l two brothers (lit., [he] and his younger brother) 26.12

sgisi nī'xadi'l Coyote and his mother 54.2

The element *-dīl* doubtless occurs as an adjective stem meaning ALL, EVERY, in *aldīl* ALL 134.4 (often heard also as *aldī* 47.9; 110.16; 188.1); *hadedīlt'a* EVERYWHERE 43.6; 92.29; and *hat'gā^adīlt'a* IN EVERY LAND 122.20.

§ 101. *-wi^ε* every

This element is freely appended to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, but has no independent existence of its own. Examples are:

be^εwi^ε every day (literally, every sun) 42.1; 158.17

xū^εnwi^ε every night (*xū^εn*, *xū^εne* night, at night)

¹ It was found extremely difficult, despite repeated trials, for some reason or other, to decide as to whether *-k!-* or *-g-* was pronounced. *-k!i-* and *-k!an* may thus be really *-gi-* and *-gan*.

bixal wi'inwi'ε ba-i-wili'uε month comes after month (literally, moon different-each out-goes)

gwel-εwāk'wiwi'ε every morning (*gwel-εwāk'wi'ε* morning 44.1)

da-hō^uxawi'ε every evening

ha-be^e-biniwi'ε every noon

k'aiwi'ε everything, something (*k'a-*, *k'ai-* what, thing) 180.5, 6

ada't'wi'ε everywhere, to each 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

As illustrated by *k'aiwi'ε*, the primary meaning of *-wi'ε* is not so much EVERY as that it refers the preceding noun or adverb to a series. It thus conveys the idea of SOME in:

dal'wi'ε sometimes, in regard to some 57.12

xā^enewi'ε sometimes 132.25

With pronouns it means TOO, AS WELL AS OTHERS:

gī'wi'ε I too

mā^awi'ε you too 58.5

Like *-dīl*, *-wi'ε* may be explained as a stereotyped adjectival stem that has developed into a quasi-formal element. This seems to be indicated by the derivative *wi'εi'n* EVERY, DIFFERENT 49.1; 160.20; 188.12.

§ 102. DEICTIC *-εa'*

It is quite likely that the deictic *-εa'* is etymologically identical with the demonstrative stem *a-* THIS, though no other case has been found in which this stem follows the main noun or other word it qualifies. It differs from the exclusive *-t'a* in being less distinctly a part of the whole word and in having a considerably stronger contrastive force. Unlike *-t'a*, it may be suffixed to adverbs as well as to words of a more strictly denominative character. Examples of its occurrence are extremely numerous, but only a very few of these need be given to illustrate its deictic character:

ma^εa' you ([I am —,] but you —) 26.3; 56.5; (cf. 49.8, 13)

maha'i^εa' big indeed

ga^εa' ge wili'i that one's house is there (literally, that-one there his-house [that house yonder belongs to that fellow Coyote, not to Panther, whom we are seeking]) 55.4; cf. 196.19

bō^{uε}a' but nowadays (so it was in former days, but now things have changed) 50.1; 194.5

ge'-hi gī^εa' yok!oya'εn that-far I-for-my-part know-it (others may know more) 49.13; 154.7

p'i'm^εa' गयाū he ate salmon (nothing else.)

III. The Pronoun (§§ 103–105)

§ 103. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns of Takelma, differing in this respect from what is found to be true of most American languages, show not the slightest etymological relationship to any of the various pronominal series found incorporated in noun and verb, except in so far as the second person plural is formed from the second person singular by the addition of the element *-p'* that we have found to be characteristic of every second person plural in the language. The forms, which may be used both as subjects and objects, are as follows:

Singular: First person, *gĩ* 56.10; 122.8; second person, *ma'* (*mā^a*) 26.7; 98.8; third person, *āk'* 27.5; 156.12. Plural: First person, *gō^{um}* 30.5; 150.16; second person, *māp'*; third person *āi* 49.11; *xilamana'* 27.10; 56.1

Of the two third personal plural pronouns, *āi* is found most frequently used with post-positive elements; e. g., *āyā^a* JUST THEY (= *āi yā^a*) 160.6; *ā^εya'* THEY (= *āi-εa'*) 49.11. When unaccompanied by one of these, it is generally pluralized: *ā'it'an* (see § 99). The second, *xilamana'*, despite its four syllables, has not in the slightest yielded to analysis. It seems to be but little used in normal speech or narrative.

All the pronouns may be emphasized by the addition of *-wi^ε* (see §101), the deictic *-εa'* (see §102), or the post-positive particles *yā^a* and enclitic *-hi* and *-s'i^ε* (see § 114, 1, 2, 4):

mayā^a just you 196.2

ma'hi you yourself

āihi' they themselves 104.13 (cf. 152.20)

gī^εs'i^ε I in my turn 47.14; 188.8; (cf. 61.9)

A series of pronouns denoting the isolation of the person is formed by the addition of *-da^εx* or *-da^εxi* (= *-da^εx* + *-hi*) to the forms given above:

gī^εda^εx(i) only I

mā^ada^εx(i) you alone

āk^εda^εx(i) all by himself 61.7; 90.1; 142.20; 144.6

gō^{um}mda^εx(i) we alone

māp^εda^εx(i) you people alone

āida^εx(i) they alone 138.11

The third personal pronouns are not infrequently used with preceding demonstratives:

hā^εga (or *ī^εdaga*) *āk^εda^εx* that one by himself (*āk^ε* used here apparently as a peg for the suffixed element *-da^εx* by one's self)
hā^εā^εit'an and *īda^εā^εit'an* those people

hā^ε- and *īda-*, it should be noted, are demonstrative stems that occur only when compounded with other elements.

The independent possessive pronouns (IT IS) MINE, THINE, HIS, OURS, YOURS, are expressed by the possessive forms of the substantival stem *ais-* HAVING, BELONGING, PROPERTY: *a-is^εde^εk^ε* IT IS MINE 23.2; 154.18, 19, 20; *a-is^εde^ε* YOURS; *a'-is^εda* HIS 23.2, 3; (156.7) and so on. These forms, though strictly nominal in morphology, have really no greater concreteness of force than the English translations MINE, THINE, and so on.

§ 104. *Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs*

Four demonstrative stems, used both attributively and substantively, are found: *a-*, *ga*, *īda-*, and *hā^{ae}-*. Of these only *ga* THAT occurs commonly as an independent word; the rest, as the first elements of composite forms. The demonstratives as actually found are:

Indefinite. *ga* that 60.5; 61.2; 110.4; 194.4, 5

Near first. *a'ga* this 44.9; 186.4; *ālī* this here 110.2; 188.20

Near second. *ī^εdaga* that 116.22; *īdalī* that there 55.16

Near third. *hā^{ae}ga* that yonder 186.5; *hā^εlī* that over there

a- has been found also as correlative to *ga-* with the forms of *na(g)-DO, SAY*:

ana^εne^εx like this 176.13 (*ga-na^εne^εx* that way, thus 114.17; 122.20)

ana^εna^ε't^ε it will be as it is now cf. 152.8 (*ga-na^εna^ε't^ε* it will be that way)

perhaps also in:

ada^εt^εwi^ε everywhere (= *ada^εt^ε* this way, hither [see § 112, 1] + *-wi^ε* every) 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

īda- (independently 46.5; 47.5; 192.6) seems to be itself a compound element, its first syllable being perhaps identifiable with *ī-* HAND. *īda^εā^εit'an* and *hā^{ae}ā^εit'an*, referred to above, are in effect the substantive plurals of *ī^εdaga* and *hā^{ae}ga*. *hā^{ae}-* as demonstrative pronoun is doubtless identical with the local *hā^{ae}-* YONDER, BEYOND, found as a prefix in the verb.

By far the most commonly used of the demonstratives is that of indefinite reference, *ga*. It is used as an anaphoric pronoun to refer to both things and persons of either number, also to summarize a preceding phrase or statement. Not infrequently the translation *THAT* or *THOSE* is too definite; a word of weaker force, like *IT*, better serves the purpose. The association of *ī'daga* and *hā'^{ae}ga* with spacial positions corresponding to the second and third persons respectively does not seem to be at all strong, and it is perhaps more accurate to render them as *THAT RIGHT AROUND THERE* and *THAT YONDER*. Differing fundamentally in this respect from adjectives, demonstrative pronouns regularly precede the noun or other substantive element they modify:

a'ga sgī'sī this coyote 108.1

ī'daga yap!a' that person

ga ^{ae}aldīl all that, all of those 47.12

A demonstrative pronoun may modify a noun that is part of a local phrase:

ī'daga he^{ee}s:ō^uma'l beyond that mountain 122.22; 124.1

Corresponding to the four demonstrative pronoun-stems are four demonstrative adverb-stems, derived from the former by a change of the vowel *-a-* to *-e-*: *e-*, *ge*, *īde-*, and *he^{ee}-*. Just as *ga* *THAT* was found to be the only demonstrative freely used as an independent pronoun, so *ge* *THERE*, alone of the four adverbial stems, occurs outside of compounds. *e-*, *īde-*, and *he^{ee}-*, however, are never compounded with *ge*, as are *a-*, *īda-*, and *hā'^{ae}-* with its pronominal correspondent *ga*; a fifth adverbial stem of demonstrative force, *me^e* (*HITHER* as verbal prefix), takes its place. The actual demonstrative adverbs thus are:

Indefinite. *ge* there 64.6; 77.9; 194.11

Near first. *eme'^e* here 112.12, 13; 194.4; *me^e-* hither

Near second. *ī'deme^e* right around there 46.15

Near third. *he'^{ee}me^e* yonder 31.13

Of these, *me^e-*, the correlative of *he^{ee}-*, can be used independently when followed by the local *-al*: *me'^eal* *ON THIS SIDE*, *HITHERWARDS* 58.9; 160.4. *he^{ee}-* *AWAY*, besides frequently occurring as a verbal prefix, is found as a component of various adverbs:

he^edada'^e, *he^eda'^e* over there, away from here, off 46.8; 194.10

he'^ene' then, at that time 120.2; 146.6; 162.3

he'^eda't' on that side, toward yonder

me^ε- can be used also with the adverb *ge* of indefinite reference preceding; the compound, followed by *di*, is employed in an interrogative sense: *geme^εdi* WHERE? WHEN? 56.10; 100.16; 190.25. The idea of direction in the demonstrative adverbs seems less strong than that of position: *he^εme^ε baxa^εm* HE COMES FROM OVER THERE, as well as *he^εme^ε gini^εk^ε* HE GOES OVERTHERE. *me^ε*- and *he^ε*-(*hā^{ae}*-), however, often necessarily convey the notions of TOWARD and AWAY FROM the speaker: *me^ε-yewe^{iε} hā^{ae}-yewe^{iε}* HE CAME AND WENT BACK AND FORTH.

Demonstrative adverbs may take the restrictive suffix *-da^εx* or *-daba^εx* (cf. *-da^εx* with personal pronouns, §103):

eme^εda^εx 114.4, 5 }
eme^εdaba^εx 114.14 } here alone

§ 105. Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns

As independent words, the interrogative and indefinite stems occur with adverbs or adverbial particles, being found in their bare form only when incorporated. The same stems are used for both interrogative and indefinite purposes, a distinction being made between persons and things:

nek^ε who? some one 86.2, 23; 108.11
k'ai what? something 86.5; 122.3; 128.8

As independent adverb also PERHAPS:

k'ai t'ümüxi perhaps he'll strike me 23.3

As interrogatives, these stems are always followed by the interrogative enclitic particle *di*, *k'ai* always appearing as *k'a-* when *di* immediately follows:

ne'k^ε-di who? 46.15; 86.4; 142.9
k'a'-di what? 47.9; 60.11; 86.8

k'a'i . . . *di* occurs with post-positive *ga^εa'l*:

k'a'i ga^εal di what for? why? 71.15; 86.14; 98.8

As indefinites, they are often followed by the composite particle *-s^{iε}wa'k^εdi*:

nek^ε-s^{iε}wa'k^εdi I don't know who, somebody 22.8
k'ai-s^{iε}wa'k^εdi I don't know what, something 96.10

As negative indefinites, *nek^ε* and *k'ai* are preceded by the negative adverb *a'nī^ε* or *wede*, according to the tense-mode of the verb (see § 72):

a'nĩ^ε ne'k' nobody 63.4; 90.8, 25

a'nĩ^ε k'a'i nothing 58.14; 61.6; 128.23

we'de nek' ü's'ik' nobody will give it to me (cf. 98.10)

we'de k'ai ü's'dam do not give me anything

With the post-nominal *-wi'^ε* EVERY, *k'ai* forms *k'aiwi'^ε* EVERYTHING, SOMETHING. No such form as **nek'wi'^ε*, however, occurs, its place being taken by *aldĩl, aldĩ* ALL, EVERYBODY. In general, it may be said that *k'ai* has more of an independent substantival character than *nek'*; it corresponds to the English THING in its more indefinite sense, e. g., *k'a'i gwalá* MANY THINGS, EVERYTHING 96.15; 102.11; 108.8

The adverbial correspondent of *k'ai* is *gwi* HOW? WHERE? 46.2; 78.5. In itself *gwi* is quite indefinite in signification and is as such often used with the forms of *na(g)-* DO, ACT 47.11; 55.7:

gwi'di nagat' how are you doing? (e. g., where are you going?)
86.17; (138.25)

As interrogative, it is followed by *di*:

gwi'di how? where? 44.5; 70.6; 73.9; 190.10

as indefinite, by *-s'i^εwa'k'di* (cf. 190.4):

gwis'i^εwa'k'di in some way, somewhere 54.7; 96.8; 120.21 (also
gwi'hap' somewhere)

as negative indefinite, it is preceded by *a'nĩ^ε* or *wede*:

a'nĩ^ε gwi' in no way, nowhere 23.6; 62.11; 192.14
we'de gwi na't' do not go anywhere!

As indefinite relative is used *gwi'ha* WHERESOEVER 140.9, 13, 15, 19.

IV. The Adjective (§§ 106-109)

§ 106. General Remarks

Adjectives can not in Takelma without further ado be classed as nouns or verbs, as they have certain characteristics that mark them off more or less clearly from both; such are their distinctly adjectival suffixes and their peculiar method of forming the plural. In some respects they closely approach the verb, as in the fact that they are frequently preceded by body-part prefixes, also in the amplification of the stem in the plural in ways analogous to what we have found in the verb. They differ, however, from verbal forms in that they can not be predicatively used (except that the simple form of the adjective may be predicatively understood for an implied third person), nor provided with the pronominal suffixes peculiar to the verb;

a first or second personal relation is brought about by the use of appropriate forms of the copula *ei-* BE. They agree with the noun and pronoun in being frequently followed by the distinctly denominative exclusive suffix *-t'a* (see § 98) and in the fact that, when forming part of a descriptive noun, they may take the personal endings peculiar to the noun:

ts'!ixi-maha'it'ek' dog-big-my (=my horse)

As adjectives pure and simple, however, they are never found with the possessive suffixes peculiar to the noun; e. g., no such form as **maha'it'ek'* alone ever occurs. It thus appears that the adjective occupies a position midway between the noun and the verb, yet with characteristics peculiar to itself. The most marked syntactic feature of the adjective is that, unlike a qualifying noun, it always follows the modified noun, even when incorporated with it (see § 93). Examples are:

wa-iwī'i dū girl pretty 55.7; 124.5

yap!a daldī' person wild 22.14

sgi'si da-sga'xit' Coyote sharp-snouted 86.3, 20; 88.1, 11

p'im xu'm yele'x debū'ε salmon dry burden-basket full (=burden-basket full of dry salmon) 75.10

Rarely does it happen that the adjective precedes, in which case it is to be predicatively understood:

gwa'la yap!a' many (were) the people 180.16 (but *ya'p!a gwa'la'* people many 194.10)

Even when predicatively used, however, the adjective regularly follows the noun it qualifies. Other denominating words or phrases than adjectives are now and then used to predicate a statement or command:

yū'klalx (1) *wa'k'i'ε* (2), *ga* (3) *ga'al* (4) *deligia'lt'i* (5) *gwās* (6) [as they were] without (2) teeth (1), for (4) that (3) [reason] they brought them as food (5) intestines (6) 130.22

masi'ε (1) *al-nā'na'εn* (2) *naga-ida'ε* (3) [do] you in your turn (1) [dive], since you said (3) "I can get close to him" (2) 61.9

§ 107. Adjectival Prefixes

Probably all the body-part prefixes and also a number of the purely local elements are found as prefixes in the adjective. The material at hand is not large enough to enable one to follow out the prefixes of the adjective as satisfactorily as those of the verb; but

there is no reason to believe that there is any tangible difference of usage between the two sets. Examples of prefixes in the adjective are:

1. *dak'*-.

dak'-*maha'i* big on top

dak'-*dū'l̥s* big-headed

2. *dā^a*-.

dā^a-*molhi't* red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 96.13

dā^a-*ho'k'wal* with holes in ear 166.13, 19

dā^a-*maha'i* big-cheeked

3. *s'in*-.

s'in-*ho'k'wal* with holes in nose 166.13, 18

s'in-*hū'sgal* big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6

s'in-*p'i'l̥s* flat-nosed

4. *de*-.

de-ts'!ügü't, *de-ts'!ügü'u* sharp-pointed 74.13; 126.18

de-t'ül̥i'p dull

de-εwini't proceeding, reaching to 50.4

5. *da*-.

da-*sga'xi*(t') long-mouthed 15.13; 86.3; 88.1, 11

da-*sguli* short 33.17

da-*ho'k'wal* holed 176.7

da-*maha'i* big-holed 92.4

da-*t!os-ō'u* small-holed

6. *gwen*-.

gwen-*xd̥i'l̥s* slim-necked

gwen-*t'ge'm* black-necked 196.6

7. *ī*-.

ī-*ts'!o'p'al* sharp-clawed 14.4; 15.13; 86.3

ī-*ge'wa^εx* crooked-handed

ī-*k!ok!o'k'* ugly-handed

8. *xā^a*-.

xā^a-*maha'i* big-waisted, wide

xā^a-*xd̥i'l̥s* slim-waisted, notched 71.15; 75.6

9. *dīⁱ*-.

dīⁱ-*k!ēlix* conceited

10. *dī^ε*-.

dī^ε-*maha'i* big below, big behind

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—17

. *di^ε-k!a'ls* lean in rump

11. *gwel-*.

ha-gwel-bila'm empty underneath, like table (cf. *ha-bila'm* empty)

gwel-ho'k'wal holed underneath 43, 9.

12. *ha-*.

ha-bila'm empty (literally, having nothing inside, cf. *bila'm* having nothing 43.6, 8, 14)

13. *sal-*.

sal-t!a'i narrow

sal-ts'!una'px straight

14. *al-*. (Referring to colors and appearances)

al-t'ge'm black 13.3; 162. 4

al-ts'!i'l red

al-t'gu'ies white 55.2; 188.11

al-sgenhi't black 92.19

al-gwa'si yellow

al-t'gisa'mt' green (participle of *t'gisi'εm* it gets green)

al-k'iyi'x-nat' blue (literally, smoke-doing or being)

al-k!ok!o'k' ugly-faced 47.2; 60.5

al-t!e's'i't' little-eyed 94.3; (94.6, 14)

al-t'geya'px round

al-t'mila'px smooth

15. *han-*.

han-hogwa'l with hole running through 56.9, 10

A few cases have been found of adjectives with preceding nouns in such form as they assume with pre-positive and possessive suffix:

da'k!oloi-ts'!il red-cheeked

gwit!iū-t!a'i slim-wristed

An example of an adjective preceded by two body-part prefixes has already been given (*ha-gwel-bila'm*). Here both prefixes are coordinate in function (cf. *ha-gwel-p'iyā'*, § 95). In:

xā^a-sal-gwa'si between-claws-yellow (myth name of Sparrow-Hawk) 166.2

the two body-part prefixes are equivalent to an incorporated local phrase (cf. § 35, 4)

§ 108. *Adjectival Derivative Suffixes*

A considerable number of adjectives are primitive in form, i. e., not capable of being derived from simpler nominal or verbal stems. Such are:

ho's'au getting older

maha'i big 23.1; 74.15; 146.3

bus' wiped out, destroyed, used up 42.2; 140.19

dū good, beautiful 55.7; 58.7; 124.4; 146.6

t'ū hot 57.15; 186.25

p'u'n rotten 140.21

yo't'i alive ([?]) *yo't'* being + enclitic *-hi*) (128.16)

and many others. A very large number, however, are provided with derivative suffixes, some of which are characteristic of adjectives per se,¹ while others serve to convert nouns and pre-positive phrases into adjectives. Some adjectival stems seem capable of being used either with or without a suffix (cf. *da-sga'xi* and *de-ts'!ügü't'* above, § 107):

maha'i and *maha'it'* big

al-gwa'si and *al-gwa'sit'* yellow

1. **-(i)t'**. Probably the most characteristic of all adjectival suffixes is **-(i)t'**, all **-t'** participles (see § 76) properly belonging here. Non-participial examples are:

al-gwa'sit' yellow

al-sgenhi't' black 92.19

al-tle'si't' little-eyed 94.3

(?) *ha'nt'* half ([?]) cf. *han-* through) 146.22; 154.9; 192.7

t'ort' one-horned 46.7; 47.7; 49.3.

dā^a-molhi't' red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 88.2; 96.13

de-ts'!ügü't' sharp-pointed 126.18

k'ulsa't' soft (food) (cf. *k'u'ls* worm) 130.22

p!ala'k'wa-goyō'ut' *ēit'e^e* I am story-doctor (cf. *goyo'* shaman)

2. **-al**. Examples of adjectives with this suffix are:

ī-ts'!o'p'al sharp-clawed 14.4; 86.3 (cf. *de-ts'!ügü't'* sharp-pointed; for **-p'-**: **-g-** cf. § 42, 1, 6)

t'i't'al thin

(?) *dēhal* five ([?]) = being in front ²) 150.19, 20; 182.21

s'in-ho'k'wal with holes in nose 166.13, 18; (56.9; 166.19; 176.7)

s'in-hū's'gal big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6

hū'p'al flat

mi'xal how much, how many (used interrogatively and relatively)
 { 100.8; 182.13
mixa'lha numerous, in great numbers 92.28; 94.1

¹ A few adjectives in *-am* (= *-an*) are distinctly nominal in appearance; *bila'm* HAVING NOTHING; *xila'm* SICK (but also as noun, DEAD PERSON, GHOST). It hardly seems possible to separate these from nouns like *heela'm* BOARD; *ts'lela'm* HAIL.

² Cf. *American Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. 9, p. 266.

3. **-di.** A few adjectives have been found with this suffixed element:
hapsdi little 192.6; *hā'p'di* 24.12; 60.15; 61.5 (cf. *hā'apxi* child 128.16)
yap!a daldi wild man (cf. *dal-* in the brush) 22.14
gama'xdi raw 94.3, 6; 144.5; 182.4
gweldi finished (cf. *gwel-* leg) 34.1; 79.8; 94.18

4. **-ts!- (-^εs).** In a small number of adjectives this element is doubtless to be considered a suffix:

ī'ltstak'w bad, ugly 182.1; 186.22; 198.4 (cf. pl. *ī'εa'lsak'w*)
s'in-p'ī'l's flat-nosed
xā^a-xdi'l's slim-waisted 71.15; 75.6 (cf. inferential passive *xā-ī-xdi'lxalk'am* they have been notched in several places)

A few adjectives in *-s*, evidently morphologically connected with the scattering nouns in *-s*, also occur:

gūms blind 26.14
bāls long 14.5; 33.16; 158.1
ε'uñs thick 90.3

5. **-(a)x.** This suffix disappears in the plural (see below, § 109), so that no room is left for doubt as to its non-radical character. Whether it is to be identified with the non-agentive *-x* of the verb is somewhat uncertain, but that such is the case is by no means improbable; in some cases, indeed, the adjective in *-x* is connected with a verb in *-x*. The *-a'px* of some of the examples is without doubt composed of the petrified *-b-* found in a number of verbs (see § 42, 1) and the adjectival (or non-agentive) *-x*.

al-t'geya'px round (cf. *al-t'geye'px* it rolls)
sal-ts'!una'px straight
da-ts'!ām^x sick 90.12, 13, 21; 92.5; 150.16
al-t'mīla'px smooth
da-p'o'a^εx crooked (cf. *p'owo'εx* it bends)
ī-ge'wa^εx crooked-handed

More transparently derivational in character than any of those listed above are the following adjectival suffixes:

6. **-gwat' HAVING.** Adjectival forms in *-gwa't'* are derived partly by the addition of the adjectival suffix *-(a)t'* to third personal reflexive possessive forms in *-'t'gwa* (*-xagwa*), or to palatalized passive participial forms in *-'k'w*, themselves derived from nouns (see § 77), partly by the addition of *-gwa't'* to nouns in

their pre-pronominal form (-x). The fact that these various -*gwa't* forms, despite their at least apparent diversity of origin, clearly form a unit as regards signification, suggests an ultimate identity of the noun reflexive -*gwa* (and therefore verbal indirect reflexive -*gwa*-) with the passive participial -*k'w*. The -*gwa*- of forms in -*x-gwat*' is not quite clear, but is perhaps to be identified with the comitative -*gwa*- of the verb. An adjective like *yū'k!al-x-gwat*' TEETH-HAVING presents a parallelism to a verbal participle like *dak'-līm-x-gwat*' WITH (TREE) FALLING OVER ONE (from aorist *dak'-līmīm-x-gwa-de^ε* I AM WITH IT FALLING OVER ME, see § 46) that is suggestive of morphologic identity. Examples of -*gwa't* adjectives are:

waya'uxagwat' having daughter-in-law 56.10 (cf. *waya'uxagwa* her own daughter-in-law)

t'gwana't'gwat' slave-having (cf. *t'gwana't'gwa* his own slave)

Da-t'ān-elā'a't'gwat'¹ Squirrel-Tongued (literally, in-mouth squirrel his-tongue having [name of Coyote's daughter]) 70.6; 72.4; 75.11

ni'xagwat' mother-having (cf. *ni'xak'w* mothered)

me'xagwat' father-having (cf. *me'xak'w* fathered)

k'e^εlē'p'igigwat' wife-having (cf. *k'e^εlē'p'igik'w* wived 142.6)

gū^uxgwa't' wife-having 128.4 (cf. *gū^u-x-de'k'* my wife 142.9)

dagaxgwa't' head-having (cf. *da'g-ax-dek'* my head 90.13)

ts'!u'lxgwat' having Indian money (cf. *ts'!u'lx* Indian money 14.13)

A form with -*gwat*' and the copula *ei-* (for persons other than the third) takes the place in Takelma of the verb HAVE:

ts'!u'lxgwat' eit'e^ε I have money (literally money-having or moneyed I-am

ts'!ulx-gwa't he has money

Aside from the fact that it has greater individuality as a distinct phonetic unit, the post-positive *wa'k'i^ε* WITHOUT is the morphologic correlative of -*gwat*' HAVING:

dagax wa'k'i^ε eit' head without you-are

da'gaxgwat' eit' head-having you-are

Similarly:

nixa wa'k'i^ε eit'e^ε mother without I-am

ni'xagwat' eit'e^ε mother-having I-am

¹ The fact that this form has a body-part prefix (*da-* MOUTH) seems to imply its verbal (participial) character. -*t'gwat*' in it, and forms like it, may have to be analyzed, not as -*t'gwa* HIS OWN + -*t'*, but rather as -*t'* HIS + -*gwa*- HAVING + -*t'*. In other words, from a noun-phrase *t'ān elā'a* (older *elā'a't'*) SQUIRREL HIS. TONGUE may be theoretically formed a comitative intransitive with prefix: **da-t'ān-elā'a't'-gwade^ε* I AM HAVING SQUIRREL'S TONGUE IN MY MOUTH, of which the text-form is the participle. This explanation has the advantage over the one given above of putting forms in -*t'gwat*' and -*xgwat*' on one line; cf. also 73.15.

7. *-imik'li*. A few adjectives have been found ending in this suffix formed from temporal adverbs:

hop!ēnimik'li (men) of long ago 168.1 (*hop!ēn* long ago 58.4, 7, 11)
bōu^εi'mik'li (people) of nowadays (*bōu* now 188.8; 194.5)

8. *-(i)k'li*. This suffix, evidently closely related to the preceding one, forms adjectives (with the signification of BELONGING TO, ALWAYS BEING) from local phrases. Examples are:

ha-wil'i'yik'li belonging to good folks, not "common" (from *ha-wil'i* in the house)

xā^a-bēmik'li^ε being between sticks

ha-bam'i'sik'li^ε dwelling in air

xā^a-da'nik'li belonging between rocks (e. g., crawfish)

dak'-p'i'yak'li^ε staying always over the fire

ha-p'i'yak'li^ε belonging to fire

9. *-^εxi*. A few adjectival forms in *-^εxi*, formed from local phrases, seem to have a force entirely coincident with adjectives in *-(i)k'li*:

ha-p'i'ya^εxi belonging to fire

ha-xi'ya^εxi mink (literally, always staying in the water [from *ha-xiya* in the water 33.4])

10. *-^εi'xi*. This suffix seems to be used interchangeably with *-(i)k'li* and *-^εxi*. Examples are:

ha-bam'i'sa^εi'xi^ε belonging to the air, sky

xā^a-da'ni^εi'xi^ε belonging between rocks

ha-wili^εi'xi belonging to the house

ha-xi'ya^εi'xi belonging to the water

ha-p'i'ya^εi'xi belonging to fire

The following forms in *-^εi'xi*, not derived from local phrases, doubtless belong with these:

ge^εi'xi belonging there 160.24

goyo^εi'xi belonging to shamans (used to mean: capable of wishing ill, supernaturally doing harm, to shamans) 170.11

§ 109. Plural Formations

A few adjectives form their plural or frequentative by reduplication:

Singular
de-bü'ü^ε full 49.14; 116.5

ī'lts'ak'^w bad 182.1; 198.4

maha'i large 23.1; 74.15

Plural
de-bü^εba'x (dissimilated from *-bü^εba^εx*) 122.17

ī^εa'lsak'^w (dissimilated from *ī^εalts!-*)

mahmī 32.15; 49.10; 130.4

Of these, the first two are clearly verbal in type. The probably non-agentive *-x* of *de-bü^εba^x* (also singular *de-bü^üü^εx* from **de-bü^üü^k!-x* [cf. *de-bü^üü^k!in* I SHALL FILL IT]) and the apparently passive participial *-ak^w* of *ī^lts!ak^w* strongly suggest that the first two of these adjectives are really adjectivally specialized verb-forms. *mahmī* is altogether irregular in type of reduplication. *t!os^oō^w* LITTLE 56.15; 74.16 forms its plural by the repetition of the second consonant after the repeated vowel of the singular: *dak!oloi-t!os^oū^sgwat^t* HE HAS SMALL CHEEKS. In regard to *t'ūt^t* 170.18, the plural of *t'ū* HOT 57.15, it is not certain whether the *-t^t* is the repeated initial consonant, or the *-t^t* characteristic of other adjective plurals.

Most adjectives form their plural by repeating after the medial consonant the vowel of the stem, where possible, and adding to the amplified stem the element *-it^t* (probably from *-hit^t*, as shown by its treatment with preceding fortis), or, after vowels, *-t'it^t*; a final non-radical *-(a)x* disappears in the plural. *ho's^oau* GETTING BIGGER (with inorganic *-a-*) forms its plural by the repetition of the stem-vowel alone, *hos^oō^w* 156.11; 158.11; similar is *du^εū^t* 58.10 which seems to be the plural of *dū* PRETTY 58.8. *yo't^ti* ([?] *yot^t-hi*) ALIVE forms the plural *yot^ti'hi* ([?] *yot^ti-hi*) 128.16. Examples of the peculiarly adjectival plural in *-(t')it^t* are:

Singular	Plural
<i>al-t'geya^px</i> round	<i>al-t'geye^p'it^t</i>
<i>al-t'mila^px</i> smooth	<i>al-t'mili^p'it^t</i>
<i>sal-ts^o!una^px</i> straight	<i>sal-ts^o!uⁿnup^t'it^t</i>
<i>sal-t!aⁱi</i> narrow	<i>sal-t!a^yat^t'it^t</i>
<i>da-p^oo^εa^εx</i> crooked (= <i>-ak^l-x</i>)	<i>gwit^t-p^oo^εk^t'it^t</i> c r o o k e d - armed
<i>ī-ge^wwa^εx</i> crooked-handed (= <i>-ak^l-x</i> ; cf. aorist <i>gewe- k!aw-</i> carry [salmon] bow- fashion)	<i>ī-ge^wwe^εk^t'it^t</i>
<i>de-ts^o!ü^gü^t</i> sharp-pointed 126.18	<i>de-ts^o!ü^gü^{hit}</i>
<i>de-t'ü^lü^εp^t</i> dull	<i>de-t'ü^lü^εp^t'it^t</i>
<i>al-ts^o!i^l</i> red	<i>da^k!oloi-ts^o!i^lit^t'it^t</i> he has red cheeks
<i>al-t'gu^tis^s</i> white 55.2; 188.11	<i>da^k!oloi-t'gu^yus^t'it^t</i> he has white cheeks
<i>al-t'ge^m</i> black 13.3; 162.4	<i>da^k!oloi-t'ge^met^t'it^t</i> he has black cheeks
<i>bā^ls</i> long 14.5; 15.12, 15	<i>sⁱnⁱrx^dā^t'an</i> <i>bā^ala^s'it^t</i> their noses are long

That these plurals are really frequentative or distributive in force is illustrated by such forms as *da'k!oloi-ts'!i'lit'it'* RED-CHEEKED, which has reference not necessarily to a plurality of persons affected, but to the frequency of occurrence of the quality predicated, i. e., to the redness of both cheeks.

V. Numerals (§§ 110, 111)

§ 110. Cardinals

Cardinals	Adverbs
1. <i>mī'iesga</i> ^ε 13.2; 192.8; <i>mī'ēs</i> 188.9	<i>mī'ū^εxda'n</i> once 182.20; 188.13
2. { <i>gā'^εm</i> 22.7; 110.11 <i>gā'p'ini'</i> ¹ 55.7, 12; 116.1 }	<i>gā'^εmân</i> twice
3. <i>xī'bini'</i> 150.8	<i>xī'nt'</i>
4. <i>gamga'm</i> 148.5; 184.17	<i>gamga'man</i>
5. <i>dēhal</i> 150.19, 20; 182.21	<i>dēhaldan</i>
6. <i>ha^εīmī'ēs</i> 150.12	<i>ha^εīmī'ts!ada'n</i>
7. <i>ha^εigā'^εm</i>	<i>ha^εigā'^εmada'n</i>
8. <i>ha^εixi'n</i>	<i>ha^εixinda'n</i>
9. <i>ha^εigo</i> ^ε 150.14	<i>ha^εigō^ugada'n</i>
10. <i>i'xdīl</i> 13.1; 150.5; 182.22	<i>ixdīlda'n</i>
11. <i>i'xdīl mī'iesga</i> ^ε <i>gada'k'</i> ten one on-top-of	
12. <i>i'xdīl gā'^εm gada'k'</i>	
20. <i>yap!amī'ēs</i> 182.23	
30. <i>xī'n ixdīl</i>	
40. <i>gamga'mân ixdī'l</i>	
50. <i>dēhaldan ixdī'l</i>	
60. <i>ha^εīmī'ts!adan ixdī'l</i>	
70. <i>ha^εigā'^εmadan ixdī'l</i>	
80. <i>ha^εixi'ndan ixdī'l</i>	
90. <i>ha^εigogada'n ixdī'l</i>	
100. <i>t!eimi'ēs</i> 23.2, 4, 9, 12, 13	
200. <i>gā'^εmân t!eimi'ēs</i>	
300. <i>xīn t!eimi'ēs</i>	
400. <i>gamga'mân t!eimi'ēs</i>	
1,000. <i>i'xdīldan t!eimi'ēs</i>	
2,000. <i>yap!amī'ts!adan t!eimi'ēs</i>	

mī'iesga^ε is the usual uncompounded form of ONE. In compounds the simpler form *mī'ēs* (stem *mīts!*-) occurs as the second element:

ha^εīmī'ēs six (=one[finger] in the hand)

yap!amī'ēs twenty (=one man)

¹ Often heard as *gā'p^εini'* 55.2, 5.

t!eimì's one hundred (probably = one male [*t!vì-*])

me'l t'gā-mì's crows earth-one (=land packed full of crows)

144.9, 11, 12, 13

dē'mì's in-front-one (=marching in single file)

almì's all together 92.23, 24; 190.17

Of the two forms for TWO, *gā'p!ini'* seems to be the more frequently used, though no difference of signification or usage can be traced. *gā'p!ini'* TWO and *xì'bini'* THREE are evident compounds of the simpler *gā'ēm* and *xì'n* (seen in *hā'ixì'n* EIGHT) and an element *-bini'* that is perhaps identical with *-bini'* of *hā'-bini'* IN THE MIDDLE. *gamga'm* FOUR is evidently reduplicated from *gā'ēm* TWO, the falling accent of the second syllable being probably due to the former presence of the catch of the simplex. An attempt has been made¹ to explain *dēhal* FIVE as an adjectival form in *-al* derived from *dē-* IN FRONT. The numerals SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are best considered as morphologically verbs provided with the compound prefix *hā'ē-* IN THE HAND (see § 35, 4), and thus strictly signifying ONE (FINGER) IS IN THE HAND; TWO, THREE, FOUR (FINGERS) ARE IN THE HAND. No explanation can be given of *-go'* in *hā'igo'* NINE, except that it may be an older stem for FOUR, later replaced, for one reason or another, by the composite *gamga'm* TWO+TWO. *i'xdīl* TEN is best explained as compounded of *ī-x-* HAND (but why not *īūx-* as in *īūx-dē'k'* MY HAND?) and the dual *-dī'l*, and as being thus equivalent to TWO HANDS.

It thus seems probable that there are only three simple numeral stems in Takelma, *mī'ies* ONE, *gā'ēm* TWO, and *xì'n* THREE. All the rest are either evident derivations from these, or else (*dēhal* probably and *i'xdīl* certainly) descriptive of certain finger-positions. While the origin of the Takelma system may be tertiary or quinary (if *-go'* is the original stem for FOUR and *dēhal* is a primary element), the decimal feeling that runs through it is evidenced both by the break at ten and by the arrangement of the numerals beyond ten.

The teens are expressed by TEN ONE ABOVE (i. e., ten over one), TEN TWO ABOVE; and so on. *ga'a'l* THERETO may be used instead of *gada'k'* OVER. Twenty is ONE MAN, i. e., BOTH HANDS AND FEET. One hundred can be plausibly explained as equivalent to ONE MALE PERSON.² The other tens, i. e., thirty to ninety inclusive, are expressed by

¹ American Anthropologist, loc. cit., where FIVE is explained as BEING IN FRONT, on the basis of the method of fingering used by the Takelma in counting.

² Loc. cit.

multiplication, the appropriate numeral adverb preceding the word for ten. *xi'n ixdl* THIRTY, however, uses the original cardinal *xin*, instead of the numeral adverb *xint'*. The hundreds (including two hundred and one thousand) are similarly expressed as multiplications of one hundred (*t!eimi's*), the numeral adverbs (*xin* instead of *xi'nt'* in three hundred) preceding *t!eimi's*. Numerals above one thousand ($=10 \times 100$) can hardly have been in much use among the Takelma, but can be expressed, if desired, by prefixing the numeral adverbs derived from the tens to *t!eimi's*; e. g., *dēhaldan ixdl̄dan t!eimi's* $5 \times 10 \times 100 = 5,000$.

As far as the syntactic treatment of cardinal numerals is concerned, it should be noted that the plural of the noun modified is never employed with any of them:

wa-iwī'i gāp'ini girl two (i. e., two girls) 55.2, 5, 7, 12 (*wa-iwī'i-t'an* girls 56.11)

mologolā'p'a gā'p'ini old-woman two 26.14 (*mologolā'p'ak'an* old women 138.10)

hā'p'da gā'p'ini his child two 154.17 (*hā'p'da* his children)

Like adjectives, attributive numerals regularly follow the noun.

§ 111. Numeral Adverbs

The numeral adverbs denoting SO AND SO MANY TIMES are derived from the corresponding cardinals by suffixing *-an* (often weakened to *-ân*) to *gā'ēm* TWO and its derivative *gamgā'm* FOUR; *-t'*, to *xin* THREE; *-da'n*, to other numerals (*-ada'n*, to those ending in *-ēm* and *-ts!- = -ēs*). *ha'īgā'ēm* SEVEN and *ha'ēxi'n* EIGHT, it will be observed, do not follow *gā'ēm* and *xin* in the formation of their numeral adverbs, but add *-(a)da'n*.

It is not impossible that *müüx-* in *müüxda'n* ONCE is genetically related and perhaps dialectically equivalent to *m̄tēs-*, but no known grammatic or phonetic process of Takelma enables one to connect them. *ha'īgō'gada'n* NINE TIMES seems to insert a *-ga-* between the cardinal and the adverbial suffix *-dan*. The most plausible explanation of the form is its interpretation as NINE (*ha'ēgo'*) THAT (*ga*) NUMBER-OF-TIMES (*-da'n*), the demonstrative serving as a peg to hang the suffix on.

From the numeral adverbs are derived, by prefixing *ha-* IN, a further series with the signification of IN SO AND SO MANY PLACES:

ha-gā'ēmân in two places

ha-gamgama'n 176.2, 3 in four places

ha-ha'īgō'gada'n in nine places

Cardinals with prefixed *ha-* are also found, apparently with an approximative force, e. g., *ha-dēhal* ABOUT FIVE 194.2.

No series of ordinal numerals could be obtained, and the probability is strong that such a series does not exist. *debi'n* occurs as FIRST (e. g., *wili debi'n-hi* FIRST HOUSE), but may also mean LAST 49.2; 150.15, a contradiction that, in view of the probable etymology of the word, is only apparent. *debi'n* is evidently related to *ha-bini'* IN THE MIDDLE, and therefore signifies something like IN FRONT OF THE MIDDLE; i. e., AT EITHER END of a series, a meaning that comports very well with the renderings of both FIRST and LAST. It is thus evident that no true ordinal exists for even the first numeral.

VI. Adverbs and Particles (§§ 112–114)

A very large number of adverbs and particles (some of them simple stems, others transparent derivatives, while a great many others still are quite impervious to analysis) are found in Takelma, and, particularly the particles, seem to be of considerable importance in an idiomatically constructed sentence. A few specifically adverbial suffixes are discernible, but a large number of unanalyzable though clearly non-primitive adverbs remain; it is probable that many of these are crystallized noun or verb forms now used in a specialized adverbial sense.

§ 112. Adverbial Suffixes

Perhaps the most transparent of all is:

1. *-da't'*. This element is freely added to personal and demonstrative pronouns, adverbs or verbal prefixes, and local phrases, to impart the idea of direction from or to, more frequently the former. Examples of its occurrence are:

- gi'da't'* in my direction (*gi* I).
- wadēdat'* from my side (*wadē* to me)
- ada't'* on, to this side 112.17; 144.2
- ī'dada't'* in that direction, from that side (*īda-* that)
- hā^{ae}da't'* from yonder (*hā^{ae}-* that yonder)
- gwi'dat'* in which direction? 190.18 (*gwi* how? where?)
- geda't'* from there 144.8
- eme^εdat'* from here
- me^εda't'* hitherwards 32.10, 11; 55.3 (*me^ε-* hither)
- he^εdat'* thitherwards (*he^ε-* away)
- nō^uda't'* from down river 23.9 (*nō^u* down river)

handa't (going) across (*han-* across) 30.4; 31.16
hā^andada't from across (the river) (*ha'nda* across it) 112.17; 114.17
habamda't from above (*ha-* in + *bam-* up)
haxiya'dat from water on to land (*ha-xiya'* in the water)
dak'-wil'i'dat from on top of the house (*dak'-wil'i* over the house)
 27.5; 62.5
gwen-t'gā^a- bo'k'dandada't from the east (*gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'danda*
 east) 144.23; (cf. 146.1)

More special in use of *-dat'* are:

honōxdat' last year (*honōx* some time ago)
dewe'nxada't day after to-morrow (*dewe'nxa* to-morrow)
de'da't first, before others 110.5

2. *-xa*. A fairly considerable number of adverbs, chiefly temporal in signification, are found to end in this element. Such are:

hō^uxa yesterday 76.9; 98.21
da-hō^uxa this evening 13.3; 16.15; 63.8; 78.4
dabalni'xa for a long time (cf. *bāl-s* long and *lep'ni'xa* in winter)
 54.4; 108.16
ya'xa continually, only, indeed (cf. post-positive *yā^a* just) 54.5;
 63.3; 78.10
dewe'nxa to-morrow 77.14; 112.15; 130.17; 194.1
dap!a'xa toward daylight, dawn 45.4
de'xa henceforth (cf. *de-* in front of) 196.5
sama'xa in summer (cf. *sa'ma* summer 188.13; verb-stem *sam-g-*
 be summer 92.9) 162.16; 176.13, 15
lep'ni'xa in winter 162.20; 176.15
de-bixi'msa ([?] = *-t-xa*) in spring ([?] cf. *bi'xal* moon)
da-yō^uga'mxa in autumn 186.3
ts'i's'a ([?] = *-t-xa*) at night 182.20
xam'i'xa by the ocean (cf. *xam-* into water) 21.1; 55.1
 (?) *bō^u-nēxa-da^e* soon, immediately (cf. *bō^u* now and *ne^e* well! or
na⁻¹ do) 90.10; 108.2
 (?) *da^ema'xau* far away (for *da^e-* cf. *da^e-o'l* near) 14.3; 188.21; 190.6

In *lep'ni'x* 90.6, a doublet of *lep'ni'xa*, *-xa* appears shortened to *-x*; this *-x* may be found also in *honōx* SOME TIME AGO (cf. *hono'^e* AGAIN). Here perhaps belongs also *da-yawa'nt'i-xi* (adjectival?) IN HALF, ON ONE SIDE (OF TWO) 94.3.

It will be noticed that a number of these adverbs are provided with the prefix *da-* (*de-* before palatal vowels, cf. § 36, 2), the application of which, however, in their case, can not be explained.

3. *-ne'*. A number of adverbs, chiefly those of demonstrative signification, assume a temporal meaning on the addition of *-ne'*, a

¹ See Appendix A, p. 290.

catch intervening between the suffix and the stem. Etymologically *-ne* may be identical with the hortatory particle *ne*^e WELL, LET (US) ———.

Adverb	Temporal
<i>he</i> ^{ee} - there yonder	<i>he</i> ^e <i>ne</i> ['] then, at that time 45.6; 49.14
<i>ge</i> there 14.3; 15.5, 12	<i>ge</i> ^e <i>ne</i> ['] so long 92.10; 198.9
<i>me</i> ^e - hither	<i>me</i> ^e <i>ne</i> ^e at this time 24.14 (cf. also <i>ma</i> ^e <i>na</i> ⁱ around this time 178.4)
<i>e</i> ['] <i>me</i> ^e here 31.3; 192.9	<i>eme</i> ^e <i>ne</i> (<i>yā</i> ^{'a} - <i>hi</i>) (right) here ([?] = now) 190.23
<i>gwi</i> how? 46.2; 78.5	<i>gwi</i> ['] <i>ne</i> some time (elapsed), how long? 44.2; 48.9; 148.7

To this set probably belong also:

xū^e*n*, *xū*[']*ne*['] at night, night 45.3; 46.12; 48.10; 160.22
bē^e*n* by day 166.2 (cf. *bē* sun, day)
hop[']*ē*^e*n* long ago 58.4; 86.7, 9; 192.15; 194.4
xā[']*newi*^{'e} sometimes 132.25
bō^u*nē* now, yet 130.23 (cf. *bō*^u now)

i[']*de*^e*ne*['], which the parallelism of the other forms in *-ne*['] with *de*, monstrative stems leads one to expect, does not happen to occur but probably exists. Curiously enough, *he*^{'e}*ne* not infrequently may be translated as LIKE, particularly with preceding *k'ai* (§ 105):

k'a^{'i} *he*^e*ne* *bēm* something like wood 186.11
k'ai *gwa*^{'a} *he*^{'e}*ne* like various things 196.3

A number of other adverbial suffixes probably occur, but the examples are not numerous enough for their certain determination. Among them is *-ada*[']:

nō^u*gwada*['] some distance down river 54.2 (cf. *nō*^u down river and
nō^u*gwa*['] down river from 75.14)
*hin**wada*['] some distance up river 56.4; 100.18; 102.4 (cf. *hina*^{'u}
up river and *hinwa*['] up river from 77.1)
ha^{'nt}*ada* across the river 98.5; 192.3; (cf. *ha*^{'nt} across, in half)

Several adverbs are found to end in *-(da)da*^e, perhaps to be identified with the *-da*^e of subordinate verb-forms:

bō^u-*nēxada*^e immediately 90.10, 12; 108.2
he^e(*dā*)*dā*^{'e} away from here 92.5; 172.5; 194.10; 196.11

gwel[']-*wāk*[']*wi*^{'e} EARLY IN THE MORNING 44.1; 63.9; 77.14; 190.1 seems to be a specialized verb-form in *-k'i*^e IF, WHENEVER. It is possible that there is an adverbial *-t'* suffix:

gwe^{'nt} in back, behind 94.15
ha^{'nt} across, in half 146.22; 154.9; 192.7

It may be that this *-t'* has regularly dropped off when final in polysyllables:

da^εo'l near 100.15; but *da^εo'lt'i* (= *da^εo'l[t']* + *-hi*) 136.7

§ 113. *Simple Adverbs*

The simple adverbs that are closely associated with demonstrative stems have been already discussed (§ 104). A number of others, partly simple stems and partly unanalyzable derivatives, are listed here, such as have been already listed under adverbial suffixes not being repeated.

1. Local adverbs:

nō^u down river 17.9; 63.1; 124.15

nō^{'uεs} next door ([?] related to *nō^u*) 17.4; 188.2

hina^u up river ([?] compounded with *nō^u*) 22.7; 23.1; 61.13; 192.14

da^εo'l near (cf. *-t'*, § 112, and see § 93) 100.15; 102.6; 126.2

dihau(yā'a) last of all (see § 93) 120.18

gī^{'ie}wa far off 48.8; 192.1

aba'i in the house (cf. § 37, 14) 28.8; 43.13; 140.5

hā^{'ae}ya^a on both sides, mutually (cf. § 37, 5) 172.10; 176.6

2. Temporal adverbs:

bō^u now, to-day 49.13; 50.1; 56.11; 61.11

ha'wi still, yet (cf. § 37, 9) 78.1; 126.21; 192.8; 198.11

bō^unē hawi }
ha'wi bō^une^a } soon 128.18

olo'm (ulu'm) formerly, up to now 43.11; 63.1; 71.15; 166.2

hemdi^a when? 132.24; *a'nī^ε hem* never

mīⁱ now, already (often proclitic to following word) 22.4; 63.1; 190.9

ganē then, and then (often used merely to introduce new statement) 47.14; 63.1, 2, 16

A noteworthy idiomatic construction of adverbs or phrases of temporal signification is their use as quasi-substantives with forms of *lā^alīⁱ*- BECOME. Compare such English substantivized temporal phrases as AFTERNOON. Examples are:

sama'xa lāp'k' in-summer it-has-become 92.11

hayē^εwa'xdā^ada lā^alē^a in-their-returning it-became (=it became time for them to return) 124.15

habēbini diha'-uda lā^alīt'a^ε noon after-it when-it-became (=when it was afternoon) 186.8

3. Negative and affirmative adverbs:

hit' no 134.19, 21*ha'-u* yes 24.13; 64.1; 170.12*a'nĩ^ε* not (with aorist) 23.3, 6; 64.3; 78.1*a'ndi* not? 56.10; 90.26 (e. g., *a'ndi k'ai* are there not any?) 56.8*nĩⁱ* not? (with following subordinate): *s'-nĩⁱ naga'sbinda^ε* didn't

I tell you? 136.10

naga-di' do (you) not? 116.12*wede* not (with inferential and potential) 25.13; 122.22, 23

4. Modal adverbs:

hono'^ε (rarely heard as *honō^εn* 74.8; this is very likely its original form, cf. *-^εn* for *-ne*, § 112, 3) again, too, also 22.4; 58.5; 134.1*ganga* only 54.4; 94.5; *ganga'-hi* anyhow 94.8; 142.13; *ganga-s-i'^ε* just so, for fun*wana'* even 47.10; 61.3; 71.8; 76.4; 186.2*yaxā'a^{wa}* however (cf. *yaxa*, § 114, 9; for *-wa* cf. *gĩ'^{iε}wa*, § 113, 1) 72.11; 74.15*ha'ga* explanatory particle used with inferential 28.10; 45.11 (e. g., *ga haga wa'la^ε yu'k'* so that one was really he 170.8)*nak!a'* in every way, of all sorts (e. g., *k'adi' nak!a^ε a'nĩ^ε ĩgĩ'nan* what kind was not taken?, i. e., every kind was taken 60.11)*yewē* perhaps 136.23; 180.8; 196.18*s'o^ε*, *s'ō^{uε}* perfectly, well 136.20; 166.1 (e. g., *s'o^ε de'gwa'lt'gwĩ'p'* take good care of yourself! 128.24)*amadi'(s-i'^ε)* would that! 142.10 (e. g., *amadi's-i'^ε t!omoma'^εn* I wish I could kill him; *amadi loho'i^ε* would that he died! 196.2)*wi'sa^εm* (cf. *wis*, § 114, 8) I wonder if 150.2, 3 (e. g., *mĩⁱ wi'sa^εm ya'^ε* I wonder if he went already)

It is a characteristic trait of Takelma, as of many other American languages, that such purely modal ideas as the optative (WOULD THAT!) and dubitative (I WONDER IF) are expressed by independent adverbs without modification of the indicative verb-form (cf. further *wi^εobiha'n ye'ewa'εt' wi'sa^εm* MY-ELDER-BROTHERS THEY-WILL-RETURN I-WONDER-IF 150.2, 3).

Several of the adverbs listed above can be used relatively with subordinates, in which use they may be looked upon as conjunctive adverbs:

*bō^u-gwan*¹ (1) *yā'ania'-uda^ε* (2) *bai-yeweya'k'^w* (3) as soon as (1) they went (2), she took him out again (3) 128.20*yewē* (1) *xebe'yagwanaga'm* (2) *yewē* (3) *wā'ada* (4) *hiwili'u^ε* (5) perhaps (1) that we destroy him (2), perhaps (3) he runs (5)¹ Probably compounded of *bō^u* NOW and *gan(i)* NOW, THEN, AND THEN.

to her (4) (=should we destroy him, perhaps he would run to her)

waya' (1) *he^εne'* (2) *de-k'iwī'k'auk'wanma^ε* (3) *ga* (4) *na^εnāk'ik'*
(5) just as (2) a knife (1) is brandished (3), that (4) he did
with it (5) 172.12 (cf. *he^εne'* in its meaning of LIKE, §112, 3)

§ 114. *Particles*

By particles are here meant certain uninflected elements that have little or no meaning of their own, but that serve either to connect clauses or to color by some modal modification the word to which they are attached. They are never met with at the beginning of a clause or sentence, but occur only postpositively, generally as enclitics. Some of the elements listed above as modal adverbs (§ 113, 4) might also be considered as syntactic particles (e. g., *wana*, *ha'ga*, *nak!a'*, which never stand at the beginning of a clause); these, however, show no tendency to be drawn into the verb-complex. Whenever particles qualify the clause as a whole, rather than any particular word in the clause, they tend to occupy the second place in the sentence, a tendency that, as we have seen (p. 65), causes them often to be inserted, but not organically incorporated, into the verb-complex. The most frequently occurring particles are those listed below:

1. *yā'a* JUST. This element is not dissimilar in meaning to the post-nominal emphasizing *-εa'* (§ 102), but differs from it in that it may be embedded in the verb-form:

ī-yā'a-sge^εt'sga't' he just twisted it to one side 31.5

It only rarely follows a verb-form, however, showing a strong tendency to attach itself to denominating terms. Though serving generally to emphasize the preceding word, it does not seem to involve, like *-εa'*, the idea of a contrast:

xā^a-xo yā'a right among firs (cf. 94.17)

he^εne yā'a just then, then indeed 63.13; 128.22; 188.1, 18

dō^umābin yā'a I shall just kill you 178.15

It has at times a comparative force:

gī yā'a na^εnada'^ε you will be, act, just like me (cf. 196.2)

2. *hi*. This constantly occurring enclitic is somewhat difficult to define. With personal pronouns it is used as an emphatic particle:

ma' hi you yourself (cf. 104.13; 152.20)

Similarly with demonstratives:

ga' hi just that, the same 64.6; 96.16; 144.3; 190.21

In such cases it is rather difficult to draw the line between it and *yā'a*,¹ to which it may be appended:

ga yā'a hi gwelda' just under that 190.17

han-yā'a-hi bā'a-t'e'ex just across the river she emerged 58.3

As emphasizing particle it may even be appended to subordinate verb forms and to local phrases:

yānt'e'da' hi just as I went (cf. 138.23; 152.5, 7)

dīha-udē hi right behind me, as soon as I had gone

It may be enclitically attached to other particles, *yā'a-hi* 192.1 being a particularly frequent combination:

gī yaxa'-hi I, however, indeed 71.8

Its signification is not always, however, so specific nor its force so strong. All that can be said of it in many cases is that it mildly calls attention to the preceding word without, however, specially emphasizing it; often its force is practically nil. This lack of definite signification is well illustrated in the following lullaby, in the second line of which it serves merely to preserve the rhythm -'~:

mo'xo wa'inhā buzzard, put him to sleep!

s'ī'mhi wa'inhā (?) put him to sleep!

p'e'lda wa'inhā slug, put him to sleep!

The most important syntactic function of *hi* is to make a verbal prefix an independent word, and thus take it out of its proper place in the verb:

de'-hi ahead (from *de-* in front) 33.15; 64.3; 196.1; 198.12

ha'n-hi ei-sāk'w across he-canoe-paddled

but:

ei-han-sāk'w he-canoe-across-paddled 112.9, 18; 114.11

where *han-*, as an incorporated local prefix, takes its place after the object *ei*. A number of adverbs always appear with suffixed *hi*; e. g., *gasa'lhi* QUICKLY 16.10. Like *-a'*, from which it differs, however, in its far greater mobility, *hi* is never found appended to non-subordinate predicative forms. With *hi* must not be confused:

¹ The various shades of emphasis contributed by *-a'*, *yā'a*, *hi*, and *-s'ī'*, respectively, are well illustrated in *ma'a'* YOU, BUT YOU (as contrasted with others); *ma yā'a* JUST YOU, YOU INDEED (simple emphasis without necessary contrast); *ma' hi* YOU YOURSELF; *mas'ī'* AND YOU, YOU IN YOUR TURN (108.13)

3. *-hi^ε*. This particle is found appended most frequently to introductory words in the sentence, such as *mīⁱ*, *ganē*, and other adverbs, and to verb-forms:

mīⁱ-hi^ε t'aga'^{iε} then he returned 62.2; (cf. 188.15)

ganē-hi^ε aba-i-gini'^εk' and then he went into the house 55.16

naga'-i-hi^ε = naga'^{iε} he said + *-hi^ε* (see § 22) 22.6; 57.1; 128.15; 192.9

As no definite meaning can be assigned to it, and as it is found only in myth narration, it is highly probable that it is to be interpreted as a quotative:

ga naga'sa^εn-hi^ε that they said to each other, it is said 27.1, 3; 31.9

-hi^ε is also found attached to a verbal prefix (22.1; 140.8, 22, 23).

4. *-s'i^ε* AND, BUT. This is one of the most frequently occurring particles in Takelma narration, its main function being to bind together two clauses or sentences, particularly when a contrast is involved. It is found appended to nouns or pronouns as deictic or connective suffix:

āks'i^ε he in his turn 61.11; (cf. 47.14; 104.8, 13)

halk' sgi'sidi'l mēxs'i^ε Panther and Coyote, also Crane

An example of its use as sentence connector is:

ga nagañhan ha-t'gā^odē hop!ē^εn, bōu-s'i^ε eme'^ε a'nī^ε ga naga'n that used-to-be-said in-my-country long-ago, now-but here not that is-said 194.4; (cf. 60.9; 118.3; 122.17)

-s'i^ε is particularly frequently suffixed to the demonstratives *ga* THAT and *aga* THIS, *gas'i^ε* and *agas'i^ε* serving to connect two sentences, the second of which is the temporal or logical resultant or antithesis of the second. Both of the connected or contrasted sentences may be introduced by *gas'i^ε*, *agas'i^ε*, or by a word with enclitically attached *-s'i^ε*. In an antithesis *agas'i^ε* seems to introduce the nearer, while *gas'i^ε* is used to refer to the remoter act. Examples showing the usage of *gas'i^ε* and *agas'i^ε* are:

gas'i^ε de'el ha-de-dilt'a dī-būmā'^{ak} (I smoked them out), and-then (or so-that) yellow-jackets everywhere swarmed 73.10

k'aiwi'^ε t!omoma'nda^ε gas'i^ε gayawa't'p' something I-having-killed-it, thereupon you-ate-it 90.8

gas'i^ε gūxda hūliū'n wa-iwī'ⁱ t!omxi'xas'i^ε aba'i on-one-hand his-wife (was a) sea woman, her-mother-in-law-but (lived) in-the-house 154.15

agas'i^ε yō'k!wat'k' yā'a xu'ma-s'i^ε a'nī^ε de'ügü's'i now my-bones just (I was) (i. e., I was reduced to a skeleton), food-and not she-gave-me-to-eat 186.1

agas'i^ε a'nī^ε mī'εwa al-t!eye'xi naga'is^ε yulum'a' aga's'i^ε xamk' wa-iwī'i mī' al-t!ayāk'wa on-one-hand "Not probably she-has-discovered-me," he-said Eagle-for-his-part, but Grizzly-Bear girl now she-had-discovered him 124.9

gas'i^ε and *agas'i^ε* as syntactic elements are not to be confused with the demonstratives *ga* and *aga* to which a connective *-s'i^ε* happens to be attached. This is shown by:

ga-s'i^ε ga'al that-so for (= so for that reason)

where *ga'al* is a postposition to *ga*. There is nothing to prevent post-nominal *-s'i^ε* from appearing in the same clause:

aga's'i^ε mēls'i^ε but Crow-in-her-turn 162.14

When suffixed to the otherwise non-occurring demonstrative *εi-* (perhaps contained in *īda-* THAT) it has a concessive force, DESPITE, ALTHOUGH, EVEN IF 60.1:

εi's'i^ε-hi s'om ga'al ha-de-dilt'a wit' a'nī^ε al-t!aya'k' p!iyi'n although-indeed mountain to everywhere he-went, not he-found deer 43.6

i's'i^ε ts!aya'k' a'nī^ε t!omōm gūxdagwa although he-shot-at-her, not he-killed-her his-own-wife 140.17

-hi^ε (see no. 3) or connective *-s'i^ε* may be added to *εi's'i^ε*, the resulting forms, with catch dissimilation (see § 22), being *εi's'ihi^ε* and *εi's'is'i^ε* 47.11; 148.12. When combined with the idea of unfulfilled action, the concessive *εis'i^ε* is supplemented by the conditional form in *-k'i^ε* of the verb:

εi's'i^ε k'a'i gwala nāxbiyauk'i^ε, wede ge li'wa't' even-though things many they-should-say-to-you (i. e., even though they call you names), not there look! 60.3

Compounded with *-s'i^ε* is the indefinite particle:

5. *-s'i^εwa'k'di* 64.5. When appended to interrogatives, this particle brings about the corresponding indefinite meaning (see § 105), but it has also a more general syntactic usage, in which capacity it may be translated as PERCHANCE, IT SEEMS, PROBABLY:

ma's'i^εwak'di henenagwa't' perhaps (or probably) you ate it all up 26.17

The uncompounded *wak'di* also occurs:

ulu'm wô'k'di k'ai nâk'am formerly I-guess something it-was said to him 166.1

ga wa'k'di hogwa'êsdâ^a that-one, it-seems, (was) their-runner 49.3

Similar in signification is:

6. *mî^{ie}wa* PROBABLY, PERHAPS 45.8; 63.15. This enclitic has a considerable tendency to apparently be incorporated in the verb:

î-mî^{ie}wa-t!âût!iwin maybe he was caught (*î-t!âût!iwin* he was caught)

xa^e-î-mî^{ie}wa-sg'îbi^{en} mü^{ue}xda'n hi I'll-probably-cut-him-in-two once just 31.13

7. *his, hî's* NEARLY, ALMOST, TRYING 44.7; 56.14. This element implies that the action which was done or attempted failed of success:

mîⁱ hono^e t!omôk'wa-his māl then also he-killed-him nearly spear-shaft (personified), i. e., spear-shaft almost managed to kill him, as he had killed others 28.11; (cf. 188.20)

A frequent Takelma idiom is the use of *hî's* with a form of the verb of SAYING *na(g)-* to imply a thought or intention on the part of the subject of the *na(g)-* form that fails to be realized:

"ha-xiya' mîⁱwa sgâ'at'ap'de^e" naga^{ie}-hî's "in-the-water probably I-shall-jump," he thought (but he really fell among alder-bushes and was killed) 94.17

Sometimes *his* seems to have a usitative signification; probably the main point implied is that an act once habitual has ceased to be so:

dak-his-t'ek!e'êxade^e I used to smoke (but no longer do)

8. *wis, wî's* IT SEEMS, DOUBTLESS. This particle is used to indicate a likely inference. Examples are:

mîⁱ-wis dap^eâ'la-u moyûgwana'n now-it-seems youth he's-to-be-spoiled (seeing that he's to wrestle with a hitherto invincible one) 31.12

mîⁱ wî's âk!a t!omoma'n now apparently he-for-his-part he-has-been-killed (seeing that he does not return) 88.9,(6)

9. *yaxa* CONTINUALLY, ONLY. The translation given for *yaxa* is really somewhat too strong and definite, its force being often so weak as hardly to allow of an adequate rendering into English. It

often does not seem to imply more than simple existence or action unaccompanied and undisturbed. It is found often with the scarcely translatable adverb *ganga* ONLY, in which case the idea of unvaried continuance comes out rather strongly, e. g.:

ga'-hi yaxa ganga naga'^{ie} that-indeed continually only he-said (i. e., he always kept saying that) 24.15

From *ganga* it differs in the fact that it is often attracted into the verb-complex:

ganga ge'l-yaxa-hewe'hau only he-is-continually-thinking (i. e., he is always thinking) (cf. 128.18; 146.15)

10. *wala'^ε(sina^ε)* REALLY, COME TO FIND OUT 45.11; 170.8. As indicated in the translation, *wala'^ε* indicates the more or less unexpected resolution of a doubt or state of ignorance:

ga haga wala'^ε wili wa^ε-i-t!a'nik' that-one so really house he-kept-it (i. e., it was Spear-shaft himself who kept house, no one else) 28.10

Certain usages of *wala'^εsi(na^ε)*, evidently an amplification of *wala'^ε*, have been already discussed (§ 70).

11. *di* INTERROGATIVE. The interrogative enclitic is consistently used in all cases where an interrogative shade of meaning is present, whether as applying to a particular word, such as an interrogative pronoun or adverb, or to the whole sentence. Its use in indirect questions is frequent:

mān t'ī'is mixel di' t!omomana'^ε he-counted gophers how-many had-been-killed

The use of the interrogative is often merely rhetorical, implying an emphatic negative:

k'a-di' ma wili wa^ε-i-t!a'nida^ε literally, what you house you-will-keep? (=you shall not keep house) 27.16; (cf. 33.1; 47.9)

Ordinarily *di* occupies the second place in the sentence, less frequently the third:

yū'k!alxde^ε mī' di' εa'nī^ε k'a'i your-teeth now (inter.) not any (i. e., have you no teeth?) 128.23

Besides these syntactically and modally important enclitic particles, there are a few proclitics of lesser significance. Among these are to be included *mī'* NOW and *ganē* THEN, AND THEN, which, though they have been included among the temporal adverbs and may

indeed, at times, convey a definite temporal idea, are generally weak unaccented introducers of a clause, and have little determinable force:

ganē ya'^ε then he went 92.26; 118.19; 152.7

mī' loho'^{ie} then he died 71.13; 98.19; 122.13

The proclitic *ne*^ε WELL! is used chiefly as introductory to a hortatory statement:

ne^ε *gō'm-s'i'*^ε *dak'-s'inī'ida nabā'*^{ae} *ha'n* let us-in-our-turn over-his-nose let-us-do (i. e., let us pass over him!) 144.11

ne^ε *t!omoma'*^{en} let me kill him. (cf. 96.4)

§ 115. VII. Interjections

Of interjections and other words of an emotional character there are quite a number in Takelma. Some of them, while in no sense of definite grammatical form, are based on noun or verb stems. Not a few involve sounds otherwise foreign to the language (e. g., nasalized vowels [expressed by ⁿ], *ä* as in English BAT, *â* as in SAW, *dj* as in JUDGE, voiceless palatal *l* [written *ł*], final fortis consonant); prolongation of vowels and consonants (expressed by +) and repetition of elements are frequently used.

The material obtained may be classified as follows:

1. PARTICLES OF ADDRESS:

ama' come on! 96.24

hene' away from here! get away! 148.8, 10, 11, 13, 14

dit'gwālam O yes! (with idea of pity) 29.13; *dit'gwā'*^{aelam} *wi'wā* my poor younger brother! 64.4

ha-i' used by men in talking to each other

ha'ik!ā' used by women in talking to each other (cf. *ha-ik!ā* wife! husband!)

2. SIMPLE INTERJECTIONS (expressing fundamental emotions):

ā + surprise, generally joyful; weeping 28.5; 58.2; 150.2

ä; ä'; εä; εä' sudden surprise at new turn; sudden resolve 28.6; 29.7; 55.7; 78.9

a'^ε sudden halt at perceiving something not noticed before 26.12

o' doubt, caution 136.23

ō + sudden recollection; admiration, wonderment; call 92.9; 138.19; 188.17, 19

â + fear, wonder 17.3

εee; εe' displeasure 27.16; 32.9; 33.6; 122.12

εè; hè + (both hoarsely whispered) used by mythological characters (crane, snake) on being roused to attention 122.10; 148.17, 18

hē + ; *ē* + call 59.2; 73.7; 75.10; 76.8

εen^ε; *εen* disapproval, "what's up?", sarcasm 28.11; 32.10

εEn *εEn* protest 112.6, 11; 114.3, 6, 13; *εE'n*, *εE'n* decided displeasure 198.2

heⁿ scorn, threat 140.9; 152.14

enⁿ sniffing suspiciously 160.20

Eⁿε *Eⁿε* *Eⁿε* *Eⁿε* smelling suspiciously 124.23

dja^ε disapproval, warning 156.18

m + *m* + gentle warning, pity 29.8; 31.11, 14

hm + *hm* + reviving hope (?) 32.3

wä + *wä* + (loudly whispered) cry for help 29.12

ha-i alas! 62.4, 7

Aⁿ + groan 182.11

ho'ε (hoarsely whispered) on being wounded 190.24

hā' *hā* *hā* groans on being wounded 192.10

he' *he* *he* *he* laughter 118.22; 120.6

Those that follow have a prefixed *s*- frequently used by Coyote.

They are probably characteristic of this character (see also 71.14; 90.12).

s'εe'hehehe derisive laughter 71.7; 72.11; 73.15; 74.15

s'be'p^ε sharp anger 86.6, 22, 24

s'bè' + ^u call for some one to come 92.1

c'εa'i say there, you! 92.18, 21

s'gā + sorrow 100.3

3. SET CALLS (including cries in formulas and myths):

p'ä + (loudly whispered) war-whoop 190.15

bä + *bä* + (loudly whispered and held out long) war-whoop

136.26 *bä wä' äü wä' äü* (loudly whispered) war-whoop

110.19 *gwä' lä lä lä lä* (loudly whispered) war-whoop on slaying one of enemy

wä wä wä cry to urge on deer to corral

bō + yelling at appearance of new moon 196.5

hä + ; *bä* + (both loudly whispered) urging on to run 46.5, 7; 47.6; 48.1, 3, 9; 49.3

h^w + blowing before exercising supernatural power 96.19, 20, 22; 198.7

p' + blowing in exercising supernatural power 77.9

p'^w + blowing water on person to resuscitate him 170.3

hě blowing preparatory to medicine-formula addressed to wind 198.4

do' do do do do do cry (of ghosts) on catching fire 98.4 (cf. *Yana du' du du du' du du*)

ximī' + ximi cry of rolling skull 174.5, 6

- ō'* + *da da da da da* cry of people running away from rolling skull 174.9, 10
do'łhi dolhi' taunt (of Pitch to Coyote) 86.2, 8, 10, 17, 21, 23; 88. 1, 2
da'ldalwaya da ldalwaya da'ldalwaya formula for catching crawfish (explained in myth as derived from *dalda'l* dragon-fly) 29.14, 16
wi'lik'isi "cut off!" (cf. *wi'li'i* his stone knife 142.21) Chicken-Hawk's cry for revenge 144.1
sgilbibī' + i x "come warm yourself!" 25.7 (cf. *sgili'pxde* I warm myself 25.8)
gewe'ek'ewee (cf. *gewe'k'iwi'en* I hold [salmon] bow-fashion) said by Pitch when Coyote is stuck to him 88.5, 9, 11, 12
p'idi-t-p'ā'st p'idit'k "O my liver!" (cf. *p'ā'st p'id-i* salmon liver) cry of Grizzly Bear on finding she has eaten her children's livers 120.19, 20

The last three show very irregular types of reduplication, not otherwise found.

4. ANIMAL CRIES AND IMITATIVE SOUNDS:

- wa'yanī* cry of Jack-Rabbit 108.9, 14, 17
(s')ha'u, ha'u cry of Grizzly Bear 106.12, 19; 140.12
wā' + u (hoarse) death-cry of Grizzly Bear woman 142.3
hā^u Bear's cry 72.15
p'āk' p'āk' "bathe! bathe!" supposed cry of crow
bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' sound made by Woodpecker 90.11; 92.2 (cf. *ba'k'bā^a* red-headed woodpecker 92.2)
p!au p!au p!au p!au p!au p!au sound made by Yellowhammer 90.19
bum + bum + noise made by rolling skull 174.4
te'e'lelelele (whispered) sound of rattling dentalia 156.24 (cf. aorist stem *te'elem-* rattle)
t'ut t'ut t'ut noise made by Rock Boy in walking over graveyard house 14.8
dem + dem + dem + noise of men fighting 24.1
xa'-u (whispered) noise of crackling hair as it burns 24.8
t'gi'l imitating sound of something breaking 24.4 (cf. *xa-dāⁿ-t'gił-t'ga'łhi* he broke it in two with rock 24.4)
t'ut' t'ut' t'ut' noise of pounding acorns 26.12
bak! "pop!" stick stuck into eye 27.8
huⁿ + confused noise of people talking far off 190.7
k!i'didididi sound of men wrestling 32.14

5. SONG BURDENS:

- wa'yawene tō'uwana* medicine-man's dance 46.14
wainhā round dance; lullaby (cf. *waīnha* put him to sleep!) 104.15; 106.4, 8; 105 note

kl'i'xinhī round dance (said by Frog) 102.18

°o'cu °o'cu round dance (said by Frog) 102.23

gwa'tca gwatca round dance (said by Bluejay) 104.7

tc!a'itc!ā round dance (play on *tc!a'ie* bluejay) 104.7

be'behinibi'a round dance (said by Mouse; play on *bebe'n* rushes)
104.10

beleldō round dance (play on *belp'* swan) 104.15

bi'gi bi'gi bi'gī + Skunk's medicine-man's dance ([?] play on
bik'w skunk) 164.18, 22; 166.5

hā'egwatci hā'egwatci said by *s'omloho'lxas* in doctoring

§ 116. CONCLUSION

The salient morphologic characteristics of Takelma may be summed up in the words INFLECTIVE and INCORPORATING, the chief stress being laid on either epithet according as one attaches greater importance to the general method employed in the formation of words and forms and their resulting inner coherence and unity, or to the particular grammatical treatment of a special, though for many American languages important, syntactic relation, the object. Outside of most prefixed elements and a small number of the post-nominal suffixes, neither of which enter organically into the inner structure of the word-form, the Takelma word is a firmly knit morphologic unit built up of a radical base or stem and one or more affixed (generally suffixed) elements of almost entirely formal, not material, signification.

It would be interesting to compare the structure of Takelma with that of the neighboring languages; but a lack, at the time of writing, of published material on the Kalapuya, Coos, Shasta, Achomawi, and Karok makes it necessary to dispense with such comparison. With the Athapascan dialects of southwest Oregon, the speakers of which were in close cultural contact with the Takelmas, practically no agreements of detail are traceable. Both Takelma and Athapascan make a very extended idiomatic use of a rather large number of verbal prefixes, but the resemblance is probably not a far-reaching one. While the Athapascan prefixes are etymologically distinct from the main body of lexical material and have reference chiefly to position and modes of motion, a very considerable number of the Takelma prefixes are intimately associated, etymologically and functionally, with parts of the body. In the verb the two languages agree in the incorporation of the pronominal subject and

object, but here again the resemblance is only superficial. In Athapascan the pronominal elements are phonetically closely combined with the verbal prefixes and stand apart from the following verb-stem, which never, or very rarely, loses its monosyllabic individuality. In Takelma the pronominal elements, together with the derivative affixes, enter into very close combination with the preceding verb-stem, but stand severely aloof from the verbal prefixes. The radical phonetic changes which the verb-stem undergoes for tense in both languages is perhaps the most striking resemblance between the two; but even in this regard they differ widely as to the methods employed. Neither the very extended use of reduplication in Takelma, nor the frequent use in Athapascan of distinct verb-stems for the singular and plural, is shared by the other. Add to this the fact that the phonetic systems of Athapascan and Takelma are more greatly divergent than would naturally be expected of neighboring languages, and it becomes clear that the opinion that has generally been held, though based on practically no evidence, in regard to the entirely distinct characteristics of the two linguistic stocks, is thoroughly justified.

The entire lack of nominal cases in Takelma and the lack of pronominal incorporation in Klamath indicate at the outset the fundamental morphologic difference between these stocks. In so far as nominal cases and lack of pronominal incorporation are made the chief morphologic criteria of the central Californian group of linguistic families, as represented, say, by Maidu and Yokuts, absolutely no resemblance is discernible between those languages and Takelma. As far, then, as available linguistic material gives opportunity for judgment, Takelma stands entirely isolated among its neighbors.

In some respects Takelma is typically American, in so far as it is possible at all to speak of typical American linguistic characteristics. Some of the more important of these typical or at any rate widespread American traits, that are found in Takelma, are: the incorporation of the pronominal (and nominal) object in the verb; the incorporation of the possessive pronouns in the noun; the closer association with the verb-form of the object than the subject; the inclusion of a considerable number of instrumental and local modifications in the verb-complex; the weak development of differences of tense in the verb and of number in the verb and noun; and the impossibility of drawing a sharp line between mode and tense.

Of the more special grammatical characteristics, some of which are nearly unparalleled in those languages of North America that have been adequately studied, are: a system of pitch-accent of fairly considerable, though probably etymologically secondary, formal significance; a strong tendency in the verb, noun, adjective, and adverb toward the formation of dissyllabic stems with repeated vowel (e. g., aorist stem *yowo-* BE; verb-stem *loho-* DIE; noun *moxo'* BUZZARD; adjective *hos'ōu* [plural] GETTING BIG; adverb *olo'm* FORMERLY); a very considerable use of end reduplication, initial reduplication being entirely absent; the employment of consonant and vowel changes as a grammatical process; the use in verbs, nouns, and adjectives of prefixed elements, identical with body-part noun stems, that have reference now to parts of the body, now to purely local relations; the complicated and often irregular modifications of a verbal base for the formation of the most generalized tense, the aorist; the great differentiation of pronominal schemes according to syntactic relation, class of verb or noun, and tense-mode, despite the comparatively small number of persons (only five—two singular, two plural, and one indifferent); the entire lack in the noun and pronoun of cases (the subjective and objective are made unnecessary by the pronominal and nominal incorporation characteristic of the verb; the possessive, by the formal use of possessive pronoun affixes; and the local cases, by the extended use of pre-positives and postpositions); the existence in the noun of characteristic suffixes that appear only with pre-positives and possessive affixes; the fair amount of distinctness that the adjective possesses as contrasted with both verb and noun; the use of a decimal system of numeration, tertiary or quinary in origin; and a rather efficient though simple syntactic apparatus of subordinating elements and well-modulated enclitic particles. Altogether Takelma has a great deal that is distinct and apparently even isolated about it. Though typical in its most fundamental features, it may, when more is known of American languages as a whole, have to be considered a very specialized type.

APPENDIX A 1. Comparative Table of Pronominal Forms

	Singular				Plural	
	First person	Second person	Third person	First person	Second person	
Aor. subj. intr. I	-t' e ^e	-(a')t'	—	-t' k'	-(a')t' p'	
Aor. subj. intr. II	-t' e ^e	-t' am	—, -t'	-(p')t' k'	-t' ap'	
Fut. subj. intr. I	-t' e ^e	-(a)da't	-(a')t'	-(i)ga'm	-(a')t' ba ^e	
Fut. subj. intr. II	-t' e ^e	-t' a ^e	-t' āa	-(p')igam	-t' abas	
Pr. imper.		—		-(a)ba ^e	-(a')np', -p'	
Fut. imper. intr. I and trans.		-(a')t' k'				
Fut. imper. intr. II		-(p')ga ^e m				
Aor. subj. trans.	-(a')n	-(a')t'	—	-(a)nak'	-(a')t' p'	
Fut. subj. trans.	-(a')n	-(a)da't	-(a')t' k'	-(a)nagam	-(a')t' ba ^e	
Infer. subj.	-k' a ^e	-k' e ^e t'	-k'	-k' a ^e nak'	-k' e ^e t' p'	
Obj. trans.	-i	-bi	—	-am	-anp'	
Poss. with pre-positives	-dē	-da ^e	-da	-da'm	-daba ^e n, -t' e ^e ban	
Poss. relationship	wi	-t' e ^e	-na, -a	-da'm	-t' e ^e ban	
Poss. II	-dēk'	-dē	-dāa	-da'm	-daba ^e n	
Poss. III	-t' k'	-t' e ^e	-t', -t'	-da'm	-t' e ^e ban	
Independent pronouns	gīt	ma	āak' (pl. āi)	gōum	māop'	

2. Scheme of 7 Voices in 6 Tense-Modes (2d per. sing. of *dink!*- SPREAD)

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Potential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Trans. (2d per. subj.) . . .	<i>dí'nik'lať</i>	<i>dink'laďa'e</i>	<i>dí'nek' ečl'</i>	<i>dí'nik'lať</i>	<i>dí'nek'</i>	<i>dí'nik'lačk'</i>
Passive	<i>dí'ničzbin</i>	<i>dinečzba'e</i>	<i>dí'nečzbigam</i>	<i>dí'nečzbin</i>		
Act. intr.	<i>dí'ničrat'</i>	<i>dinečrada'e</i>	<i>dí'nečrak' ečl'</i>	<i>dí'nečrat'</i>	<i>dí'neča</i>	<i>dí'nečak'</i>
Reflexive	<i>dí'ničk'widam</i>	<i>dí'nek'widač</i>	<i>dí'nek'wip'k' ečl'</i>	<i>dí'nek'widam</i>	<i>dí'nek'wip'</i>	<i>dí'nek'wip'gačm</i>
Recipr. (pl.)	<i>dí'ničzant'p'</i>	<i>dí'nečzant'bač</i>	<i>dí'nek'ant' ečl' p'</i>	<i>dí'nečant'p'</i>		
Non-agentive	<i>dí'ničadam</i>	<i>dí'nečdač</i>	<i>dí'nečk' ečl'</i>	<i>dí'nečdam</i>	<i>dí'neč</i>	<i>dí'nečgačm</i>
Positional	<i>dink'lič'am</i>	<i>dink'la' sdač</i>	<i>dí'nik'lačk' ečl'</i>	<i>dink'la' sdam</i>		

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

A. Intransitive

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:						
1st per.	<i>nagaŋt'e^s</i>	<i>na't'ee</i>	<i>na't'e^s</i>	<i>na'k'a^s</i>	<i>na'</i>	<i>na'e'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>nagaŋt'</i>	<i>nada'e^s</i>	<i>na't'</i>	<i>na'k!ēit</i>		
3d per.	<i>naga'is</i>	<i>na'et'</i>	<i>na'e^s</i>	<i>na'k'</i>		
Plural:						
1st per.	<i>nagayit'k'</i>	<i>naga'm</i>	(?) <i>nayit'k'</i>	<i>na'k'ana'k'</i>	<i>nabā'oe(ha'n)</i>	
2d per.	<i>nagaŋt'p'</i>	<i>na't'ba^s</i>	<i>na't'p'</i>	<i>na'k!ēit'p'</i>	<i>na'np'</i>	
Imper.	<i>neey'e^s</i> (sub- ordinate <i>neye'eda^s</i> or <i>nē'ida^s</i>)	<i>neeyāŋk'is</i> (conditional)				

FREQUENTATIVE

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
1st per.	<i>naga^sna'k'de^s</i>	<i>naŋt'ee</i>	<i>naŋk'a^s</i>	<i>naŋha</i>	<i>naŋha'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>naga^snigiti'</i>	<i>nanada'e^s 1</i>	<i>naŋk!ēit'</i>		
3d per.	<i>naga^snā'oe'k'</i>	<i>nana'et' 1</i>	<i>naŋk' 2</i>		
Plural:					
1st per.	<i>naga^snigiti'k'</i>	<i>nanaga'm 1</i>	<i>naŋk'ana'k'</i>	<i>nanaba^s</i>	<i>naŋhamp'</i>
2d per.	<i>naga^snigiti'p'</i>	<i>nana't'ba^s 1</i>	<i>naŋk!ēit'p'</i>	<i>naŋhamp'</i>	
Imper.	<i>neenā'u^s</i>				

¹ These forms are to be carefully distinguished from *na^s-nada^s*, *na^s-na'et'*, and so forth (see §69). It is of course possible to have also *na^s-naŋt'ee*, *na^s-nanada^s*, and so forth.

² Also *naŋkak'* is found, so that it is probable that doublets exist for other non-aorist forms, e. g., *naŋhada^s*, *naŋhaba^s*.

B. Transitive

Aorist

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>naga'sbiten</i>	<i>naga'en</i>	<i>naga'simit'</i> <i>naga'sam</i>	<i>naga'sanba^sn</i>
2d per.	<i>nege's'dam</i>		<i>naga't'</i>		
3d per.	<i>nege's'i</i>	<i>naga'sbi</i>	<i>naga'</i>		<i>naga'sanp'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nagasbina'k'</i>	<i>nagana'k'</i>	<i>naga'simit'p'</i>	<i>naga'sanbana'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>nege's'dap'</i>		<i>naga't'p'</i>		

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

Future

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nāxbin</i>	<i>nāgi'n</i>		<i>nāzanban</i>
2d per.	<i>nēxda^s</i>		<i>nāk'ida^s</i>	<i>nāximida^s</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēzink'</i>	<i>nāxbink'</i>	<i>nāk'ink'</i>	<i>nāzamank'</i>	<i>nāzanbank'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nāxbinagam</i>	<i>nāginaga'm</i>		<i>nāzanbanagam</i>
2d per.	<i>nēxdaba^s</i>		<i>nāgi't'ba^s</i>	<i>nāximit'ba^s</i>	
Imper. condit.	<i>nēziauk'ie</i>	<i>nāxbiauk'ie</i>			

Inferential

Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nāxbiga^s</i>	<i>nāk'iga^s</i>		<i>nāzamp'ga^s</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzik!ēt'</i>		<i>nāk'ik!ēt'</i>	<i>nāzank!ēt'</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēzik'</i>	<i>nāxbik'</i>	<i>nāk'ik'</i>	<i>nāzank'</i>	<i>nāzamp'k'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nāxbigana'k'</i>	<i>nāk'igana'k'</i>		<i>nāzamp'gana'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzik!ēt'p'</i>		<i>nāk'ik!ēt'p'</i>	<i>nāzank!ēt'p'</i>	

Potential

Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nāxbiⁿ</i>	<i>nāgiⁿ</i>		<i>nāzanbaⁿ</i>
2d per.	<i>nēxdam</i>		<i>nāk'it'</i>	<i>nāximū'</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēzi</i>	<i>nāxbi</i>	<i>nāk'i</i>	<i>nāzam</i>	<i>nāzamp'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nāxbinak'</i>	<i>nāk'inak'</i>		<i>nāzanbana'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>nēxdap'</i>		<i>nāk'it'p'</i>	<i>nāximūt'p'</i>	

Present Imperative

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>nēxi</i>		<i>nāk'i</i>	<i>nāzam</i>	
Plural:					
1st per.			<i>nāk'iba^s</i>		
2d per.	<i>nēxip'</i>		<i>nāk'ip'</i>	<i>nāzamp'</i>	

Future Imperative

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>nēxgc^m</i>		<i>nāgi'ek'</i>		

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

Passive

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential
Singular:				
1st per.	<i>nege's'in</i>	<i>nēxina^s</i>	<i>nēxin</i>	<i>nēzigam</i>
2d per.	<i>naga'sbin</i>	<i>nāxbina^s</i>	<i>nāxbin</i>	<i>nāxbigam</i>
3d per.	<i>naga'n</i>	<i>nāgina^s</i>	<i>nāk'in</i>	<i>nāk'am</i>
Plural:				
1st per.	<i>naga'simin</i>	<i>nāximina^s</i>	<i>nāximin</i>	<i>nāxamk'am</i>
2d per.	<i>naga'sanban</i>	<i>nāxanbana^s</i>	<i>nāxanban</i>	<i>nāxanp'gam</i>

FREQUENTATIVE

Aorist

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nagañsbiⁿ</i>	<i>nagañhaⁿ</i>		<i>nagañsanbaⁿ</i>
2d per.	<i>negeñs'dam</i>		<i>nagañhat'</i>	<i>nagañsimi^t</i>	
3d per.	<i>negeñs'i</i>	<i>nagañsbi</i>	<i>nagañha</i>	<i>nagañsam</i>	<i>nagañsanp'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nagañsbinak'</i>	<i>nagañhanak'</i>		<i>nagañsanbana^k</i>
2d per.	<i>negeñs'dap'</i>		<i>nagañhat'p'</i>	<i>nagañsimi^tp'</i>	

Future

Singular:				
1st per.		<i>nānsbin</i>	<i>nānhan</i>	<i>nānsanban</i>
2d per.	<i>nēns'da^s</i>		<i>nānhada^s</i>	<i>nānsimida^s</i>
3d per.	<i>nēns'ink'</i>	<i>nānsbink'</i>	<i>nānhank'</i>	<i>nānsamank'</i>
Plural:				
1st per.		<i>nānsbinagam</i>	<i>nānhanagam</i>	<i>nānsanbanagam</i>
2d per.	<i>nēnsdaba^s</i>		<i>nānhat'ba^s</i>	<i>nānsimi^t'ba^s</i>

Passive

	Aorist	Future
Singular:		
1st per.	<i>negeñs'in</i>	<i>nēns'ina^s</i>
2d per.	<i>nagañsbin</i>	<i>nānsbina^s</i>
3d per.	<i>nagañhan</i>	<i>nānhana^s</i>
Plural:		
1st per.	<i>nagañsimin</i>	<i>nānsimina^s</i>
2d per.	<i>nagañsanban</i>	<i>nānsanbana^s</i>

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DOC. Causative in *-n*¹*Aorist*

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per. . . .		<i>nagānzbiēn</i>	<i>nagāna'ēn</i> (<i>nagāni'ēn</i>) ²		<i>nagānzbanēn</i>
2d per. . . .	<i>negēnzdam</i>		<i>nagāna't</i> (<i>nagāni't</i>)	<i>nagānzimit'</i>	
3d per. . . .	<i>negēnxi</i>	<i>nagānzbi</i>	<i>nagān</i> (<i>nagānhi</i>)	<i>nagānzam</i>	<i>nagānzbanp'</i>
Plural:					
1st per. . . .		<i>nagānzbinak'</i>	<i>nagānanana'k'</i> (<i>nagāninana'k'</i>)		<i>nagānzbanana'k'</i>
2d per. . . .	<i>negēnzdap'</i>		<i>nagāna't'p'</i> (<i>nagāni't'p'</i>)	<i>nagānzimit'p'</i>	

Future

Singular:					
1st per. . . .		<i>nānzbin</i>	<i>nāna'n</i> (<i>nāni'n</i>)		<i>nānzban</i>
2d per. . . .	<i>nēnzda³</i>		<i>nāna³da'ε</i> (<i>nāni³da'ε</i>)	<i>nānzimida³</i>	
3d per. . . .	<i>nēnzink'</i>	<i>nānzbin³</i>	<i>nāna'nk'</i> (<i>nāni'nk'</i>)	<i>nānzamank'</i>	<i>nānzbanank'</i>
Plural:					
1st per. . . .		<i>nānzbinagam</i>	<i>nānanaga'm</i> (<i>nāninaga'm</i>)		<i>nānzbanagam</i>
2d per. . . .	<i>nēnzdaba³</i>		<i>nāna't'ba³</i> (<i>nāni't'ba³</i>)	<i>nānzimit'ba³</i>	

Passive

	Aorist	Future
Singular:		
1st per.	<i>negēnzin</i>	<i>nēnzina³</i>
2d per.	<i>nagānzbin</i>	<i>nānzbina³</i>
3d per.	<i>nagāna'n</i> (<i>nagāni'n</i>)	<i>nānana'ε</i> (<i>nānina'ε</i>)
Plural:		
1st per.	<i>nagānzimin</i>	<i>nānzimina³</i>
2d per.	<i>nagānzban</i>	<i>nānzbanana³</i>

¹ Though these forms are simply derivatives of intransitive aorist *naga(i)*-, verb-stem *na*-, they have been listed here because of their great similarity to transitive frequentatives, with which they might be easily confused. In the aorist, the two sets of forms differ in the length of the second (repeated) vowel, in the connecting consonant, and to some extent in the place of the accent, though this is probably a minor consideration. In the future, they differ in the connecting consonant and partly again in the place of the accent.

² Forms in parentheses are instrumental.

³ Imperative (sing. subj. and third person object): *nānha*.

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

D. Reciprocal Forms

	Aorist	Future
Plural:		
1st per.	<i>naga'sinik'</i>	<i>nāxinigam</i>
2d per.	<i>naga'sant'p'</i>	<i>nāxant'ba'</i>
3d per.	<i>naga'sa'n</i> (frequentative <i>nagañ-sa'n</i>)	<i>nāxant'</i>

E. Nominal Derivatives

INFINITIVES

Intransitive: *ne'x*

	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Transitive	<i>nēziya</i>	<i>nāzbiya</i>	<i>nāgia'</i>	<i>nāximta</i>	<i>nāxanbia</i>

PARTICIPLE

Active: *na't'*

Other forms derived from verb-stem *na(g)*- than those given above are of course found, but are easily formed on evident analogies. Observe, however, intransitive aorist stem *nagai-* in transitive derivatives *nagaik'wa* HE SAID TO HIM (personal) and *nagaik'wit'* HE SAID TO HIMSELF. Comitatives in *-(a)gw-* are not listed because their formation offers no difficulty; e. g., second person singular present imperative *nāk'w* DO SO AND SO HAVING IT! It is possible that *bōu-nēxada^ε* IMMEDIATELY is nothing but adverb *bōu* NOW + subordinating form **nēxada^ε* of *-xa-* derivative from *nā^ag-* with regular palatal ablaut (see §31,5); literally it would then mean something like WHEN IT IS BECOMING (DOING) NOW.

APPENDIX B

THE ORIGIN OF DEATH

xi'lam ¹ Roasting-Dead-People	sebe't ²	hāp'da ³ his child	loho'k'. ⁴ it died.	sgi'sidi'l ⁵ He and Coyote	nō'ts'at'gwan ⁶ neighboring each other	
yu'k'. ⁷ they were.	ga-s-i' ⁸ And that	nāk'ik'. ⁹ he said to him:	“laps ¹⁰ “Blanket	yimi'xi ¹¹ lend it to me	hāp'dek'. ¹² my child	loho'ida'. ¹³ since it died,
laps ¹⁰ blanket	yimi'xi',” ¹¹ lend it to me,”	naga'-ihi' ¹⁴ he said, it is said,	xilam ¹ Roasting-Dead-People.	sebe't ²	“ani' ¹⁵ “Not	laps ¹⁰ blanket

¹ xi'lam. Used indifferently for SICK, DEAD (as noun), and GHOST. -am (= -an) is probably noun-forming suffix with inorganic -a- (cf. *han-xilmi* ABODE OF GHOSTS, literally, ACROSS-RIVER ARE GHOSTS as verb with positional -i). As base is left *xil-* or *zin-* (-n- of radical syllable dissimilates to -l- before nasal suffix); xi'lam from *zin-an or *zil-an. This *zin-* is perhaps etymologically identical with *zin* mucus (verb-base *zin*-SNIFF).

² sebe't. Participle in -t' of verb *seeba'*^{en} Type 5 I ROAST IT; aorist stem *seeb-*, verb-stem *sebe-*. ROASTING-DEAD-PEOPLE is Takelma name for species of black long-legged bug. He is supposed to be so called because responsible for death, as told in this myth.

³ hāp'da. Base *hāap'*- SMALL, CHILD (cf. *hap-s-di'* SMALL). This is one of those comparatively few nouns that add possessive pronominal suffixes of Scheme II directly to stem. With suffixed ([?]) pre-pronominal -z-, it becomes plural in signification: *hāp'da* HIS CHILDREN. This sort of plural formation stands, as far as known, entirely isolated in Takelma. In its absolute form *hāap'*- takes on derivative suffix -xi, *hāpxi'* CHILD.

⁴ loho'k. Third personal inferential of verb *lohoi'te*^e Type 4b I DIE; aorist stem *lohoi-*, verb-stem *loho-*. -k' inferential element. Inferential mode used because statement is here not made on personal authority, but only as tradition or hearsay. According to this, all myth narrative should employ inferential forms instead of aorist. This myth employs partly inferentials and partly aorists; but in most other myths aorists are regularly employed, probably because they are more familiar forms, and perhaps, also, because myths may be looked upon as well-authenticated fact.

⁵ sgi'sidi'l. *sgi'si* COYOTE, formed by repetition of base-vowel according to Type 2. -di'l is dual suffix *sgi'sidi'l* by itself might mean TWO COYOTES, but -di'l is never properly dual in signification, meaning rather HE (indicated by preceding noun) AND SOME ONE ELSE (indicated by context).

⁶ nō'ts'at'gwan. From local adverbial stem *nōtsi'*- NEXT DOOR, NEIGHBORING; it is formed by addition of characteristic -a- and third personal plural reflexive pronominal suffix -t'gwan (= -t'-[third person]+-gwa-[reflexive] + -n [plural]). First person singular *nōtsi'adē*, second person singular *nōtsi'ada'e*.

⁷ yu'k. Third personal inferential of verb *yowo'te*^e Type 2 I AM; aorist stem *yowo-*, verb-stem *yo(yu-)*. -k' inferential element as in *loho'k*. Corresponding aorist, *yowo'e*.

⁸ gas'ie. *ga* is general demonstrative THAT, here serving to anticipate quotation: "laps (2) . . . yimi'xi (3)." -s'ie as general connective indicates sequence of *nāk'ik*' upon *loho'k*' (1).

⁹ nāk'ik. Third personal inferential of verb *naga'en* Type 2 I SAY TO HIM; aorist stem *naga-*, verb-stem *nāag-*. Corresponding aorist, *naga'*. Non-aoristic forms of this transitive verb show instrumental -i- (see § 64).

¹⁰ laps. Noun of uncertain etymology, perhaps from base *lab-* CARRY ON ONE'S BACK. -s nominal derivative suffix of no known definite signification.

¹¹ yimi'xi. Present imperative second person singular subject, first person singular object (-xi) of verb *yīmiya'en* Type 1 I LEND IT TO HIM; aorist stem *yīmi-*, verb-stem *yimi-*. Non-aoristic forms show instrumental -i- as in *nāk'ik*'; e. g., *yimi'hin* I SHALL LEND IT TO HIM.

¹² hāp'dek. See *hāp'da* (1). -de'k' first person singular possessive pronominal suffix according to Scheme II.

¹³ loho'ida. Subordinate form, with causal signification, of *loho'ie* HE DIED. Aorist stem *lohoi-* = verb-stem *loho-* + intransitive element -i- characteristic of aorist of Type 4; -s, third personal aorist subject intransitive Class I, dissimilated because of catch in subordinating suffix -da. Syntactically *loho'ida* is subordinated to *yimi'xi*.

¹⁴ naga'-ihi. = *naga'ie* HE SAID + quotative enclitic -hi. *naga'ie* third person aorist of irregular verb *nagai'te*^e Type 4a I SAY; aorist stem *nagai-*, verb-stem *na-*. Both transitive and intransitive forms of *na(g)-* incorporate object of thing said; *ga* in *gas'ie* (2) is incorporated as direct object in *nāk'ik*' (it would be theoretically more correct to write *ga* [-s'ie] *nāk'ik*); while quotation "laps . . . yimi'xi" is syntactically direct object of *naga'-ihi* which, as such, it precedes. *ga-nāk'ik*' anticipates "laps . . . yimi'xi" *naga'-ihi*. Observe use of aorist instead of inferential from *naga'-ihi* on.

¹⁵ a'nē. Negative particle with following aorist. True negative future would be *wede yimi'hixbiga*.

yī'misbi ⁿ 16	gwidī'-s-i ^e 17	yo' ^e t' 18	xila'm ¹	yèūk'i ^e 19	naga'-ihi ^e 14
I lend it to you	for where	they will be	dead people	if they return?"	he said, it is said,
sgi'si. ⁵	nō'us ⁱ 20	yewe' ⁱ e 21	xilam ¹	sebe't. ²	k'lo'do't' 22
Coyote.	And next door	he returned	Roasting-Dead-People.	He buried it	his own child
loho'ida ^e 24	ganēhi ^e 25	dabalni'xa 26	lālē'. 27	mī'hi ^e 28	sgi'si ⁵
who had died.	And then, it is said,	long time	it became.	Now, it is said,	Coyote his child
xī'lam ¹	lālē'. 27	mī' 28	loho'is ^e 29	mī' 28	nō'us ^e 20
sick	it became. Now	it died.	Now next door	he went	Roasting-Dead-People
5 wā'ada. ³¹	"laps ¹⁰	yimi'xi ¹¹	hāp'de'k' 12	loho'ida ^e 13	"k'adi' 32
to him.	"Blanket	lend it to me	my child	since it died."	"What
nagait', 33	xilam ¹	sebe't ²	ga ⁸	naga'is ^e 14	"hō'uxa ^e 34
you said?"	Roasting-Dead-People	that	he said.	"Last time	ma ^a 35
					you

¹⁶ yī'misbiⁿ. First person singular subject (-*n*) second personal singular object (-*bi*) of verb yī'miya'ⁿ (see yimi'zi above). -*s*- indirect object used only in aorist of this verb, elsewhere -*x*-; e. g., future yimi'zbin I SHALL LEND IT TO YOU. Aorist is used because idea of futurity is here immediate; i. e., time of action is not put definitely forward.

¹⁷ gwidī'-s-i^e. *gwi*- general interrogative and indefinite adverb WHERE? SOMEWHERE. *di* interrogative enclitic serving to give *gwi*- distinct interrogative signification. -s-i^e has here slight causal tinge: FOR WHERE WOULD THEY ALL BE, IF THEY RETURNED?

¹⁸ yo'^et'. Third personal future of verb yowot'^e I AM (see yu'k' above). -*t*' third personal subject future intransitive Class I.

¹⁹ yèūk'i^e. Third personal conditional (-*k*'i^e) of verb yewei't'^e Type 4a I RETURN; aorist stem yewei-, verb-stem yēu- (yewu-).

²⁰ nō'usⁱ. = nō'us^e (stem nōts/- NEXT DOOR) + connective -s-i^e. nō'us^e may best be considered as local adverbial prefix to yewe'ⁱ.

²¹ yewe'ⁱ. Third person aorist of verb yewei't'^e (see yèūk'i^e above (-*i* and -*e* as in loho'is^e and naga'is^e above)

²² k'lo'do't'. Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb k'lododa'ⁿ Type 8 I BURY HIM aorist stem k'lo'do-, verb-stem gōud-.

²³ hāp'dagwa. See hāp'da (1). -*gwa* reflexive suffix. k'lo'do't' hāp'da would have meant HE (Roasting-Dead-People) BURIED HIS (Coyote's) CHILD.

²⁴ loho'ida^e. In this case subordinate form serves merely to explain hāp'dagwa, and may thus be rendered as relative, WHO HAD DIED.

²⁵ ganēhi^e. = ganē AND THEN (compound of demonstrative *ga*), used to introduce new turn in narrative, + quotative -hi^e.

²⁶ dabalni'xa. Temporal adverb LONG TIME. Like many other adverbs, it is difficult of satisfactory analysis. *da*- is local body-part prefix, as in several other temporal adverbs; but its application here is quite obscure. *bal*- radical element, cf. adjective bāl-s LONG. -*xa* adverbial (chiefly temporal) suffix -ni- = ? (cf. lep'ni'xa WINTER).

²⁷ lālē'. Third person aorist intransitive Class II of verb lāhē't'^e Types 10a and 15a I BECOME; aorist stem lālē-, verb-stem lāa-p'. -*ē*- = *ē*- of positional verbs. Corresponding inferential lāp'k'.

²⁸ mī'hi^e. = mī' weak temporal adverb NOW, THEN, serving generally to introduce new statement, + quotative -hi^e.

²⁹ loho'is^e. See loho'ida^e (2).

³⁰ gini'ek'. Third person aorist of verb gini'k'de^e Type 2 I GO (somewhere); aorist stem ginig-, verb-stem gīng-, ginag- (present imperative gink'; future gina'k'de^e). -*e* third person aorist intransitive Class I. Inasmuch as forms occur derived from base gin- (e. g., reduplicated ginigini'us'), -*g*- must be considered as either petrified suffix, or as trace of older reduplication with vanished vowel in second member: gin-i-g- from (?) gin-i-gn-. ginig- can be used only with expressed goal of motion (in this case nō'us^e and wā'ada). HE WENT without expressed goal would have been ya'^e. Similarly: bazam- COME, me-ginig- COME HERE; hōgwa- RUN, hōwiliw- RUN (somewhere); s'owō'w'k'ap'- JUMP, bīliw- JUMP AT.

³¹ wā'ada. Formed, like nō'ts/lat'guan (1), by addition of third personal pronominal suffix -*da* to local stem wa-; first person wādē. These forms are regularly used when motion to some person or persons is meant: If goal of motion is non-personal, postposition ga'a'l to, AT is employed.

³² k'adi'. *k'a* (before *di*, otherwise *k'ai*) is substantival indefinite and interrogative stem (THING), WHAT? corresponding to adverbial *gwi*- (4). *di* serves also here to give *k'a* distinct interrogative force.

³³ nagait'. Second person singular aorist of verb nagait'^e (see naga'-ihi^e above). This is one of those few intransitives that take personal endings directly after stem ending in semi-vowel (nagay-), without connective -*a*- (see § 65 end).

³⁴ hō'uxa^e. = hō'uxa^e YESTERDAY, (here more indefinitely as) LAST TIME, FORMERLY + deictic -*a*'. -*xa* is adverbial (temporal) suffix (cf. dabalni'xa above). -*a*' serves to contrast LAST TIME with NOW.

³⁵ ma^a. = *ma* second person singular independent personal pronoun + deictic -*a*', which here contrasts YOU (as former object of supplication) with I (as present object of supplication).

ga ³⁶ that	nege's'dam ³⁷ you said to me	'laps ¹⁰ 'Blanket	yimi'xi' ¹¹ lend it to me	naga'sbinda ³⁸ when I said to you:	'yapla ³⁹ 'People
gwid'i ¹¹⁷ where	yo'et' ¹⁸ they will be	yëük'i ¹⁹ if they return?	mī ¹²⁸ Now	hawa'xi ⁴⁰ it is rotting	hā'p'de'k' ¹² my child,
xilam ¹ Roasting-Dead-People.	sebe't ² And next door	nō'us'i ²⁰ Coyote	sgisi ⁵ he returned.	yewe' ¹⁸ ²¹ "Sgā ⁴¹ +"	naga'-ihi ¹⁴ he said, it is said, t'aga' ¹⁸ ⁴² he cried. That
ga'al ⁴³ because of	bōu ⁴⁴ nowadays	εa'ni ¹⁵ ¹⁵ not	yapla ³⁹ people	yewe' ¹⁸ ²¹ they return	loho'ida ¹³ when they die.

³⁶ *ga*. Anticipates quotation "yapla (10) . . . yëük'i¹⁹ (11)."

³⁷ *nege's'dam*. Second personal singular subject, first personal singular object (-dam) of verb *naga'en* (see *nāk ik'* above). *nege-* shows palatal ablaut characteristic of forms with first person singular object. -s- indirect object in aorist only, elsewhere -x-; e. g., *nēzda*³⁸ YOU WILL SAY TO ME. Direct object is *ga*.

³⁸ *naga'sbinda*³⁸. Subordinate form, with temporal force, of *naga'sbi'n* I SAY TO YOU. *naga'sbi'n* = aorist stem *naga-* + indirect object -s- + second personal singular object -bi- + first personal singular subject -n. *naga'sbinda*³⁸ is subordinated to main verb *nege's'dam*; its direct object is quotation "laps yimi'xi'" (10).

³⁹ *yapla*. Noun formed apparently by repetition of base vowel according to Type 2. It is employed for PEOPLE in general without regard to sex.

⁴⁰ *hawa'xiu*⁴⁰. Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *hawaxiūt'*⁴⁰ Type 5 I AM ROTTING; aorist stem *xiu-*, verb-stem *xiwi-*. This verb is evidently compounded of *hawa'x* MATTER, PUS and verbal base *xiu-*, whose exact meaning can not be determined, as it has not been found alone.

⁴¹ *sgā+*. Words spoken by Coyote often begin with *s-*, which has in itself no grammatical significance.

⁴² *t'aga'i*⁴². Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *t'agaūt'*⁴² Type 4a I CRY; aorist stem *t'aga-*, verb-stem *t'āga-*. -i⁴² as in *yewe'i*¹⁸, *loho'i*¹⁸, and *naga'i*¹⁸ above.

⁴³ *ga'a'l*. Postposition TO, AT, ON ACCOUNT OF, used with preceding demonstrative *ga*; *ga ga'a'l*=therefore. *ga'a'l* is itself compounded of demonstrative *ga* and local element *al* AT, TO.

⁴⁴ *bōu*. Temporal adverb NOW, TO-DAY. First ε of *εa'ni*¹⁵ not intended merely to keep up distinct hiatus between final -ōu and initial *a-*.

[Translation]

The child of Roasting-dead-people died. He and Coyote were neighbors to each other. Thereupon he said to him, "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died. Lend me a blanket," said Roasting-dead-people. "I'll not lend you a blanket, for where are they going to be, if dead people come back?" said Coyote. And next door returned Roasting-dead-people, and buried his child that had died.

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Now Coyote's child became sick and died. Now next door he went to Roasting-dead-people. "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died."—"What did you say?" Roasting-dead-people said that. "Yesterday indeed when I did say to you, 'Lend me a blanket,' you, for your part, did say that to me, 'Where will the people be, if they return?' Now my child is rotting," said Roasting-dead-people. So next door Coyote returned. "Sgā + !" he cried. For that reason people do not nowadays return when they die.

HOW A TAKELMA HOUSE WAS BUILT

yapla¹ wi'li² klemèi.³ bēm⁴ pla-idī'lo⁵uk⁶, eme⁷s:i⁸ hono⁹
 People house they make it. Post they set it down, and here again
 pla-idī'lo⁵uk⁶, he¹⁰me¹¹ hono¹² pla-idī'lo⁵uk⁶, hagamgama'n⁹ pla-idī'lo⁵uk⁶.
 they set it down, yonder again they set it down, in four places they set them down.
 he¹⁰ne¹¹ hono¹² hangili'p¹¹ gada'k¹² hagamgama'n, gada'k's'i¹³
 Then also they place (beams) on top thereof in four places, and on top thereof
 across
 mū¹⁴xda'nhī¹⁴ hangili'p¹¹. he¹⁰ne yā¹⁵s:i¹⁵ wi'li s'idibī¹⁶ klemèi;
 just once they place (beam) across. Then and just house its wall they make it;
 5 he¹⁰ne gada'k's'i¹³ matsla'k¹⁷ wili¹⁸ he¹⁰la'm,¹⁸ t'ga'l¹⁹ ga²⁰ he¹⁰la'm
 then and on top they put them house boards, sugar-pine those boards
 thereof
 klemèi. ganē²¹ dak'da't²² datlaba'k²³ hā²⁴ya²⁴ datlaba'k²³. ganē
 they make And then from on top they finish it, on both sides they finish it. And then
 them.
 dedewili²⁵dadi's²⁵ klemèi dak'dat's'i²⁶ daho'k'wal²⁷ klemèi kliyī'x²⁸
 door they make it, and from on top holed they make it smoke
 gana'u²⁹ ba-i-gina'xda³⁰ ganēs'i³¹ ga'klan³² klemèi, xā'isgipli-
 therein its going out. And then ladder they make it, they notch it in
 several

¹ See note 39 of first text; § 86, 2. *yapla* is to be understood as subject of all following finite verb forms.

² § 86, 2; quantity of final vowel varies between *i* and *-i*. Directly precedes verb as object.

³ Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *klemēn* Type 3 I MAKE IT; §§ 63; 65.

⁴ § 86, 1; object of following verb.

⁵ *pla-i* DOWN § 37, 13; *dī-* § 36, 10. *lo'uk* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *lo'ugwa'n* Type 6 I SET IT; §§ 63; 40, 6.

⁶ *eme* HERE § 104; *-s:i* enclitic particle § 114, 4.

⁷ Modal adverb § 113, 4.

⁸ § 104.

⁹ Numeral adverb from *gamga'm* FOUR § 111.

¹⁰ Temporal adverb § 113, 3.

¹¹ *han-* ACROSS § 37, 1. *-gili'p* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-giliba'en* Type 3; §§ 63; 40, 3.

¹² Postposition with force of independent local adverb § 96.

¹³ See note 12; *-s:i* § 114, 4.

¹⁴ *mū¹⁴xda'n* numeral adverb ONCE § 111; *-hi* enclitic particle § 114, 2.

¹⁵ *yā* post-positive particle JUST § 114, 1; *-s:i* § 114, 4.

¹⁶ *s'idib-* (HOUSE) WALL § 86, 3; *-i'* third personal possessive form of noun-characteristic *-i-* § 89, 3; 92 III. HOUSE ITS-WALL is regular periphrasis for HOUSE'S WALL.

¹⁷ Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *matslaga'en* Type 3 I PUT IT; §§ 63; 40, 3.

¹⁸ Noun stem *he-* with nominal suffix *-am* dissimilated from *-an* §§ 87, 6; 21. *wili¹⁸ he¹⁰la'm* is compound noun § 88.

¹⁹ § 86, 1. Predicate appostive to *he¹⁰la'm*: THEY MAKE THOSE BOARDS OUT OF SUGAR-PINE.

²⁰ Demonstrative pronoun of indifferent number modifying *he¹⁰la'm* § 104.

²¹ Temporal or connective adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* and element *-ni* (?=*nee*) of unknown meaning §§ 113, 2; 114 end.

²² Adverb in *-da't* from local element *da'k-* ABOVE § 112, 1.

²³ *da-* § 36, 2 end; *-t/aba'k* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-t/abaga'en* Type 3 I FINISH IT; §§ 63; 40, 3.

²⁴ Local adverb § 113, 1.

²⁵ *dedewili²⁵da* DOOR, local phrase with pre-positive *de-* IN FRONT OF and third personal possessive suffix *-da* § 93 end. *-di's* postposition § 96 of unclear meaning here.

²⁶ See note 22; *-s:i* § 114, 4.

²⁷ *da-* § 107, 5; *-ho'k'wal* adjective with suffix *-al* § 108, 2.

²⁸ § 86, 3.

²⁹ Postposition with *k/iyī'x ba-igina'xda* § 96.

³⁰ Third personal possessive form in *-da* of infinitive *ba-igina'x*. *ba-i* OUT § 37, 12; *gin-* verb stem Type 2 or 11 GO TO § 40, 2, 11; *-ax* infinitive suffix of intransitive verbs of class I § 74, 1.

³¹ See note 21; *-s:i* § 114, 4.

³² § 86, 2; suffix *-n*, §§ 21; 87, 6.

sgap',³³ gwelt'gāu³⁴ gina'x³⁵ klemēi; wili s'idibī's'ie³⁶ klemēi. ganē
 places, down to the earth going they make house its wall and they make it. And then
 dat'aba'k' ha'it'bu'xt'ixik'^{w. 37} ganē leplēs³⁸ hahūwū'us'k'i,³⁹ gana't'⁴⁰
 they finish it all cleaned inside. And then rush mats they spread them out inside, of that kind
 gidi⁴¹ alxali⁴² yap'la'; plī⁴³ yogā'a⁴⁴ has's'ō'⁴⁵ gas'ie⁴⁶ alxaliyana'⁴⁷
 thereon they sit people; fire its place in the center, so that they being seated
 hā'ya-pliya'.⁴⁸ gana'ne'x⁴⁹ hop'le'n⁵⁰ yap'la'a⁵¹ wi'li⁵² lep'ni'xa⁵³
 on both sides of the fire. In that way long ago people, for their house; in winter
 wili'⁵⁴ gana't'⁵⁵ sama'xas'ie⁵⁶ ana'ne'x⁵⁷ alxali, a'ni'⁵⁸ wi'li gana'u.⁵⁹
 their of that kind. But in summer in this way they sit, not house therein
 gwa's'⁶⁰ wili yaxa⁵⁹ wit'ge'ye'ek'i,⁶⁰ gas'ie plī⁵¹ yogā'a klemēi
 Brush house just they set it around, so that fire its place they make it
 habini'.⁶¹ gana'nex sama'xa alxali, ani' lep'ni'xa nat'⁶² wi'li gana'u.
 in the middle. In that way in summer they dwell, not in winter like house therein.

³³ *xā-* § 36, 7b; *-i-* instrumental § 36, 6; *xā-* with *e* to mark hiatus § 6. *-sgip/ligap'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-sgip/ligibin* Type 13a I CUT IT UP TO PIECES iterative of verb *-sgip/ligibin* Type 6; §§ 63; 40, 13; 43, 1.

³⁴ Local phrase with pre-positive *gwel* DOWN TO § 95 and noun-characteristic *-u* § 89, 4; *t'ga* § 86, 1.

³⁵ See note 30; infinitive used as noun § 74 end.

³⁶ See note 16; *-s'ie* § 114, 4. *s'ie* is appended to *s'idibī'* rather than *wili*, as *wili s'idibī'* is taken as unit.

³⁷ *ha-* IN § 36, 11 b; *-i-* instrumental § 36, 6; *ha-* § 6. *-t'bu'xt'ixik'* passive participle with instrumental *-i-* in *-ik'w* § 77 from verb *-t'boxol'baz-* Type 13a, verb stem *-t'boxl'baz-*; *-t'box-* ablauted to *-t'bu-* § 31, 2; *-t'baz-* unlauded to *-t'biz-* § 3, 3a.

³⁸ § 86, 3.

³⁹ *ha-* IN § 36, 11b. *-hūwū'us'k'i* = *-hūwūuk'-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb *-hūwū'uk'lin* Type 3 I SPREAD (MAT) OUT § 64.

⁴⁰ Compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and *na't'* participle in *-t'* § 76 of verb *nagai-* Type 4 a DO, BE, verb stem *na-*; see Appendix A.

⁴¹ Postposition § 96; *gi-* unlauded from *ga-* § 8, 4.

⁴² *al-* § 36, 15b, here with uncertain force; *-xali* third personal subject, third personal object aorist Type 1 in form, though intransitive in meaning § 67 footnote.

⁴³ § 86, 1.

⁴⁴ Third personal possessive of noun *yog-* (?) § 86, 1 with noun-characteristic *-a* § 92 III. FIRE ITS-PLACE is regular paraphrase for FIRE'S PLACE.

⁴⁵ Local phrase with pre-positive *ha-* IN; *-s'ō* § 86, 1 does not seem otherwise to occur.

⁴⁶ Connective compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and enclitic particle *-s'ie* § 114, 4.

⁴⁷ Subordinate form of *alxali*, note 42; § 70 (see transitive paradigm).

⁴⁸ Local phrase with pre-positive *hā'ya-* ON BOTH SIDES OF and noun-characteristic *-a* § 95; *-pliy-a'* from *p/ī* FIRE.

⁴⁹ Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and *na'ne'x* infinitive of verb *na'nagai-*, verb stem *na'na-* § 69; 74, 1; Appendix A.

⁵⁰ Temporal adverb in *-n* § 112, 3.

⁵¹ *yap'la* see note 1; *-a* deictic post-nominal element § 102 (people of long ago contrasted with those of to-day).

⁵² *wi'li* or *wili'* third personal pronominal form § 92 III of noun *wi'li* HOUSE see note 2. PEOPLE THEIR-HOUSE regular periphrasis for PEOPLE'S HOUSE. Observe that predicate verb (third personal aorist of TO BE) is not expressed in this sentence.

⁵³ Temporal adverb in *-xa* § 112, 2.

⁵⁴ *sama'xa* cf. note 53; *-s'ie* § 114, 4.

⁵⁵ Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative stem *a-* THIS § 104 and *na'ne'x* see note 49.

⁵⁶ Negative adverb of aorist § 113, 3.

⁵⁷ Postposition with *wi'li* § 96.

⁵⁸ § 86, 1. *gwa's' wili* BRUSH HOUSE form compound noun § 88.

⁵⁹ Particle in *-xa* § 112, 2; 114, 9.

⁶⁰ *wi-* § 37, 8. *-t'ge'ye'ek'i* = *-t'geyeek'-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb *-t'ge'yeek'lin* Type 2 I PUT IT AROUND § 64; *-k/-* petrified suffix § 42, 7.

⁶¹ Local adverb with pre-positive *ha-* IN § 95, noun stem *-bin-* not freely occurring § 86, 1, and noun-characteristic *-i* § 89, 3.

⁶² Participle in *-t'* § 76; see note 40.

[Translation]

The people are making a house. A post they set in the ground, and here again they set one in the ground, yonder again they set one in the ground, in four places they set them in the ground. Then also they place beams across on top in four places, and above (these) they put one across just once. And just then they make the house wall; and then on top they place the house boards, those they make out of sugar-pine lumber. Then they finish it on top, on either side they finish it. Then they make the door, and on top they make a hole for the going out of the smoke. And then they make a ladder, they notch out (a pole), for going down to the floor they make it; and the house wall they make.

Then they finish it, all cleaned inside. Now rush mats they spread out inside, on such the people sit. The fireplace is in the center, so that they are seated on either side of the fire. In that way, indeed, was the house of the people long ago; in winter their house was such. But in summer they were sitting like now,¹ not in the house. Just a brush shelter they placed around, so that the fireplace they made in the middle. Thus they dwelt in summer, not as in winter in a house.

¹ We were sitting out in the open when this text was dictated.

COOS

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

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INTRODUCTION

The material on which this account of the Coos language is based was collected at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the summer of 1909. I obtained nineteen complete myths and other texts with inter-linear translations, and linguistic material consisting chiefly of forms, phrases, and sentences. I have also had at my disposal a number of texts and grammatical notes collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, during the summer of 1903, which were of great assistance on many points.

This material was obtained chiefly from James Buchanan and Frank Drew, both of whom proved to be intelligent and reliable informants. To the former especially I am indebted for the complete and rich collection of myths and texts, while the latter was my chief source of information on points of grammar and lexicography. Frank Drew's untiring efforts and almost perfect command of English made him a very valuable interpreter, in spite of the fact that this advantage was offset in a great many cases by his knowledge of the Hanis and Miluk dialects of the Coos, and by his inability to draw a dividing-line between the two dialects. Hence his information was very often contradictory, and showed many discrepancies; but, on the whole, he was found trustworthy and reliable.

In conclusion I wish to express my deep gratitude to my teacher, Professor Franz Boas, for the many valuable suggestions made in connection with this work, and for the keen and unceasing interest which he has taken in me during the many years of our acquaintance. It was at his suggestion that this work was undertaken; and its completion is due mainly to the efforts and encouragement received from him. He it was who first imbued me with an enthusiasm for the primitive languages of the North American continent, and the debt which I owe him in this and in a great many other respects will be of everlasting duration.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

April, 1910.

COOS

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Kusan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects that were spoken by the people inhabiting (until 1857) Coos bay and the region along the Coos river. Their neighbors were Siuslauan,¹ Kalapuyan, and Athapascan tribes. On the north they came in contact with the Umpqua¹ Indians, on the east they bordered on the Kalapuya, while on the south they were contiguous to the Rogue river tribes, especially the Coquelle.² In 1857, when the Rogue river war broke out, the United States Government, acting in self-defence, removed the Coos Indians to Port Umpqua. Four years later they were again transferred to the Yahate reservation, where they remained until 1876. On the 26th day of April, 1876, Yahate was thrown open to white settlers, and the Indians of that reservation were asked to move to Siletz; but the Coos Indians, tired of the tutelage of the United States Indian agents, refused to conform with the order, and emigrated in a body to the mouth of the Siuslaw river, where the majority of them are still living.

Of the two principal dialects, Hanis and Miluk,³ the latter is now practically extinct; while the former is still spoken by about thirty individuals, whose number is steadily decreasing. As far as can be judged from the scanty notes on Miluk collected by Mr. St. Clair in 1903, this dialect exhibits only in a most general way the characteristic traits of the Kusan stock. Otherwise it is vastly different from Hanis in etymological and even lexicographical respects.

The name "Coos" is of native origin. It is derived from the reduplicated stem *ku'kwōs* SOUTH, which appears very often in phrases like *akukwō'sume* FROM WHERE SOUTH IS, *kūsemī'tcîte* SOUTHWARDS, etc.

¹ Erroneously classified by Powell as part of the Yakonan family. My recent investigations show Siuslaw to form an independent linguistic group consisting of two distinct dialects,—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw. A grammatical sketch of the former dialect will be found in this volume.

² An Athapascan tribe living on the upper course of the Coquelle river.

³ Spoken on the lower part of the Coquelle river, and commonly called Lower Coquelle.

The Coos call their own language *hā'nîs* *ɫ'ē'yîs* THE HANIS TONGUE. The present work deals with this dialect only, as sufficient material could not be obtained for the purpose of writing a grammar of the Miluk dialect.

Texts of myths and tales were collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, and by the author of the present sketch, and were published by Columbia University.¹ All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-14)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Coos is rich and fully developed. Clusters of consonants occur very frequently, but are void of difficult complications. The vowels show a high degree of variability, and occur in short and long quantities. The obscure vowel *ɛ* is very frequent, and seems to be related to short *e* and *a*. Resonance vowels occur very often, and are indicated in this work by superior vowels. The diphthongs are quite variable. Long *ē* is not a pure vowel, but glides from *ē* to *î*; it can hardly be distinguished from long *î*, to which it seems to be closely related. In the same manner long *ō* glides from *ō* to *û*, and was heard often as a long *û*-vowel.

The following may be said to be the Coos system of vowels and diphthongs:

Vowels							Semi-vowels	Diphthongs		
<i>ɛ</i>										
<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>w, y</i>	<i>ai,</i>	<i>a^u,</i>	<i>e^u</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>û</i>			<i>ēⁱ</i>		<i>ō^u</i>

Short *e* is pronounced like *e* in the English word *HELMET*, while the unlauted *ä* corresponds to the open *e*-vowel in German *WÄHLEN*. It very often occurs as the unlauted form of long *ā*. *î* represents the short *y*-vowel so commonly found in the Slavic languages; while *û* indicates exceedingly short, almost obscure *u*. *ō* can not occur after the palatal surd *k* and fortis *k'*.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonantic system of Coos is characterized by the prevalence of the sounds of the *k* and *l* series, by the frequent occurrence of

¹ Coos Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 1.

aspiration, by the abundance of long (double) consonants \bar{l} , \bar{m} , \bar{n} , and \bar{y} , and by the semi-vocalic treatment of the nasals m , n , and of the lateral sounds (indicated in this sketch by a circle under the consonant). Surds and sonants were not always pronounced distinctly, especially in the alveolar series. No aspirated consonants were found besides the aspirated t' and k' . The fortis is pronounced with moderate air-pressure and glottal and nasal closure.

The system of consonants may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal
Velar	(g ?)	q	q'	γ , x	—
Palatal	g , $g(w)$	k , $k(w)$	k' , $k'(w)$	—	—
Anterior palatal	g'	k'	$k'!$	x'	—
Alveolar	d	t , t'	$t!$	s , c	n , \bar{n}
Affricative	(dz ?), dj	ts , tc	$ts!$, $tc!$	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	—	m , \bar{m}
Lateral	\underline{l}	\underline{L}	\underline{L}'	\underline{l} , $\underline{\bar{l}}$, $\underline{\bar{l}}'$	—
Glottal stop	ϵ	—	—	—	—
Aspiration	—	—	—	xx	—
	y , \bar{y}	h	w		

The glottal stop, when not inherent in the stem, may occur independently only before \bar{l} , m , n , and w . It always disappears before velar and palatal sounds. The aspiration is always accompanied by a stricture corresponding to the quality of the vowel preceding it. After a , o , and u (and u diphthongs) it is of a guttural character; while when following e , i -vowels, or the i -diphthongs, it becomes palatal. It disappears before a following w or y .

ηha^{wts} I make it 10.4 $\eta ha^u w \bar{e}' wat$ I have it 18.4

$\bar{i} s \bar{s} \bar{o} x \bar{t} \bar{t} \bar{a}' n \bar{i}$ we two trade mutually 15.6

$\eta \bar{l} \bar{o}^{ux} \bar{t} \bar{a}' ya$ I am watching it $\bar{l} \bar{o} w \bar{i} \bar{t} \bar{i}' yeqem$ he took care 66.3
26.11

$p \bar{i}' x' p \bar{i}$ he went home 28.2 $x p \bar{i} y e' etc$ backwards, homewards
42.7

$ga i' x' qa' y \bar{o} n \bar{a}' ya$ he became
afraid of it 42.3

§ 4. Sound Groupings

As has been stated before, clusters of consonants are extensive, but present few complications. Whenever difficulties arise in pronouncing them, there is a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to

simplify them. Thus, combinations of more than two consonants are rare, except in cases where one of the component elements (frequently the middle consonant) is *m*, *n*, or one of the lateral series. Such combinations are made possible through the semi-vocalic character of these consonants. I have also found *xpq*, *xex*.

helq- to arrive

halqtsō'wat she would bring it to him 72.8

a'lqas fear 66.4

aqalqstō'wat he scared him 92.20

dE'msît prairie 22.12

dEmstē'tc through a prairie 22.11

In the same manner initial clusters, of which *m*, *n*, or *l* is the first element, are syllabified by vocalization of the first consonant either initially or terminally. A similar process takes place in clusters consisting of two consonants that belong to the same group.

The only consonantic combinations that are inadmissible are those of a *t*, *ts* or *s* + *m* or *n*.

Terminal clusters of three consonants are admissible only in cases where one of the component elements is a consonant easily subject to vocalization (a lateral, *m* or *n*).

l'nq 7.5

qa'mlt 102.16

yixa'ntcpts 60.3

tqa'nltts 28.1

Terminal clusters of two consonants are confined to the combinations of *m* + *t*, *m* + *s*, *m* + *x*; *n* + alveolar or affricative, *n* + *k*, *n* + *L*; *l* + alveolar or affricative (excepting *l* + *n*), *l* + *m*; *l* + *t* and *l* + *tc*. All other combinations are inadmissible (see §11).

The following examples of terminal sound groupings may be given:

L!ē'x·sîmt 74.19

îlt 7.8

hatā'yîms 20.14

mîlt! 76.12

yî'xumæ 122.22

tcîls

k'înt 5.2

be'îldj

xwändj 6.8

he'wîlts 140.14

k'wînts 96.11

tc'îltc! 26.26

lōwe'entc 6.1

tk'elm 136.7 (St. Clair)

denk 82.9

xalt 10.9

hanL 7.1

qe'ltc 6.4

An exceptional instance of a usually inadmissible sound grouping was found in *xyî'helq* 20.21.

All inadmissible terminal clusters are avoided through the insertion of a (weak) vowel between the two final consonants.

<i>dɛmst-</i>	<i>dɛ'msɪt</i> prairie 22.12
<i>hɛlq-</i>	<i>hɛ'laq</i> he arrived 20.18
<i>ɬhɪnp-</i>	<i>ɬhɪ'nap</i> he went through 22.11
<i>mɪlɔ-</i>	<i>mɪ'laɔ</i> lunch 28.15
<i>alq- + -s</i> (§ 25)	<i>a'lqas</i> fear 66.4
<i>wɪnq- + -s</i> (§ 25)	<i>wɪ'nqas</i> mat, spider 58.5

Inadmissible medial clusters are avoided through the insertion of a weak vowel or vowels:

<i>wɪnq- + -ɔɛm</i>	<i>wɪna'qɔɛm</i> it is spread out 32.14
<i>hɛlq- + -ɔɛm</i>	<i>hɛla'qɔɛm</i> it is the end 44.14
<i>ɪnq- + -a</i>	<i>ɪx lna'qa</i> they two went down 8.4

§ 5. Accent

With the exception of the monosyllabic particles, that are either enclitic or proclitic, each word in Coos has its stress accent, designated by the acute mark (') or by the rising tone rendered here by ~. The former accent is not inseparably associated with any particular syllable of a word. It may, especially in cases of polysyllabic stems, be shifted freely from one syllable to another, although it is very possible that this apparent shifting of accent may be largely due to the rapidity with which the words in question were pronounced by the natives. The circumflex accent appears mostly on the last syllable, and may best be compared with the intonation given to the word so in the English interrogative sentence IS THAT SO?

The accent very often modifies the syllable on which it falls by lending a specific coloring to the vowel, or by making it appear with a long quantity. This is especially the case in syllables with the obscure vowel, which, under the influence of accent, may be changed to an *a* or an *e*.

A very peculiar use of the accent is found in connection with the verbal stem *hɛlaq*. This stem expresses two different ideas, that are distinguished by means of the two kinds of accent. When occurring with the stress accent ('), *hɛ'laq* denotes TO GET, TO ARRIVE; while *hɛlāq* with the rising tone of *ā* expresses the idea TO CLIMB UP.

Phonetic Laws (§§ 6-14)

§ 6. *Introductory*

The phonetic laws are quite complex, and in a number of instances show such appalling irregularities that they defy all attempts at systematization. This is especially true of the contraction of two or more vowels into one, and of the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, the phonetic processes may be said to be due to contact phenomena and, in rare instances, to the effects of accent.

Vocalic Processes (§§ 7-11)

The processes treated in this division may be classified as follows:

- (1) Vocalic Harmony.
- (2) Consonantization of *i*- and *u*- diphthongs.
- (3) Contraction.
- (4) Hiatus.
- (5) Processes due to change from terminal to medial position.

§ 7. VOCALIC HARMONY

The most important phonetic law in the Coos language is the law of vocalic harmony. This tendency towards euphony is so strongly developed in the language, that it may safely be said to be one of its chief characteristics. Its purpose is to bridge over as much as possible the difficulties that would arise in trying to pronounce in quick succession syllables with vowels of widely different qualities. The process may be of a retrogressive or progressive character; that is to say, the suffix may change the quality of the stem-vowel, or *vice versa*. Only the vowels of the *a*- and *e*-series are affected by this phenomenon, which is not always purely phonetic.

The following suffixes cause a change from *a* to *ä*, a process called the *i*-umlaut:

-*i* neutral § 31 -*il* pronominal § 46 -*äye* transitional § 35

ŋhā'wîts I make it grow

hā'wî he grew up 64.24

ŋtsxawî'wat I kill him 26.22

ŋtsxewē'il she kills me 24.14

ŋhā'k!utîts I draw it up

il hāk!ut'äye they were drawn

up 30.1

A change of *a*-vowels into *e*-vowels due to other causes is effected by the pronominal suffixes *-ū* (§ 46), *-ēm* (§ 30), and by the imperative *-E* (§ 43).

ŋhā'k!ʷtîts I draw it up
k!a'wat he pecks at it 20.14
kwaā'nīya he knows it 26.18
pā'yat he shouted 32.1
tsxaʷ- to kill

ŋhā'k!ʷtîtsū he draws me up
ŋk'e'wîttū he pecks at me
kwee'nīyēm they know it 24.22
ɿ pē'tE you must shout 32.2
tsxe'wE kill him! 68.3

The following suffixes change the *e*-vowels of the stem into *a*-vowels:

-āmî, *-āîs* pronominal § 46

-āyām distributive § 37

-anāya § 50

tēine'henî he is thinking 24.13,
 14

he'wes a lie

x'ne'et it is on top 10.1

k!l'e'es black

xā'nîs sick 42.18

pɿpā'wîs hat 136.14

ē'tēinahānā'mî I am thinking
 of you

ē'hawasānā'îs you are lying to
 me

ŋx'naatā'ya I am riding (a horse)
k!lāā'yām blackish (black here
 and there)

xā'nanā'ya he made him feel
 sorry 42.18

pɿpā'wîsanāya he made a hat
 out of it

[NOTE.—The suffix *-anāya* is composed of *-enî* + *-āya*. The long *ā* of *-āya* affects the *e* of *-enî*, and the compound suffix changes the quality of the stem-vowel.]

Here may also belong the qualitative change of *yîxē'* ONE and *yā'xwā* TWO into *yîxahî'nā* ONE EACH and *yā'xwahî'nā* TWO EACH (see p. 374), and changes like —

îs we'lānî hanɿ we two fight will 116.11 (*wîl-* to fight)

gamelānî'we he commenced to swim around (*mîl-* to swim)

[Compare also the change of the possessive pronoun *lā*, *līye*, into *la*, *līya*, when preceding stems with *a*-vowels (see § 98).]

Progressive assimilation occurs very frequently, and affects almost all suffixes that have *e*-vowels. The following suffixes change their *e*-vowels under the influence of an *a*-vowel of the stem:

-e auxiliary § 44

-enî verbal § 45

-īye transitional § 35

-etc adverbial § 68

-īyawa nominal § 62

<i>nwî'tîne</i> with blood it is (<i>wî-tîn</i> blood) 20.6	<i>laⁿ nk!ā'ha</i> they with ropes are (<i>k!ā</i> rope) 46.9
<i>îl ntc!wā'te</i> they with fire are (<i>tc!wā't</i> fire) 42.12	<i>nmî'laqa</i> with an arrow he is (<i>mî'-laq</i> arrow) 20.18
<i>hätet'en'yeqem</i> the story is being told (<i>hä'teit!</i> story) 44.14, 15	<i>îl qanatcan'waq</i> they began to make fun (<i>qa'nate</i> joke) 50.12
<i>îc hewese'nî</i> you two are lying 28.13, 14 (<i>he'wes</i> lie)	<i>îl kwā'xalanî</i> they are making bows (<i>kwā'xal</i> a bow)
<i>qalîmî'ye</i> morning it got 20.4 (<i>qalîm-</i> morning)	<i>ḡhainahā'ya</i> I active became (<i>hai'-na</i> active)
<i>ā'yu îx'î'ye</i> surely a canoe it was (<i>îx'</i> canoe) 126.10	<i>ḡdōwāyahā'ya</i> I happened to want it (<i>dōwa-</i> to desire)
<i>demstē'tc Lhî'nap</i> through a prairie he went 22.11 (<i>de'm-sî't</i> prairie)	<i>t^hk!wî'l xā'^apate</i> he dove into the water (<i>xā'^ap</i> water) 26.27
<i>yîxū'wexetc la</i> into the house he went (<i>yîxū'wex</i> house) 28.10, 11	<i>L!tā'atc tsxawî'yat</i> on the ground he put it down (<i>L!tā</i> earth, ground) 36.20, 21

The same progressive assimilation may have taken place in the change of the transitive suffix *-ē'wat* into *-ō'wat* (see p. 337) whenever suffixed to stems ending in *u*-diphthongs.

<i>t^hkwîlē'wat</i> he is following him 22.2	<i>ḡtsxawî'wat</i> I kill him (<i>tsxaw-</i> to kill) 26.22
<i>ḡtcîntcîne'wat</i> I am thinking (of him)	<i>ē'wîlō'wat</i> you are looking for it (<i>wîl-</i> to look for something) 54.3

Another assimilatory process of this type is the change of the particle *îl* into *el* (*hel*) after a preceding *n* or *L* (see p. 388).

<i>lE'γî îl</i> good, indeed 5.3	<i>în hel</i> not so! 42.23
	<i>lE'γî ḡl'lel</i> good it would be indeed 70.5

In spite of this great tendency towards euphony, numerous instances will be found showing an absolute lack of vocalic harmony. Whether these cases are the result of imperfect perception, due to the rapid flow of speech or to other causes, cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

§ 8. CONSONANTIZATION OF I- AND U- DIPHTHONGS

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs are always changed into the semi-vocalic consonants *γ* and *w* when they are followed by another vowel.

The only exception to this rule occurs in cases where the diphthong is contracted with the following vowel (see § 9).

<i>penlō'wai</i> whale 30.10	<i>penlō'wayetc</i> a whale with 88.30
<i>ûx tîlâ'qai</i> they two are living 24.1	<i>hē'laq lē mā tîlâ'qayetc</i> he came to the people (who) lived (there) 36.12, 13
<i>t!^Ecî'ta^u</i> flint point	<i>nt!^Ecî'ta^uwe lē mî'laq</i> flint points have the arrows 62.27
<i>lō^u-</i> to eat	<i>lōwā'was</i> food 22.14
<i>xwî'lûx^u</i> head 30.14	<i>xL'ts xwî'lûxwîtc</i> she hit him over the head 66.5, 6
<i>k^u</i> perhaps + <i>îs</i> we two	<i>kwîs</i> let us two 26.15

§ 9. CONTRACTION

In Coos the contraction of two vowels immediately following each other is so uncertain that it is difficult to formulate any rule that would cover all irregularities. The main difficulty lies in the fact that contraction of vowels, and hiatus, seem constantly to interfere with each other. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

- (1) Two vowels belonging to the *u*-series are contracted into a long *û*.

<i>xteî'tcû + ûL</i>	<i>xteî'tcûL</i> how would (it be) 5.2
<i>yîkru + ûL</i>	<i>yî'kûL</i> perhaps it would (be) 17.7

- (2) Two long *î*-vowels are contracted into a long *î*.

<i>hâ'k!^utî + îye</i>	<i>ûl hâ'k!^utî'ye</i> they were drawn up 30.1
<i>henî + îye</i>	<i>hē'nîye</i> a while 42.17 (<i>hē'nîhen</i> many times 88.1)

- (3) Long *ē* or *î* are contracted with a following *ā* into long *ā* or *ē*.

<i>-enî + -āya</i>	<i>-anāya</i> (see § 50)
<i>plpā'wîsenî</i> he is making a hat	<i>plpāwîsa'nāya</i> he is making a hat out of it
<i>-nēî + -āwas</i>	<i>-nēîwas</i> (see § 59)

(4) Vowels of very short quantities are usually contracted with the following vowels of longer quantities, regardless of quality. The quality of the longer vowel predominates in such amalgamations. In the process of contraction, an *h* preceding the second vowel disappears.

<i>c^E + hanL</i>	<i>canL</i> a particle denoting certain expectation (see § 90)
<i>tsî + hanL</i>	<i>tsanL</i> only then shall . . . 78.15

An exception to this rule is found in the case of the *u*-vowels, which change a following *h* into a *w*.

yū + *he*
tsō then

yuwē' whenever 16.6
tsowē' as soon as 52.14

An interesting case of contraction is presented by the amalgamation of the personal pronouns and the negative particle *in*.

n̄ I + *in* NOT is contracted into *n̄*.

ē THOU + *in* NOT is contracted into *ēn*.

awin WE TWO + *in* NOT is contracted into *awī'n*.

lin WE + *in* NOT is contracted into *lī'n*.

cīn YOU + *in* NOT is contracted into *cī'n*.

n̄ tētc la^u tsaxā'wat not I how that one (to) kill it 62.21

ēn hanL dī'l you not will (be) something 10.5

awī'n kwaā'nīya we two not know it 120.23

lī'n canL xtcētc sqats we (can) not seize her 56.18

cī'n k'ēlē'wat you not forget it 40.18

Following are examples of uncontracted negative forms:

āx in kwaā'nīya they two (did) not know it 22.9, 10

īl in k'īlō'wīt they (did) not see it 32.3

§ 10. HIATUS

The same uncertainty that exists in the case of contraction of vowels is found in the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the coming-together of two vowels of like quantities and qualities is avoided by means of infixing a weak *h* between them. Two vowels of dissimilar quantities and qualities are kept apart by means of the accent.

Examples of insertion of *h*:

kwaā'nīya + *-āya*

kwaā'nīyahā'ya (they) came to know it 102.29

y'ne + *-īye*

ynehī'ye I came to be (the one)

sīL'nēī + *-īye*

sīL'nēhī'ye joined together it became 13.4

ts!xa + *-a*

nts!xa'ha *LE* *kwā'xaL* (covered) with skin is the bow 62.27, 28

hū^umā'k'e + *-e*

āx nhū^umā'k'ehe they two with wives are 42.15

helmā + *-īs*

helmā'hīs next day 6.7

Examples of division by means of accent:

*lɛ + -îtc**wlɛ'îtc* L!âts with it he spoke 16.2*L!tā + -atc**L!tā'atc* *lɛmî'yat* into the ground
he stuck it 64.1

§ 11. PROCESSES DUE TO CHANGE FROM TERMINAL TO MEDIAL POSITION

Terminal consonantic clusters are avoided by inserting a weak vowel between two consonants standing in final position (see § 4). But as soon as a suffix is added to a stem thus expanded, changing the cluster from a terminal to medial position, the inserted vowel is dropped, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

mî'laɣ lunch 28.15*mîlɛa'nɛm* lunch make me 114.5*dɛ'msîtc* prairie 22.12*dɛmstɛ'tc* *Lhî'nap* to the prairie
he came 22.11*Lhî'nap* he went through 22.11*ûx* *Lhînpî'ye* they two came
through 112.1*a'lqas* fear 66.4*ûx* *alqsâ'ya* they two are afraid of
it 7.5*hâ'tcîtc!* story 20.2*hâtct/enî'yeqɛm* a story is being
told 44.14, 15*tcî'laɣs* he was astonished
22.28*tcî'ltɛsɛɛm* he was astonished 128.
15*kwâ'xal* bow 60.14*ûx* *nkwâ'xla* they two have bows
12.9*mî'lat* he swam 30.7*mî'ltɛqɛm* he swam (out) 100.16

On the whole, Coos shows a marked tendency toward clustering of consonants in medial position. Thus, when a suffix beginning with a long vowel is added to a stem that has already been amplified by means of a suffix whose initial vowel is weak, the vowel of the first suffix is dropped, and its consonants are combined with the final consonants of the stem into a cluster.

hâ'lâtɛ elder brother 72.27*hâtltcî'yas* elder brothers*ɛ'kɛlâtɛ* father 20.25*ɛkɛlâtɛ'yas* fathers*la'xlîs* mud 52.10*xîltsa'etc* with mud 52.13*ɣhû'wîsîts* I marry her*hû'wîsîtsô'wat* he married 26.14

This change from a terminal to a medial position effects sometimes the dropping of a whole syllable.

mîllkwî'yâte younger brother
72.1*îl* *mîllkwî'tcînî* they are younger
brothers (mutually) 84.20

iluwē'xtcīs heart 5.3

ilū'tcīsīto lō'q'utats in his heart she
was boiling 108.27

pū'yat he took him, home
30.13

wūn ē'pūtā'mī hanL we two thee
take home will 126.19, 20

Another effect due to this law is the weakening of the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. This change takes place regularly when two or more suffixes have been added to one and the same stem.

lhinptsō'wat he takes him
through

lhinptsō'wītū he takes me
through

hū'mīstsō'wat he is marrying
them 26.14

ē'hū'mīstsōwītā'mī hanL I marry
thee will 184.6

Consonantic Processes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. TYPES OF CONSONANTIC PROCESSES

Consonantic changes are few in number, and due to contact phenomena. The following are the processes affecting consonants:

- (1) Consonantic euphony.
- (2) Simplification of doubled consonants.

§ 13. CONSONANTIC EUPHONY

This law affects the palatal sounds only, and results from a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to assimilate, whenever possible, the consonants of the *k*-series to the character of the preceding or following vowels. As a consequence of this tendency, *i*-vowels are invariably followed or preceded by the anterior palatals, while *u*-vowels change a following palatal into a *k*-sound with a *u*-tinge (a labialized *k*).

lā'nīk river 14.6

tsä'yūw small 20.5

wīw'ī'lis food 14.7

mā'luk^u paint 10.2

tahā'līk quiver 66.26

wū'ī'ūw^u head 30.14

w'nek hair 50.3

mēlā'kuk^u salmon heart 34.25

g'img'ī'mīs rain

gō^us all 9.3

Instances are not lacking where actual palatalization has taken place, or where an anterior *k* has been changed into a palatal *k* so as to conform to the character of the vowel following it.

k!a'lat he shouted 36.7

gak'elenī'we ī mēn they began to
shout 24.22

k!a'wat he pecks at it 20.9

k!ē'wītēm some one is pecking

ha'kat he crawled 32.12
tka'lmîts he sinks it
k'!xa'yé'es he is talking
 to him 30.23

pkāk' grandfather 28.19
tahā'lik' quiver 66.26
ax'î'axate uncle
k^umā'x horn 86.25

xha'k'îtc crawlingly 32.10
t^hk'elmîx^{em} (a) deep place 84.24
k'!x^e'em yé'es talk to me

pkā'kate grandfather 30.6
tahā'likate into the quiver 116.19
axā'x uncle 34.9
nk^umā'xa it has a horn 88.7

The only cases of consonantic assimilation that occur in Coos are the changes of sonants into surds, under the influence of a following surd.

ya'bas maggots 40.12

xya'bas yapti'tsa lä . . . maggots
 ate up his . . . (literally, mag-
 goted his . . .) 40.6

bîsk'e'to yî'xumx he had it (the
 water) in a cup 128.25

p^Esî'k' ā'tsem a cup give me 68.17

§ 14. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLED CONSONANTS

Doubled consonants are simplified in consequence of the tendency to avoid the clustering of too many consonants. The process consists in the simplification of a long (doubled) consonant, when followed by another consonant. Owing to the fact that only *l*, *m*, *n*, and *y* appear in doubled (long) quantities, they are the only consonants that are affected by this law.

mîlat he swam 30.7
tcî'lats he was astonished
 22.28

mî'lt^Eqem he swam (out) 100.16
tcî'lt^Es^{em} he was astonished 128.
 15

Lhî'nap he went through 22.11
nmü'heñet it is (crowded) with
 people 20.1

Lhînp^{ts}ō'wat he took him through
xmā'hentîtc like a person 30.22, 23

§ 15. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations in Coos are expressed by means of one of the five following processes:

- (1) Prefixation.
- (2) Suffixation.
- (3) Reduplication.
- (4) Syntactic particles.
- (5) Phonetic changes.

The number of prefixes is very small, and by far the majority of grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes and syntactic particles. Reduplication, although frequently resorted to, is used to express only a limited number of categories; while the phonetic changes are very rare, and exhibit a decidedly petrified character.

§ 16. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All stems seem to be neutral, and their nominal or verbal character depends chiefly upon the suffixes with which they are used. Consequently two different suffixes—one of a verbal and the other of a nominal character—may be added to the same stem, nominalizing or verbalizing it, according to the requirements of the occasion. In the following pages a distinction is made between verbal and nominal stems, which is based solely upon the sense in which the stem is used.

All prefixes express ideas of an adverbial character.

By far the majority of verbal suffixes indicate ideas of action and such concepts as involve a change of the subject or object of the verb. Hence ideas indicating causation, reciprocity, reflexive action, the passive voice, the imperative, etc., are expressed by means of suffixes. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes. Only semi-temporal ideas, such as the inchoative, frequentative, and transitional stages, are expressed by means of suffixes; while the true temporal concepts are indicated by syntactic particles. Instrumentality and agency are also indicated by suffixes.

All local relations are expressed by nominal suffixes. Abstract concepts are formed by means of suffixes.

Ideas of plurality are very little developed, and, with the exception of a few suffixes, are expressed by different verbal and nominal stems. Distributive plurality occurs very often, especially in the verb, and is indicated by suffixes or by reduplication. Reduplication expresses, furthermore, continuation, duration, and repetition of action.

A great variety of concepts are expressed by syntactic particles, especially ideas relating to emotional states and to degrees of certainty.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,—one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU) and the other the exclusive (I AND HE).

The demonstrative pronoun shows a variety of forms, but does not distinguish sharply between nearness or remoteness in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is very well developed, exhibiting special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and the distributive, which are indicated by means of suffixes.

The syntactic structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, and is characterized by the facility with which the different parts of speech may shift their position without changing in the least the meaning of the sentence. Incorporation and compound words are entirely absent, and the various parts of speech are easily recognizable through their suffixes.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 17-95)

Prefixes (§§ 17-24)

The number of prefixes is small. Three of the six prefixes found in this language — namely, the local, discriminative, and modal *x* — must have originally expressed one general idea incorporating these three concepts, because the phonetic resemblance between these suffixes is too perfect to be a mere coincidence. In addition to these prefixes, the article and the personal pronouns may be treated in this chapter, as they are loosely prefixed to the nominal (or verbal) stems, and in a great many cases form a phonetic unit with the words that follow them.

§ 17. *The Articles* *lE* and *hE*

The article *lE*, or *hE*, is used in the singular and plural alike, and may denote a definite or indefinite object. The definite article indicates an object that actually exists or that is intimately known to the speaker. No fixed rules can be given for the occurrence of the two different forms *lE* and *hE*, but the following general principle may be said to hold good: *hE* tends to occur at the beginning of a sentence and after words ending in vowels, dentals, and sibilants; while *lE* occurs in all other cases.

hE hatā'yîms (1) *mîx'sō'wēi* (2) *k!a'wat* (3) *hE to'qmas* (4) the wood-pecker (4) is pecking at (3) the lucky (2) money (1) 20.15

hî'nî stō^uq lE dî'lōl there stood the young man 22.27

wändj tēné'henî hE dî'lōl thus was thinking the young man 24.13, 14

ē'nek lE L'tā sticking out was the earth 6.7

The article very often performs the function of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, and in such cases is to be rendered by HE, SHE, or IT.

he't le he'laq le w'ingas ū tem'snātc (in order) to gamble he arrived, the spider's grandson 66.20, 21
he tsū'tsū he was killed 96.14

The article has a general nominalizing function, and when prefixed to adverbs, adjectives, etc., gives them the force of nouns.

he gō's dī't k'yēai's tsxaw'yat everything separately he put down 48.18, 19
gō's dī't lai'x·tset hee kw'na'tc (of) everything was started the appearance (i. e., everything began to have its present appearance) 12.7
he qa'ltes the length
mā il le ehe'ntc mā yā'lanī surely, (whatever) the far-off people were talking 66.13
la'w he'it kw'i'lel le e'k·i'LO'uts that (was) their sweat-house, which you found 62.25
y'ne ite le e'dōwāyextā'is qa'wa I am the one whom you wanted last night 50.25, 26

In some instances the article is prefixed to the personal pronoun of the third person singular for the sake of emphasis.

ta le'xā la'w qats i'nīex and he, he was just alone 68.2
ta le i'txā la'w penLO'wai it lōwē'wat and they, they whale are eating 130.13

It is also prefixed for the same purpose to the demonstrative pronoun *la'w*.

lela'w qal!āxex·i'we these began to flop around 17.6
qantc lela'w taā'yam wherever these went 22.17, 18

In certain local phrases the article prefixed to the whole and followed by the local term very often expresses local relation.

he de'msīt ntce'ne'nīs ha'w tīl^eqtsū at the edge (of) the prairie they sat down 22.15
he tskwa'xLīs nhal! stō'waq at the lower part (of) the fir-tree he stood up 26.17

(For the article as a possessive prefix, see § 98.)

§ 18. *The Personal Pronouns*

The following are the personal pronouns in Coos:

Singular	{	1st person	ŋ-
		2d person	ē-
		3d person	—
Dual	{	Inclusive	is-
		Exclusive	xwîn-
		2d person	ic-
		3d person	ux-
Plural	{	1st person	lin-
		2d person	cîn-
		3d person	il-

There is no special form for the third person singular, which is expressed by the mere stem or by the article.

he'mîs dî't ɲk'îlō'wî't big something I saw 62.21

tsî ē'qa'qa't merely you are sleeping 68.19

ā'yu tō'hîts indeed! he hit it 13.3

îs al'canî hanL we (two) will play 38.11

mā xwîn wutxai'yat a man we (two) brought home 128.8

tsō ic lē'γî now you two (are) well 120.20

ā'yu ux L^ēān surely they two went down into the water 54.16

lîn pî'x.pî hanL we will go home 120.21

cîn sqats hanL te tc!wû't you will seize that fire 40.18, 19

asō' tē il wu'txē again here they returned 30.5

The second persons dual and plural for the imperative form of intransitive verbs are *îce^ē* and *cîne^ē* respectively, instead of *ic* and *cîn*.

îce^ē stō^uq you two stand up! 120.15

tsî'x'tî îce^ē dĵî here you two come! 82.13

cîne^ē Lō^uq you get up! 30.19

But compare—

ic hemā'yE you two lay him bare! 24.10

tē' ic q!mî'tsE this you two eat! 120.16

tē cîn L!ē'yE tēɲ k'e'ta there you put this my hand! 80.19

The pronoun of the third person plural (*il*) very often precedes the article or the possessive pronoun of the third person singular in order to emphasize the idea of plurality.

gō^{us} dî't la^u tc!lē'wat, il lE mēlā'kuk^u, il lE ptsä, il lE mî'l^uxas
everything he is drying,—the salmon hearts, the gills, the tails
34.25, 26

xlé'itc k'p'ti'yap lä ä, it lä k'e'la, it la k'ala with it she painted their faces, their hands, their feet 122.7

The numerical particle *i'k'i* BOTH very often precedes the dual pronouns in order to emphasize the idea of duality.

tsō i'k'i qaxa'ntc üx x'i'ntset now both (of them) got on top 14.1

In the same way the particle *gō^{us}* ALL is placed before the plural forms in order to bring out the idea of plurality.

la^u gō^{us} wändj it L!ä'xem these all that way are talking 50.9, 10

As has been remarked before, the pronouns are loosely prefixed enclitics. They form no integral part of the word, although with a few exceptions they precede immediately the noun or verb to which they belong. They are always placed before the prefixes enumerated in §§ 19-24.

i'k'i üx nkwa'ala both of these have bows (literally, both they two [are] with bows) 12.9

tsō qalōw'i'we now I commence to eat

ic xqantcū'wis you two from what place (are)? 126.14

it k'!üxä'ap they have no water (literally, they [are] without water) 38.2

The personal pronouns are contracted with the negative particle *in* into *nī* I NOT, *ēn* THOU NOT, etc. (see § 9). The prefixed personal pronouns are also used in the formation of transitive subject and object pronouns (see § 46).

§ 19. *Inchoative qa-*

This prefix denotes the commencement of an action. The verb to which it is prefixed takes, with a few exceptions, the suffixes *-iwe* or *-iye* (see §§ 32, 35).

ā'yū qalōw'i'we indeed (she) commenced to eat 24.11

qatcinehen'i'we (he) began to think 20.7

üx qarvelän'i'we they two commenced to fight

tsō üx qayuwat'i'ye now they two commenced to travel 12.6

qamät'i'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3

When prefixed to an impersonal verb or to a noun with a verbal force, the suffix is omitted.

lä L!ahā'was la^u qa'xtō^u her garments (these) commenced to get stiff 110.3

qayixumatā'is (he) commenced to travel around (literally, [he] commenced the traveling) 32.10

§ 20. *Privative* k'lä-

It has the same function as the English suffix *-LESS*. With the possessive pronoun, it expresses *ABSENCE* (p. 399).

îl k'!ätc!wä'l they (have) no fire 38.1

k'!ä'tetc mî'lat (she) swam around naked (lit., without clothes) 86.1

k'!ähuwä'was mîtsî'ltî'ye suddenly she became pregnant (literally, without delay she became pregnant) 10.7

§ 21. *Adverbial* n-

This prefix may be rendered by *IN*, *AT*, *TO*, *ON*, *WITH*. When preceded by the article or those pronouns that end in a vowel, it is suffixed to them, and the unit thus obtained is loosely prefixed to the noun. The same rule applies to the discriminative and modal *x-*.

ä'wî't lE mä nL!tä'yas he killed (all) the people in the village 112.9, 10

ä'yu yu'kwe län yîxä'wex surely he came ashore at his house (and not lă nyîxä'wex) 36.6

lowî'tat hE dî'löl läl nmî'k'e ran the young man to that basket 28.27

nxala'wîs la^u hē'laq with heat she arrived 24.9

n- in the sense of *WITH* very often exercises the function of our auxiliary verb *TO HAVE*, *TO BE*. In such cases the noun to which it is prefixed takes the verbal suffix *-e* or *-a* (see § 44).

nwî'tîne lă k^uhă'yeg his excrements are bloody (literally, with blood [are] his excrements) 20.6, 7

îs nhūmä'k'ehe we two have wives (literally, we two with wives are) 10.9

nā^ant mä la^u tc!pā'yā^u nk!ā'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, many people those braided with ropes are) 46.8, 9

ntc!ā'ha dî'l animals (lit., with "walkers" something [that is]) 46.1

§ 22. *Locative* x-

The prefix *x-* signifies *FROM*.

xqantc la^u sî'x·t^Etsa from where that one scented it 22.24

xqat tqanLts from below he strikes it 28.1

When prefixed to nouns, the nouns usually take the adverbial suffix *-ē'tc* *IN* (see § 67).

xkwîlē' Lē'tc ŋdĵî I came from the sweat-house (literally, from in the sweat-house I came)

In some cases the nouns take, instead of the suffix *-ētc*, the adverbial prefix *n-* (see § 21).

hā'lkwīt hē k'ā hāx nk'wī'nts he took the rope off his neck 98.23
(literally, he took off the rope his from on neck)

§ 23. *Discriminative x-*

The prefix *x-* occurs very often with the subject of transitive verbs, and denotes the performer of the action. (For *x-* preceded by the article or pronoun, see § 21.)

kā^s tō' hīts hēx dī'lōl almost hit it the young man 20.20, 21
kwī'la^u hā^u'xts lēx mātēl' tsīnātē ice made the father-in-law 26.27, 28
xyī'xē' dū'mīl la^u hā'lqait one man to him came 15.5
īn kwaā'nīya lēx wī'ngas hū^u'mīk not knew it the Spider-Old-Woman 58.9, 10

x- is always prefixed to the subject of the sentence when the sentence contains both subject and object, or when the person spoken to may be in doubt as to which noun is the subject of the sentence.

hū^u'mīstsō^wwat lēx dī'lōl lē yū'xwā hū^u'mā'k'e married the young man the two women 26.14
k'īlō'wīt hē wīx'ī'lis lēx hū^u'mīs saw the food the woman 64.16, 17
k'īlō'wīt lēx dū'mīl lē xā'nīs saw the husband the sick (man) 128.11, 12
sqa'ts hāl hū^u'mīk lēx swat seized that old woman grizzly bear 102.21, 22

x- is never omitted as a prefix when the subject of the sentence is an animal, an inanimate object, or any part of speech other than a noun.

xx'īmī qk'īlō'wītū the bear saw me (but *cx'īmī qk'īlō'wīt* I saw the bear)
xya'bas yaptī'tsa lā pī'lik'īs maggots ate up his anus 40.6, 7
ak'a'nak he'ī'ta hēx x'ōwā'yas sticking out is (the) tongue the snake 42.1, 2
xqaine'Es kā^s tsaxū'wat cold (weather) nearly killed him 32.7
xwīt q'tō'hītsū some one hit me
nī kwaā'nīya xwīt I don't know who (it is)
xī'nīlēx x'īlō'wīt lōpī'tetē alone (they) got into (the) basket 34.19, 20
xlalā^u tō^uxtā'ya that is the one (who) watched it 94.6

in lE'γī xkwī'na^{ut}c it does not look good (literally, not good [the manner of] looking 34.18

xnā^{ant} la^u Lō^{ux}Lō^wwax many (persons) her were clubbing 80.4, 5

x- is always prefixed to the vocative cases of nouns when they are used with the possessive pronouns. This is due to the desire on the part of the speaker to avoid ambiguity or obscurity of meaning.

tā'ī nex hū^wmīs halloo, my wife! 54.2

ēdjī nex dā'mīl you come, my husband! 70.16

ēlō^{uz}tīyextā'īs hanL nex cī't!ā you shall take care of me, oh, my pet! 86.20.21

ēdjī nex temā'mīs you come, my grandsons 82.12, 13

ēLō^{uk} nex k!ō'la sit down, my father

While the vocative cases (especially for nouns expressing terms of relationship) have special forms, the omission of the discriminative prefix could nevertheless obscure the meaning of the sentence, as the possessive pronoun coincides with the form for the personal pronoun.

Thus, if in the sentence *ēLō^{uk} nex k!ō'la*, the *nex k!ō'la* were deprived of its discriminative prefix, it might mean YOU SIT DOWN. I (AM THE) FATHER. Since, however, the action is to be performed by the person addressed (in this particular instance, "the father"), it is discriminated by the prefix *x-*. Such an ambiguity can not occur in sentences where the vocative is used without the possessive pronoun, where the prefix is consequently omitted.

ēLō^{uk} pkā'k you sit down, grandfather! 108.14

mītxa' nem L ū'mā make me (necessarily) lunch, grandmother!
114.5

§ 24. Modal and Instrumental x-

This prefix may be best translated by IN THE MANNER OF. Its function is the same as that of our English suffix -LY. There is an etymological relation between this suffix and the discriminative and locative *x-*, although I was unable to ascertain its exact nature. The suffix -*tc* is frequently added to stems preceded by the modal prefix *x* (see § 36).

xLōwē'entc k!wī'nts entirely *Lōwē'entc Lōwī'tat* all (seals) ran
he swallowed her 102.23 (into the water) 56.9, 10

xtōi'tōū ēxa'lat how are you? *tōi'tōū yē ilūwē^xtcīs* what do you
(literally, in what way you think? (literally, what your
do?) 36.13 heart?) 6.9; 7.1

xqa'lyeqē^{tc} ūt kwīna'ē'wat as salmon they look upon it (literally,
in the manner of salmon they see it [*qa'lyeq* salmon]) 130.14

xp̄iye'etc qatnuwān̄i'we backwards she commenced to pull them
(literally, in the manner of going home [*p̄i'x p̄i* he goes home])
80.8, 9

in xā'yuw̄itc ā'tsa a small amount she gave her (literally, not in
the manner of enough [*ā'yu* sure enough]) 64.21

ḡā'w̄its hēx t!ḡc̄i'tc I finished shoving (literally, I finished in the
manner of . . .)

This prefix is used frequently to express the idea of instrumentality. The noun is then usually followed by the adverbial suffix *-etc* (see § 70). The idea of instrumentality is here so closely interwoven with that of modality, that the instrumental use of a modal prefix is very natural.

k!w̄int x̄m̄l̄aqetc he shot at him with an arrow (literally, he shot
at him in the manner of an arrow) 22.16

paā' h̄it hē lō'p̄it x̄qā'lyeqetc full (was) the basket with salmon 36.1

lēx ts̄ȳnā' h̄etc L!ā'ts with the thunder language he spoke 18.9

x̄m̄k'e'etc tōw̄it̄in̄i'ye by means of a basket he was dropped down
28.9, 10

Suffixes (§§ 25-80)

§ 25. General Remarks

The number of suffixes in Coos is quite small when contrasted with the numerous suffixes found in some of the neighboring languages. This number appears even smaller when we take into consideration the compound suffixes that consist of two, and in some cases of three, independent suffixes. A still more sweeping reduction may be obtained through an etymological comparison between the different suffixes. There can be little doubt that if the language, in its present status, would lend itself to an etymological analysis, many suffixes, apparently different in character and even in form, could be shown to be derived from one common base. Thus it is safe to say that the suffix *-t* primarily had a general verbal character, and that all the other suffixes ending in *-t* are derived from this original form. This assertion is substantiated by the fact that the present transitive suffix *-ts* is added to a number of stems that have already been verbalized by the general verbal *-t* suffix, and that the causative passive suffix *-et* is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts* (see § 26).

In the same manner it may be said that *-s* was the general suffix indicating nouns, and that all nominal suffixes ending in *-s* eventually go back to this nominal suffix.

This theory of a close etymological connection between the different suffixes is practically proven by a comparison of the various adverbial suffixes ending in *-tc*. Such a comparison will show that all these suffixes must have been derived from one universal form, which may be reconstructed as **tc*. Furthermore, all the suffixes expressing distribution have the element *n-* in common, which consequently may be regarded as the original suffix conveying the idea of distributive plurality; the more so, as in the following instances *n-* actually denotes distribution.

k'e'ta hand 48.17

djī it came 52.8

k'tsas ashes

c'ne^e tī'k'E you stand! 122.10

k'e'tnatc ttō'w'x'its he rubbed her
in his hands (literally, with each
of his hands he rubbed her)
108.20, 21

lE djī' nī they came (singly) 52.17

k'itsī'snetc tēp'īt tēt with ashes
he marked himself [all over]
28.16

tseL'nēⁱ āx tī'kīne side by side they
two were standing 62.22

There also seems to be an etymological connection between the suffix denoting neutral verbs and the suffixes expressing the passive voice, although in this case the relation is not as transparent as in the instances mentioned above; and there may have also existed an original relation between the verbal suffixes that end in *-ū*.

The following list will serve to illustrate better the theory set forth in the preceding pages. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the reconstructed original suffixes, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear to-day.

VERBAL SUFFIXES

**-t* general verbal

**-t* transitive

-ts transitive

-eet causative passive

-et causative passive

-ī, ēⁱ neutral

-āyu, -ēⁱyu, -īyu passive

-āyā^u passive participle

-īyarwa (?) agency

**-n* general distributive

-nēⁱ, -nī distributive

-ānī distributive

-īnī distributive

-hīnā distributive

**-u* modal (?)

-u transitional

-ū present passive

-ū transitive subject and object
pronoun

-ū reflexive plural

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

*-s general nominal	*-tc general adverbial
-îs nominal	-tc modal verbal
-es, -tes abstract	-ätc (?) suffix of relationship
-enîs abstract	-etc local
-āwas abstract	-ētc, -̄tc local and modal nominal
-nē ⁱ was abstract	-ewîtc local
-ō ^u nîs verbal noun	-etc instrumental
-sî verbal noun	
-îs local	
-îs ordinal	

All suffixes may be classified into two large groups as verbal and nominal suffixes; that is to say, as suffixes that either verbalize or nominalize a given neutral stem. I have included adverbial suffixes in the latter group, on account of the intimate relation between nominal and adverbial forms.

Verbal Suffixes (§§ 26-55)

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 26-27)

§ 26. Transitive -t, -ts

-t. This suffix may have been originally the verbal suffix *par excellence*. It points out not only the active, transitive idea, but also presence of the object of a transitive action. It has frequently a causative meaning. It transforms impersonal or passive verbs into transitives, and verbalizes any other part of speech. It is usually suffixed to the bare verbal stems whenever these end in a vowel, nasal (*m, n*), or lateral; in all other cases it is preceded by *a* or *î*, making the suffix -at or -ît. No phonetic rule has been discovered that will show when -at or -ît ought to be used. It may, however, be suggested that -at denotes transitive actions not yet completed, while -ît designates a finished, transitive action. These connectives disappear when other suffixes are added to the transitive -t.

np^ecî't I blow it away

nk!^uxwî't I lose it

nx^pî't I burned it

nqa'ltcî't I slacken it

tci L!kwî't lâl hū^umî'k'ca there
covered (them) that old wo-
man (with blankets) 82.14

p^ecî hE dî'lō't blew away the young
man 26.21

k!^uxwî' le'ûx dâ'mî't got lost their
(dual) husband 22.9

xpî it burned down 58.12

xqe'îtc slowly 17.7

L!kwî blanket 84.8

āw'patc lōwa'hai into the *lōwa'hai lē dī'lōl* ran the young
 water she runs 56.8 man 78.27
ē'lō'kwīt hanLawe you will *lō'wak^u* lightning 18.5
 make lightning 18.7
la^u qanō'tca l'nuwīt lē ā'la *l'nuwī* very much 98.28
 that one outside (it) pulled,
 the child 11.1, 2
īl ŋya'alt I am talking about *wāndj yā'lanī* thus they are talk-
 them ing 56.18

gamīt he bit her 100.16
yī'xen L!x'v'nt once she examined it 86.18
k!wā'ant he heard it 24.8
ŋL!nō^ut hē tc!i'lē I opened the door 74.9
qai'cītc ha^u īl yū'wīt into small pieces that thing they divided it
 130.26
ŋha'mlt I float it
mu'xwīt la kēla she felt for *ŋmu'xwat* I am feeling it
 her foot 80.21
ŋtc!pīt I braided a rope *ŋtc!pat* I am braiding a rope
wī'luwīt hē tsetse'kwīn he *ŋwī'lat* I am looking (around)
 looked for the cane 28.18
a^u'qat hē k!wā'was he took off the shirt 78.11, 12

There are a few stems denoting intransitive ideas that occur with this suffix.

pī'nat lē wē'hel shaking was the stomach 58.24
kwīlāt (the bow) was bent 64.3

-ts. This suffix has the same function as the previously discussed **-t**. Not the slightest difference could be detected in the use of these two phonetically different suffixes.

-ts is either suffixed directly to stems ending in a vowel, nasal (*m, n*), or a lateral, or it is connected with the stem by means of *a* or *i*. The only phonetic law that I was able to observe in reference to the two connecting vowels, is that *i* can never serve as a connective between the suffix **-ts** and a verbal stem ending in the velar surd *q*.

<i>ŋtsō^w'xLts</i> I greased it	<i>tsōwe'^xL</i> grease 122.6
<i>ŋqai'nts</i> I cool it	<i>ŋqai'na</i> I am cold
<i>ŋxaī'ls</i> I made him warm	<i>xaī'la</i> she became heated 108.26
<i>ŋhā'wīts lē tcīcī'mīl</i> I grew	<i>hā'wī hē tcīcī'mīl</i> (it) grew up, the
the spruce-tree	spruce-tree
<i>L!k'īts</i> she poured it 102.12	<i>L!k'ī</i> it spilled 172.14
<i>ŋpō^w'kwīts</i> I made him a slave	<i>pō^w'kwīs</i> slave

§ 27. Causative *-iyat*

This suffix is always added to the bare stem of intransitive or neutral verbs. Stems ending in the palatal surd *k* or palatal spirant *x* palatalize these final consonants (see § 13).

ā'yu pī'iyat hāl tō'mīL indeed, *pī'x·pī* he went home 56.11
he took home that old man
30.13

L!tā'atc tsawī'iyat on the *tsawī* he lies 20.12
ground he laid (them) down
36.20, 21

ŋkwīl'iyat tE k!wā'sīs I roll *kwīl'lä'nī lE baltī'mīs* continually
that ball rolling is the ocean 6.2

ā'yu L!tō'iyat hE ā'la surely *L!ē'tc* he went out 20.4
he took out the child 12.1

dī'l ŋlā'iyat something I start *la* he went 22.18

līn helāqā'iyat we took him up *helāq* he climbed up 13.10

There is practically no difference between this causative suffix and the transitive *-ts*, except for the fact that *-ts* seems to be regularly suffixed to stems ending in velar or palatal consonants. There is only one verbal stem ending in a velar surd (*q*) that takes the causative suffix *-iyat*; namely, the stem *helāq-* TO CLIMB. This stem infixes an *a* between its final consonant and the causative suffix, as shown by the last example above.

The reason why the causative *-iyat* is suffixed to this stem, and not the transitive *-ts*, may lie in the fact that there are two stems *helāq-* differentiated by accent only (see § 5); namely, *he'laq* TO ARRIVE, and *helāq* TO CLIMB UP.

Since the transitive *-ts* has been suffixed to *he'laq* TO ARRIVE (compare *hatāyīms halqtsō'wat* SHE BROUGHT THE MONEY 78.13, 14), the causative *-iyat* may have been suffixed to *helāq* TO CLIMB because confusion is thus avoided.

When followed by the pronominal suffixes, *-iyat* is contracted with them into *-ītā'mī*, *-ītā'īs*, *-ī'tū*, and *ī'ta* (see §§ 9, 11).

xwīn ēpūtā'mī hanL we two will take you home 126.19, 20
ē'tsawītā'īs you laid me down
ŋhelāqā'itū he took me up

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 28-31)

§ 28. Intransitive *-aai*

This suffix signifies that a verb usually transitive is without an object. It is consequently employed in the formation of intransitive verbs. With the exception of one or two sporadic instances, it is always suffixed to the reduplicated form of the verbal stem, thus denoting a repetitive action.

lqa'ai läl tō'mäl he believes that, old man 28.16

i'nta däl' haxwinné'itc yōyō'waa'i bad something with us is stopping 24.3

yuvé' yä'mat ha^u gō's mäl'lätc lōk^ulō'kwaa'i whenever he twinkles (his eyes), there always is lightning 16.6, 7 (*lō'wak^u* lightning)

gō's mäl'lätc tseSLa'qaai le'il slaqa'ēwat she bathed him 60.6
kwé'neL always bathing
was their sister 84.21, 22

ak!a'laai le hū'mäs shout- *k!a'lat* he shouted 36.7
ing is the woman 56.5

sätsa'ataai he läl hū'mäl'k'ca sa'at murder-dance
she was usually dancing the
murder-dance, that old
woman 116.26, 27

inä'naai (it is) nothing 122.27 *in* not 10.8

kwitkwa'taai he was dream- *kw'a'täs* dream 98.7
ing 98.6

§ 29. Reciprocal *me^u*

-me^u is usually preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* or *-ts*. Owing to the fact that the consonantic combination of *t* or *ts* + *m* is not permissible, this suffix appears as *-eme^u* (see § 4).

il sqa'tseme^u they seize one another

ä'yu äx häit'il'teme^u surely they two gambled together 38.23

il tsäl'atseme^u le no^usk'ilä hatä'yäms they divided among themselves the Giant-Woman's money 80.29; 82.1

il i'näye kweenä'yexteme^u they no longer know one another 46.9
äx wäl'leme^u they two fight (together) 48.16

§ 30. Suffixes Defining the Subject: *qEm*, *-xEm*; *ü*; *-ēm*

-qEm (*-xEm*). This suffix serves a double purpose. The stem to which this suffix is added must have a singular subject. There is another suffix, *-ü*, which expresses the same idea for plural subjects. This suffix will be treated in § 52 (p. 357).

(1) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* or *-ts*, it assumes a reflexive character, indicating that the subject of the action is at the same time its object.

hän k'e'la la'atsæm le x'ōwā'yas into her hand came the snake (literally, put herself in) 86.4

Compare *mīk'e'etc ŋla'ats le x'ōwā'yas* into the basket I put the snake

yuwe hī'me alīcanī'waq la^u tcī he ē'k'tæm whenever children played, she there would go among them (literally, put herself among them) 70.19, 20

tqā'līsetc panā'qtsæm in the sun he is warming himself 32.8

tsxā'yat Lō'qtsæm in the morning he got up (literally, got himself up) 34.22

ŋtc!ō'w'tsæm hanL I will go to bed (literally, I lay myself down will)

Compare *tcī ū tc!ō^u* there they went to bed 50.12

ā'l!ōlŋtsqem hāl tō'mīL is making himself young that old man 22.7

yīqantce'wītc tctcī'tsqem back she drew (herself) 64.29, 30

tsō lhē'tqem now it rested 88.16

tsō L!ha'tsqem le hū'w'nīs then dressed (herself) the woman 86.6

Compare *ŋL!ha'ts le ā'la* I dress the child

hī'nī t^Ek'e'lmītsqem there it let itself down 90.6

(2) When suffixed to the bare verbal stem, especially to intransitive stems or to stems expressing motion, it conveys the idea TO BE IN A POSITION, TO BE IN A CONDITION, TO BE IN THE ACT OF. For this last-named purpose the suffix *-æm* is mostly used.

wā'ndj L!ā'æm that way he *ā'yu L!äts* indeed he spoke 16.2
is talking 15.8, 9

ai'wa īn kwī'l'æm still not *kwī'lt* he bends it 62.29
bent (it is) 62.29

tsemī'x'æm klwī'nts le klā'- tcī he tsīmīx'tō'wat le īx there
hat the neck is fastened with (they) fastened the canoes 46.6, 7
a rope (literally, fastened
condition, neck, with a rope)
92.4

hī'nī k^u ē'k'æm there he may be among them 94.28

hats kwa ū'yu la^u wīnā'q'æm just like a rainbow (it is) spread
out 32.14

tsō be'ltc'æm now he is warming his back 32.18

īn tc!lē'æm te lā'nīk not in a dry condition is that river 14.6
(*tc!līs* dry 166.2)

tsō lé'tîx' he'lkwēxem now from there she came out 108.28 (*ha'l-kwīt* she took it out 60.1)

hats he'nāhen tî'wîxem î la^u tsxū just many times it coiled up as it lay 88.1

In some instances the suffix *-xem* is used to express the place of a certain action. This use of the suffix is in perfect accordance with its general function of indicating the condition, or position of an occurrence.

qantc lē tc!wē'xem where the bed was (literally, sleeping-place or place of lying down) 86.7

îl tc!ō^u they went to bed 50.12

hî'nî t^{Ek}·e'lmîxem there was a deep place (literally, the place of sinking something into the water) 84.24

în t^{Ek}·elm it did not sink 136.7

c'î'γ^{itc}xem a circle (literally, it is clear around [it])

γc'î'γ^{itc}ō^u'wat I surround it

(See also § 40.)

-ēm. This suffix indicates that an indefinite person, unknown to the speaker, is the subject of an action. It is always added to stems expressing transitive ideas, or to stems that have already been verbalized by means of the transitive suffixes *-t* or *-ts* (see § 26). The pronominal objects of actions performed by an indefinite subject are expressed by prefixing the personal pronouns (see § 18) to the verb.

kwaā'nîya he knows it 26.19

ûx kwee'nîyēm those two somebody knows 19.10

nîxt- touch

ûx în nî'wî'tēm those two not somebody touched 122.25

latsā'ya he goes after it 94.7

latsōtēm somebody went after it 92.13

hā'k!^ut- to draw up

hā'k!^utēm somebody draws him up 92.9

§ 31. Neutral-î, -ēⁱf

-î (-ēⁱ) is employed in the formation of neutral verbs. It changes the *a*-vowels of the stem to *e* (see § 7).

yō'qē lē kā'wîl it split, the basket 8.1

ûx yō'qat they two split it 7.9

kā's kwa tc!hēⁱ almost as if it went out (the light) 128.19

tc!hats he put it out 128.26

lōwē'ente w'tî the whole thing (wholly) slid down 26.19

γx'tît I slide it down

kwa kwí'nís p^Ecī lē dī'lōl like *ŋp^Ecí't* I blow it away

(a) feather blew away the
young man 26.21

gō^{us} dī^h há'wī everything *ŋhā'wīts* I grow it
grew up 9.3, 4

x'pī lē yāā'wex it burned *x'pí'tsī* debris 58.19
down, the house 58.12, 13

wítwehé'xtcī la ā'la it took *waha'xtcas* sickness
sick, his child 42.17

ēpí'ctcī hanL you will get *pí'ctcīts tet* he warmed himself 32.8
warm 100.27

In a few instances verbs having this suffix were rendered by the passive voice, which may have been due to the fact that my informant could not express in English the intransitive neutral idea implied in the suffix.

ā'yu há'k!^utī xqa'wax indeed, *ŋhā'k!^utīts* I draw it up
he was drawn up from
above 98.2

ma^{wu}xa'hī ū xwí'lux^u was *mau'xat* he chewed him up 68.10
chewed up his head 124.3

k!^uxwī lē hū'wīs was lost *k!^uxwīt* he lost it
the woman 54.19

SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 32-35)

§ 32. Inchoative *-īwe*

-īwe indicates the commencement of an action, and is suffixed to verbal stems expressing active or transitive ideas. If the stem to which it is to be suffixed does not express such an idea, it is preceded by the verbal *-enī* (§ 45), but never by *-t* or *-ts*. It may also be preceded by the distributive *-ānī* (see § 37). The verbal stem must always be preceded by the prefix *qa* (see § 19).

ā'yu qalōwī'we indeed (she) begins to eat 24.11

tsō hanL qac^Ealctī'we now (he) will begin to work 26.18

qalnī'we (he) commenced to hunt 106.16

īl qaskweyānī'we they begin to talk (among themselves) 66.21

qatcīnehenī'we (he) began to think 20.7

qax'īntetānī'we (he) began to jump about 102.15

qak'elānī'we ū mēn began to shout at each other, the people
(literally, mutually) 24.22

qamelānī'we (he) began to swim around 176.16

§ 33. Frequentatives *-ē'wa(t)*, *-ō'wa(t)*

-ē'wa(t) indicates repetition, frequency or duration of action. The verbal stem to which it is suffixed is very often reduplicated, thus bringing out more clearly the frequentative idea. It is added to stems regardless of whether they express real transitive actions or not.

<i>tkwīlē'wat</i> <i>tē to'qmas</i> he is following that woodpecker 22.2	<i>ŋt^Ekwīlts</i> I followed him
<i>asō' īlnē'wat</i> again he is setting the basket 34.23	<i>ŋīlnts</i> I set the basket
<i>xqa'wax la^u kwīna'ē'wat</i> from above these are looking at it 6.4	<i>qe'ttc ūx kwī'nait</i> down they two looked 6.4
<i>gō^{us} dī't aiwē'wat</i> everything he is killing 68.23	<i>ai'wīt</i> he killed (them all) 112.9
<i>ā'yuxwāndj ha^uwē'wat</i> surely that way he has been doing it 92.8	<i>yīxä'wex ha^{ux}ts</i> a house he built 32.18
<i>tē īl k'īx'L'ōwē'wat lē hī'me</i> there they are putting in the children 52.9	<i>ŋx'L'ō^ut</i> I put it in
<i>lehe^unē' la^u hīthītōwē'wat</i> side by side she put them down 60.4	<i>la^u hī'tō^uts</i> she put them down 60.4
<i>k'īnk'īnē'wat hē pāl'ā'ye</i> he was trying the weight 78.18	<i>ūx k'īnt</i> they two try it 7.4

This suffix appears sometimes as *-īwat*. For an explanation of this seeming irregularity, see § 2.

<i>ūx kwīskwī'wat</i> they two are informing him 20.25	<i>ŋskwī'wat hanL</i> I will inform him 74.4
<i>ŋxL'ī'wat</i> I am hitting him with a club	<i>xL'ts</i> he hit her with a club 64.28

Instead of an initial reduplication, the verbal stem very often appears with a reduplication of the final consonant, denoting continuity and distribution of action (see § 83).

<i>ŋt^Ecīcī'wat</i> I am shoving it (back and forth)	<i>t/cīts</i> he shoved it 32.24
<i>īl pīctcatcī'wat</i> they are warming (themselves singly)	<i>pī'ctcīts tet</i> he warmed himself 32.8

tci tsâ'â'wat there he was holding him (for a long time)
104.15, 16 (*tsâ'* here 24.4)

-ô^uwa(t) exercises the same function as *-êⁱwat*. The only difference between the two suffixes is, that *-ô^uwat* is added to the verbs already amplified by the transitive suffixes *-t* or *-ts*, while *-êⁱwat* can be suffixed only to the stem.

tsô ûx tkwîltsô^uwat now they two *tkwîlê^uwat* he follows him 22.2
follow him 9.9

tc!e'etc hît!^Etsô^uwat h_E pen- hî'yet! he came ashore 32.5
lô'wai ashore it brought a whale
88.22, 23

tci halqtsô^uwat there she is bring- *he'laq* he arrived 22.22
ing it to him 72.8

aqalqstô^uwat he is frightening *a'lqas* fear 66.4
him frequently 100.24

In a few cases *-ô^uwat* is suffixed to the verbal stem.

âtislô^uwat l_E tēⁱ L!tā he recognizes this (here) land 30.28

k!wenî'ya^u qwîlô^uwat food I am looking for 54.4

qtsxan^uwat hanL I will kill him 26.22

The suffixation of *-ô^uwat* instead of *-êⁱwat* in these instances may have been caused by the law of euphony, as these stems end in a *u*-diphthong. Thus, the stem of *tsxan^uwat* is *tsxa^u-*, as shown by the form *tsxan^u'yat* (36.21) HE LAID HIM DOWN, consisting of the stem *tsxa^u-* and the causative suffix *-îyat*.

Whenever the pronouns expressing both subject and object are suffixed to verbs ending in *-ô^uwat*, this suffix changes to *-ô^uwît* (see § 11).

ê^ehû^umîstso^uwîtā'mî hanL I will marry you 184.6

qhalqtsô^uwîtū he brought me frequently

§ 34. Frequentative Causative *-aêⁱwat*

There can be little doubt that the *-êⁱwat* in *-aêⁱwat* is identical with the frequentative suffix *-êⁱwat*, discussed on p. 336. Owing to the fact that a number of verbal stems ending in *a* take the suffix *-êⁱwat*, there is a good deal of confusion between these two suffixes.

xā^ap la^u laa'êⁱwat water car- *la* he went 22.18
ried them away 46.16, 17

ic slna'ē'wat you two are hid- *ūx slnī'yat* they two hide him
ing him 24.11 24.9
la^w to'icūla'ē'wat he (on) that *to'ī'cūl* mat 7.3
(they) are sitting usually
(literally, they caused it to
be a mat) 38.3

Compare, on the other hand,

axq'a'wax ūx kwīna'ē'wat from *kwīna-* to look
above they two are looking
at it 6.9

§ 35. Transitionals *-īye*, *-nts*, *-u*

-īye indicates a transitional stage,—a change from one state into another, that has already taken place. It is suffixed mostly to nouns and particles, although frequently it is found added to verbs. It may best be rendered by IT BECAME, IT GOT, IT TURNED OUT TO BE, or by the passive voice. Stems ending in a vowel other than *i* insert an *h* between the final vowel and the suffix (see § 10), while stems ending in *-i* contract this vowel with the following *-i* of the suffix into a long *ī* (see § 9). When suffixed to a stem that has an *a*-vowel, it changes into *-aya* (see § 7).

demste'tc ūx Lhīnpī'ye they two came through a prairie (literally, through a prairie they two went through, it got) 112.1
(*Lhī'nap* he went through 22.11)

kwīna'ē'watī'ye he began to look at him

īn kwīne'welī'ye we became poor 28.21

tstīmī'ye c^x it got summer, indeed (*tstīm* summer 162.20) 30.20

ā'yu ī'x'īye surely it was a canoe (*īx'* canoe 44.20) 126.10

yīxe'n qatīmī'ye one morning (literally, once morning it got) 20.4

īl he'tīye they became rich 84.17

qhai'nahā'ya I became active (*qhai'na* I am active)

qa^wwahā'ya in the evening (literally, whenever evening it got)

(*qa^wwa* evening 50.26) 82.7

šīlnē'hī'ye le'ūx mī'laq joined *le'ūx mī'laq sīL'nēi* their (dual)
together became their two ar- arrows joined together are
rows 13.4 13.7

īl hā'k'ūtī'ye they were drawn *īl hā'k'ūtī* they are (being) drawn
up 30.1 up

tšō cūl xwāndjī'ye now surely it was that way (literally, that way
it turned out to be) 8.2

qnehī'ye la^w tō I became the owner of that thing (literally, me it
became [to whom] that belongs)

go^usē'ye la^u tsaxā'wat all (of them) he killed 68.9
ā'yu cīl īn dī'ti'ye surely, indeed, nothing it turned out to be
tsō la^u īl kwaā'nīyahā'ya now they came to know it 92.14

When suffixed to the negative particle *īn*, or to the contracted forms of *īn* + the personal pronouns (see § 9), it forms new particles, *ī'nīye*, *nī'ye*, *ēnīye*, etc., which were always rendered by NO LONGER, I NO LONGER, THOU NO LONGER, etc.

īl ī'nīye kwaā'nīya they no longer know it 50.18, 19
nī'ye ŋāā'nīs I am no longer sick
ēnīye hanL dī'l you will no longer (be) something 104.1

It appears as a suffix to the stem *he'nī-*, forming a compound *he'nīye* A WHILE, LONG TIME.

he'nīhen tī'wāxēm many times it coiled 88.1 (-*en* multiplicative suffix [see § 75]).
he'nīye āx we'lānī a long time they two fought (together) 132.8
īn he'nīye wā'nīs la ā'la not very long sick (was) his child 42.17, 18

It takes the place of the inchoative suffix *-īwe* (see § 32) in verbs not expressing a transitive, active idea, or not transitivized by the transitive suffix *-ē'nī*. (See also § 19.)

gamīlī'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3
āx gaywātī'ye they two commenced to travel 12.6

-nts conveys an active transitional idea. The difference between this suffix and *-īye* lies in the fact that the change indicated by the latter came about without any apparent active cause; while *-nts* expresses a change from one state into another, that presupposes a subject of the action. It is hence best rendered by TO CHANGE ONE INTO.

<i>ŋtō'māLnts ŋtē't</i> I into an old man change myself	<i>tō'māL</i> old man 22.7
<i>dī'lōtŋtsqēm lāl tō'māL</i> he is making himself young that old man 22.7	<i>dī'lōl</i> a young man 22.11
<i>lē hī'me ū lā'mak tsī la^u yīwa'-ntcŋts</i> (of) the children the bones only she gathered up (literally, she changed into one) 60.3	<i>yīwe'ntce</i> together, one by one 64.8, 9

-*u* indicates a change from one state into another, that has not yet been completed. It is often preceded by the transitive -*t*.

<i>he'mîstru le yîxä'wex</i> getting bigger is the house 34.14	<i>heñ'is</i> big 14.5
<i>nä'antu le mä</i> multiplying are the people 12.4	<i>nä'nt</i> many 44.18
<i>ic teltä'mîttu hanL</i> you two will get strong 120.17, 18	<i>dä'mîl</i> (strong) man 14.7
<i>qai'cu</i> it is getting small	<i>qaic</i> small, a chunk 128.29

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 36-43)

§ 36. Modal -*tc*

This suffix appears in four different forms, as -*îtc*, -*utc*, -*tc*, and -*eetc*.¹

-*îtc* is added to verbal stems ending in a consonant, except *m*, *n*, and any of the laterals; -*utc* is suffixed to stems ending in vowels; -*tc* is suffixed to stems ending in laterals; and -*eetc*, to stems ending in *m* or *n*. This suffix is always added to the bare stem. There can be little doubt that this suffix is identical with the adverbial suffix -*tc* (see § 25); the more so, as it implies, to a great extent, an adverbially modal idea. The Coos expresses by its means our participial ideas. The verb taking this suffix is usually preceded by the discriminative and modal prefix *w*- (see §§ 23, 24).

qawîlā'we xha'k'îtc (he) commences to look around crawling (literally, in the manner of crawling; *hak*- to crawl) 32.10

qîlā'yat hex nî'x'îtc I commenced to touch it (literally, I commenced in the manner of touching)

ts'xw'îtc îl dōwā'ya to kill they want him 66.22

in le'yî xkwî'na'utc it does not look good (literally, not good as to the manner of looking) 34.18

qā'wîts hex tē'elc I finished splitting (*qtcîcLe'wat* I am splitting it)

qā'wîts hex heme'etc I stopped bringing it out (*qhamî'yat* I brought it out)

qai'nîs wîne'etc L'ān into the water wading out she goes (literally, she goes down into the water in the manner of wading; *qwi'nat* I am wading out) 58.2

§ 36

¹[This is obviously the adverbial -*tc*, and might have been discussed with §§ 67-70.—Ed.]

This suffix is often used in certain phrases to express abstract ideas. Thus, for instance, the Coos will express our sentence I AM GETTING HUNGRY by I AM GOING INTO HUNGER. (See § 118.)

lqatc nla I am getting hungry (*nlaqa* I am hungry)

pl'itc nla I am getting heavy

§ 37. Distributives *-nēi*, *-nī*; *-ānī*; *-āyām*; *-waq*

-nēi, *-nī*, indicate distribution of an intransitive action. They are suffixed to intransitive verbs. Related to this suffix is the distributive *-ānī* (§ 72).

kat'e'mās tkwīL'nēi *le dj'i'nīt* *tkwīL* -to follow
five (winds) following each other (they) keep on coming (singly) 52.17

tseL'nēi āx tī'k'ine side by side *tseL*- (?)
they two were standing 62. 22

le'āx mī'laq sīL'nēi their (dual) *sīL*- to join together
arrows are joined together (literally, one after the other) 13.7

k'ā'γenī he'āx wvī'lux^u āx *k'āγ*- (?)
L'e'x. sīmt against each other
with their two heads resting they two go to bed 72.14

pōkwī'lnēi *Lōwaka'e'wat* opposite one another (they) *pukul*- across
were sitting 120.4, 5

hītcō'nīhī'ye ā mēn were assembled people, came together people 46.1 *hītc*- (?)

-ānī is suffixed to stems expressing transitive ideas. It is often accompanied by duplication of the final stem-consonant (see § 83).

īl tsa'k'īnā'nī they help one another (mutually) *tsak'īn*- to help

īl L'x'īnā'nī they examine one another *L'x'īn*- to examine

īl tsa'kwā'nī they continually spear one another *ṽtskwīts* I speared him

īl tqanLLā'nī they mutually strike one another *tqa'nzts* he struck it 28.1

il k!wanaxü'nî they mutually
cut one another's hair

k!wa'naat he cut his hair

This suffix often changes the quality of the vowel of the stem to which it is suffixed (see § 7).

ä'yu il qaheyäni'we surely
they began to gamble 66.25

ha'yat he gambled 66.15

il tsæwä'nî they kill one
another

tsæwä'wat he killed (them) 68.9

äx we^llä'nî they two fight
106.13

wil- to fight

When suffixed to intransitive verbs or to verbs expressing motion, it denotes an idea that may best be rendered by BACK AND FORTH, TO AND FRO, UP AND DOWN, etc. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the close relationship that exists between the idea of mutuality and the idea expressed by these phrases.

tsō'nō kwil^Elä'nî *lE* *baltî'mîs*
both ways is rolling the
ocean 6.2

kwil- to roll

qai'nîs la^u yaq^Eqä'nî away
from the shore they run con-
tinually 36.18, 19

yeq he runs away 182.27

h'î'nî sqaiLLä'nî *l^E* *wä'wa*
there is going back and
forth (through his fingers)
the little girl 108.21

sqaiLē'was the space between
two fingers

ηL!ēⁱcäcä'nî I keep on going
out and coming in

L!ēⁱtc he went out 20.4

ηstōwaq^Eqä'nî I keep on rising
and sitting down

stō'waq he stood up 20.7

tūyetä'nî *lE* *wî'nqas* *hū' mîk* continually looking for some supply
was the Spider-Old-Woman 60.12

-äyam is suffixed to intransitive verbs and to adjectives only. Its exact function is obscure. With verbs, it invariably denotes an action performed by more than one subject; while when suffixed to adjectives, it seems to convey the idea of the English suffix **-ISH**. Most likely it has a distributive character, which the informant, not well versed in the English language, could not bring out.

yü'xwä hū'mä'k'e djî'nä'yam *k'îlō'wî*t two women coming (towards
him) he saw 126.13, 14

ä'yu kwî'yat il laä'yam surely now they were walking (singly) 32.7

tsō^{ut} x'îmā'yam xā'petc he washed it with luke-warm water
120.9, 10

xqaā'yam whitish, gray (literally, white here and there; *xqa's* white)

-waq. I am not quite sure whether this suffix really expresses distribution. All attempts to explain it have proved unsuccessful. It is suffixed to verbal stems, and may be preceded by the suffix *-enī* (see § 45). The best explanation that may be offered is that it implies a continual action performed by more than one subject, although instances have been found where the action was performed by a single subject.

tsō ūl qanatcanī'waq now they make fun (of one another) (*qa'nate* joke) 50.12

yuwe' hī'me alīcanī'waq whenever children played (together?)
70.19

āma'ēwaq lē cī't/ā dragging (them singly?) was the pet 88.7

Compare also the nouns

sltsā'waq a whale (?) 28.7

qalētā'waq ferry-men 140.15

The Passive Voice (§§ 38–42)

§ 38. Present Passive -ū

This suffix expresses the present tense of the passive voice. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem with initial reduplication (see § 82).

asō' tēi tētī'k/ū lē tc/ā'lē again *tī'k/wīts* he shut (the door) 74.6
there is shut the door

gō^{us} qante la^w qeqai'cū lū wī'- *qaic* a piece 128.29
tīn in all directions that is
being clubbed his blood
10.5, 6

x'ī'x'īntū lē tc/wāl is being *x'īntī'yat* he runs with it 42.5
taken away quickly the fire
42.5

cecū' lū lē'īl yīxā'wex fire is *cūL-* to burn
being set to their house
58.11, 12

By adding to this suffix the transitional *-īye* (see § 35), the past passive is obtained. The initial *ī* of *-īye* is contracted with the *-ū* into a long *ū* (see § 9).

qeqaicū'ye lū īluwe'^xtēts it was beaten to pieces, her heart 76.8
mā pepīlsū'ye the person was torn to pieces 48.16 (*pīls-* to crush)

§ 39. *Past Passive* -āyu, -ēiyu, -iyu

These suffixes are added directly to the verbal stem, which is invariably reduplicated. Stems ending in *w*, *l*, *m*, and *n*, immediately preceding these suffixes, appear with a glottal stop, no matter whether the stop is inherent in the stem or not (see §§ 81-82).

<i>mā qesqā'yu</i> the person was seized 10.4	<i>sqā'ts</i> he seized it 68.8
<i>ūl aiai'wāyu</i> they were killed 58.8	<i>aiwīt</i> he killed them all 68.11
<i>qaxl'ī'yu</i> he was struck 96.14	<i>xl'ts</i> he hit her 64.29
<i>tsōk'ix'tī'yu</i> <i>lēmāx'sō'wē'a'lec</i> now was slid down the lucky stake 94.3	<i>qax'tī'ts</i> I slide it down
<i>kwīlkwe'lēyu</i> <i>lē hatā'yīms a'lec</i> was rolled down the money stake 92.11	<i>qkwīlī'yat</i> I roll it down
<i>ā'yu kwīlkwā'yu</i> surely it was cut off 76.15	<i>qkwā'at</i> I cut it off
<i>yewyāxentce'nē'yu</i> it was gathered up 84.16	<i>yāxā'ntcpts</i> she gathered up 60.3
<i>hemhē'mē'yu</i> it was brought out	<i>hemī'yat</i> she took it out 62.23

§ 40. *Passive* -īyeqem

This suffix is composed of the transitional -īye (see § 35) and the generic -qem (see § 30). It serves a triple purpose, according to the manner in which it is suffixed to the verbal stem.

(1) When suffixed to the bare stem, it expresses a verbal conception of a continued character, which may best be rendered by the passive voice. This rendering is due largely to the fact that the -īye-element of the suffix predominates in these cases.

<i>lōwt-</i> to watch	<i>lōwītī'yeqem</i> he is watched 40.26
<i>kwīna-</i> to see	<i>līn kwīnā'yeqem hanl</i> we shall be seen 30.23, 24
<i>wīl-</i> to look for	<i>gō's qantc wīlī'yeqem</i> everywhere she is looked for 56.1, 2
<i>tqanlts</i> he strikes it 28.1	<i>t²qanlī'yeqem xwa'lwalyetc</i> she is continually struck with a knife 80.5

The verbal stem is often reduplicated in order to bring out more clearly the passive idea and the idea of continuation (see § 82).

Lō^u- to buy

î la^u Lō^uLō^uwî'yeqem le'îl wîx'îlîs
when that was being bought
their food 88.13, 14

mîntc- to ask

mîtemîntcî'yeqem xtcî'tcū ye^e îlu-
we'xtcîs he is being asked con-
tinually, "What do you think
about it?" 70.9

Lō^ux- to club

nî'k'înetc Lō^uxLō^uxwî'yeqem with
sticks she is being struck con-
tinually 80.6

(2) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* (see § 26), it denotes an intransitive action, of which the person spoken of is the object. Hence it was sometimes rendered by the reflexive.

î ûx Lldjîttî'yeqem when they two are fighting 122.25
tsō sōwîttî'yeqem hē qā'yîs now it is changing, the weather
tsō lōwîttî'yeqem now he took care of himself 66.3

(3) When preceded by the verbal suffix *-enî* (see § 45), it denotes a continued action, the subject of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

hâ'tcît! story 20.1

wündj hâtet'enî'yeqem that way
they are telling the story 44.14, 15

skw- to inform, to tell

la^u skweyenî'yeqem le tc!wâl
they are talking about the fire
38.5, 6

§ 41. Causative Passive -eet, -et; -iyem

-eet expresses the passive voice of causative concepts. It is suffixed to the verbal stem. The object that is caused to perform the action is always in the singular. The suffix *-iyem* is used for plural objects (see § 53). This suffix may best be rendered by TO BE CAUSED TO. When suffixed to stems with *a*-vowels, it changes to *-aat* (see § 7).

qa'wax L!e'et le'ûx e'k^uLätc high up was their (dual) father (literally,
was caused to be high up; *L!a-* to be in an upright position)
22.1

k'elē lîsîtc slne'et hē dî'lôt in a corner hidden was the young man
(literally, was caused to be hidden; *sln-* to hide) 24.12

qā'yîsetc ts^ene'et le k!ā to the sky was stretched out the rope
(*tsn-* to stretch) 28.20

xayd'nē la k'īlō'wīt tana'at old dog-salmon only he saw washed ashore (*penlō'wai ta'ntan* whale came ashore) 130.3
ā'yu tc'īlē'et tē tc'wāl surely it was burning, that fire (literally, was caused to burn; *ŋtc'īlī'yat* I kindle the fire) 38.8
l'nōwa'at ŋk'ī' lō'wts lē tc'ī'lē open I found the door (literally, caused to be open I found the door; *l'nōw-* to open)
xnē'et he is on top (*ŋx'īnī'yat* I put it on top) 10.1
ŋla'at I was carried away (literally, caused to go; *ŋla* I go)

In certain instances this passive causative idea is not so apparent, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the verbal stem can not be analyzed.

ā'yu l'lē'et surely he kept his eyes shut 17.3
wändj lōwē'et telīnnē'ītē that way it is eaten among us 130.11
ī'nīlēx hewē'et lōwa'kats alone it was supposed she lived 60.10, 11

-et. This suffix is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts*. Under the influence of the *a*-vowels of the stem, it changes to *-at* (see § 7).

gō'us dī'ī' la'ī'x'tset everything was started (literally, caused to go [start]; *ŋla* I go) 12.7
xāap hē'mtset water was laid bare 42.8
yūwē' q'ē'tō'w'tset hē'lakwētē whenever it got caught on a limb (literally, was caused to hang on a limb) 46.24
tsā'yūxwītē p'ī'lstat to pieces (the tree) was smashed (literally, was caused to smash to pieces) 124.14
hē'hats l'nō'w'tat lē tc'ī'lē suddenly came open a door (literally, was caused to open [itself]) 62.5
tc'ē'etē stō'w'qtset hāl tō'mīl ashore was put that old man (literally, caused to stand [up] on the shore) 32.4, 5

In certain cases the passive idea is hardly recognizable.

g'ī'mtset it commenced to rain 42.9
ē'ha'k'at you were left 62.20
qā'lyeq ha'łtsat salmon came into the river 34.13
layēta't he became hungry 32.9

low'ī'tat she ran (literally, was caused to run [?]) 56.9
la' hanl ūx c'ē'a'łctet these two shall work 68.26

lōwa'hai lē dī'lōl was running the young man 78.27
xwändj c'ē'a'łcīt lēx īloxqai'n that way doctors him the medicine-man (literally, works on him) 128.16, 17

§ 42. *The Past Participle -āyā^u*

The past participle is formed by means of the suffix *-āyā^u* added directly to the transitive or intransitive stems.

<i>tc!pā'yā^u k!ā</i> braided ropes	<i>ȳtc!pat</i> I braid it
44.22	
<i>ttā'yā^u ā</i> a painted face 10.3	<i>ȳttī'ts</i> I paint it
<i>q!e'lē tcīclā'yā^u k!ūhī'lt</i> (with)	<i>ȳtcī'clt</i> I split it
split pitch-wood she lighted	
them 84.1	
<i>wā'apetc L^Eān lētc!lā'yā^u</i> into	<i>tc!līs</i> dry 166.2
the water go down the dried	
(salmon) 36.18	
<i>hēmā'sā'yā^u</i> enlarged	<i>hē'mīs</i> big 50.17

§ 43. *The Imperative*

The imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by means of suffixes added directly to the verbal stem, or, more frequently, following the transitive suffixes. Intransitive verbs, with the exception of a few stems indicating motion or ideas like TO HEAR, TO LISTEN, have no special suffixes. The imperative of such verbs is brought out by the (prefixed) pronouns of the second persons singular, dual or plural.

<i>wlē'ītc ē^L!äts</i> with it speak! 16.5
<i>ē^{tE}qa</i> wake up! 68.18
<i>cīnē^E Lō^uq</i> you (pl.) get up! 30.19
<i>ē^alī'canī</i> you play! 60.21

The following are the imperative suffixes in Coos:

- E. It follows the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts*, and expresses, beside the imperative idea, the presence of the object of the verb. The causative verbs in *-īyat*, and frequentatives in *-ē'wat* and *-ō'wat*, lose their final (transitive) *-t* when followed by the imperative suffix. It very often changes the broad *a*-vowels of the stem into *e*-vowels (see § 7).

<i>k!wī'nte</i> shoot it 13.3
<i>cīn sītstī'nte lē wī'ngas hū'wîk</i> you go and see the Old-Spider-Woman! 64.12, 13
<i>tē'īc q!mī'tse</i> this you two eat! 120.16
<i>īc hēmī'yē</i> you two bring him out! (literally, cause him to come out!) 24.10

<i>cîne^e tqal'i'yE</i> you wake up! 122.4	<i>tqā'lis</i> sun 24.4
<i>tci cîn L!ē'i'yE</i> <i>teq k'e'la</i> there you put this my hand! 80.19	<i>L!ā'i'yat</i> she put it 72.11
<i>kwîn Le tsxé'wE</i> let us quickly kill him! 68.3	<i>qtsxai'wat</i> I kill him 26.22
<i>sqaiLTō'wE</i> stick it in a crack!	<i>qsqaiLTō'wat</i> I stick it into a crack
<i>tēi L Lō'wE</i> this you must eat!	<i>Lōwē'wat</i> she is eating it 24.5, 6
<i>Lō nî'cîc wāp ha'wE</i> in it a little water have! 68.17, 18	<i>ic ha'wē'wat</i> you two have him 128.9

-ēn expresses, besides the imperative, the absence of the object of the action.

<i>tōhâtsēn</i> you must hit!
<i>Lōwēn</i> eat! 28.26
<i>g-v'kwa qai'nas ic t'a'itsān</i> a little closer to the fire you two dance! 82.19

-Ex, -Eq, suffixed to a few stems, expressing MOTION, or ideas like TO HEAR, TO CLOSE ONE'S EYES, etc.

<i>ēk!ā'yEx</i> <i>temâ'si</i> listen, O grandson! 114.7
<i>tsâx'L tc!ō'wEx</i> here you must lie down! 126.20, 21
<i>L!lē'x L</i> shut your eyes! 16.9
<i>cîn la'Ex</i> you (pl.) go! 30.23
<i>hamāL lh'e'tEq</i> (you) may take a rest!

-it suffixed to verbs that are transitivized by means of the transitive suffix *-āya* (see § 47).

<i>lā'tsīt ēpkāk</i> go and get your grandfather! 28.19	<i>ūx tatsā'ya</i> they two went to get him 20.14, 15
<i>lō'xtit ye'tet</i> watch yourself! 74.3	<i>lō'xtā'ya</i> he watches it 92.3
<i>in dōwā'it</i> don't desire it!	<i>dōwā'ya</i> he wants it 92.12

-Em expresses, besides the direct object, the indirect object of the first person. It is hence suffixed to verbal stems expressing ideas like TO GIVE, TO MAKE. It is highly probable that this suffix may be an abbreviated form of the pronominal *-āmâ* (see § 46).

p^Esî'k' ā'tsem a cup give me! 68.17

tsä'yux^u kwā'xal^L ē'ha^w'x^tsem a small bow make me! 60.14, 15

mîlxa'nem^L ū'mā lunch make me, you must, O grandmother!
(*mî'lax* lunch) 114.5

-Eîs. This suffix expresses a command involving the second person as the actor, and the first person as the object of the action. From a purely morphological standpoint, it is a modified form of the pronominal suffix *-āîs* (see § 46).

teŋ ngatqai'^L yîxuxwe'îs by this my belt you hold me! 54.12

tcî læ'îs teka'^xtsî there take me, O granddaughter! 80.14

Compare *ētsak'întā'îs han^L* you shall help me 80.16

In addition to these suffixes, the Coos language very often emphasizes the imperative idea by means of the particle *L* (see § 92).

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 44-45)

§ 44. Auxiliary *-e* (*-a*)

This suffix exercises the function of our auxiliary verb TO BE. The noun to which it is suffixed invariably takes the adverbial prefix *n-* WITH (see § 21). The phrase thus obtained expresses the idea TO HAVE. This suffix is always changed to *-a* whenever added to a stem having an *a*-vowel (see § 7).

nt!^Eci'ta^uwe le mî'laq flint points have the arrows (literally, with flint points [are] the arrows; *t!^Eci'ta^u* flint point) 62.27

nwî'tîne lä k^uhâ'yeq bloody are his excrements (*wî'tîn* blood) 20.6, 7
nk^umā'xa le cî't!ā horns had the pet (literally, with horns was the pet; *k^umā'x* horn) 88.7, 8

nā^unt mü tc!pā'yā^u nk!ā'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, braided with ropes [are]; *k!ā* rope) 46.8, 9

It very often transforms nouns into intransitive verbs without the aid of the prefix *n-*. In such cases the *-a* form of this suffix is mostly used.

xba'lîdĵ la^u k!wîsî'sa from the west it blew (*k!wä'sîs* wind) 52.4. 5
ŋkwaatî'sa I dream (*kwaa'tîs* a dream)

xci'γ^tcîtc la^u xli'sa clear around him (he put) slime (*xlîs* slime)
128.18

§ 45. Verbal *-enî*

This suffix expresses the idea TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING. It is usually suffixed to nouns and to verbal stems that do not imply an

active, transitive action. This suffix is changed to *-anī* whenever added to stems having an *a*-vowel (see § 7).

ŋp̄lp̄w̄sē'nī I am making a hat (*p̄lp̄w̄s* hat)

ŋȳx̄w̄wēnī I am making a house (*ȳx̄w̄wē* house)

ŋkw̄w̄x̄alanī I am making a bow (*kw̄w̄x̄al* bow)

ēlēq̄w̄w̄ȳa'tanī you tell a story (*lēq̄w̄w̄ȳa'tas* story) 38.13, 14

ŋh̄ātēit!ē'nī I tell a story (*h̄ātēit!* story)

w̄ändj tēinehē'nī that way he is thinking (*tēin[ē]-* to think) 40.14, 15

t̄s̄i k̄ū ic̄ hewesē'nī merely perhaps you two are lying (*hē'wes* a lie)
28.13, 14

il̄ al'canī they play (*a'lec* toy) 30.25

gawen̄sē'nī t'nuwī he got mad very much 98.28

il̄ yā'lanī they were saying 76.17; *tē hā'n̄s yā'la mā* those
(who) talk Coos (literally, those *hā'n̄s* [Coos] talker-people)
50.3

xw̄ändjē'nī that way she was doing it (*xw̄ändj* that way [modal])
164.6

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 46-50)

§ 46. Transitive Subject and Object Pronouns

The Coos pronouns expressing both subject and object of a transitive verb are, morphologically speaking, suffixes added to verbal stems, or to stems that have been verbalized by means of some transitive suffix. The transitive suffixes may, however, be omitted, as the mere addition of these pronominal suffixes is sufficient to transform an intransitive stem into a transitive verb. These suffixes occur in four different forms, expressing the first, second, and third person as subject, and the first and second persons as object, of the action, regardless of number.

First person subject—second person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āmī*

Second person subject—first person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āīs*

Third person subject *-ū, -ē*

Third person object—first, second, third person subject, no suffix.

Since these suffixes are frequently preceded by the emphatic or abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns (see §§ 18, 96), the phonetic unit expressing the combined pronouns may be said to consist of the following elements:

(1) Personal pronoun for the subject.

(2) Personal pronoun for the object.

(3) Verbal stem.

(4) Suffixed form of the combined pronoun.

The following peculiarities in the manner of expressing the transitive subject and object pronouns are noteworthy:

(1) The forms having the third persons as object indicate the subject by the pronouns *ŋ* for the first persons, *ε* for the second (see § 18), regardless of number.

(2) The form expressing the second singular subject and the first singular object uses for its pronominal prefix the second singular *ε*.

(3) All other forms indicate the object by prefixing the personal pronouns according to number.

(4) The pronominal prefixes expressing the subject occur in singular form regardless of the actual number that is to be indicated (see § 96).

The following is a complete table showing the formation of the combined pronouns for the different persons:

	I, We Two, We	Thou, Ye Two, Ye	He, They Two, They	
Me	—	<i>ε -āts</i>	<i>ŋ - ū</i>	<i>ŋ - ū</i>
Thee	<i>ε - āmī</i>	—	<i>ε - ū</i>	<i>ε - ū</i>
Him	<i>ŋ - - - -</i>	<i>ε - - -</i>	- - - - -	- - - - -
Us (Incl) (Dual)	—	—	<i>is - ū</i>	<i>is - ū</i>
Us (Excl) (Dual)	—	<i>xwīn - āts -</i>	<i>xwīn - ū</i>	<i>xwīn - ū</i>
You (Dual)	<i>ic - āmī</i>	—	<i>ic - ū</i>	<i>ic - ū</i>
Them (Dual)	<i>ux ŋ - - -</i>	<i>ux ε - - -</i>	<i>ux -</i>	<i>ux -</i>
Us	—	<i>īn - āts</i>	<i>īn - ū</i>	<i>īn - ū</i>
You	<i>cīn - āmī</i>	—	<i>cīn - ū</i>	<i>cīn - ū</i>
Them	<i>ī ŋ - - -</i>	<i>ī ε - -</i>	<i>ī - - - -</i>	<i>ī -</i>

The personal pronouns are usually omitted for singular subjects. They always occur, however, when the subject is dual or plural.

ne'xkan wāndj ε'īltā'mî I that way told you 17.2

εmuxtātsā'mî I (want to) feel of you 72.10

ε'laā'mî I take you along

ŋtō' hāts I hit it 64.5

ε'tō' hāts you hit it 20.19

tō' hāts he hit him (or it) 20.19

ŋtō' hātsū me he hit

ε'tō' hātsū thee he hit

cīn kwīna' ū you he sees

xwīn ε'pūtā'mî hanL we two thee will take home 126.19, 20

īn ε'sīts'īntā'mî we thee (came to) see 130.19, 20

The personal pronouns for the objective third persons dual and plural always precede the subjective pronouns.

āx ɳtō' hīts them two I hit

ūl ētō' hīts them you hit

The suffixes for the combined pronouns are added either directly to the bare verbal stem or to the verb amplified by the transitive *-t* and *-ts*. This double system of adding the suffixes for the combined pronouns to the verb serves as a means of differentiating the duration of the action indicated by the verb. The bare verbal stem amplified by the pronominal suffixes denotes an action that has been performed more than once, or that has not yet been completed; while the verbs to which the pronominal suffixes are added *after* the transitive suffixes indicate actions that have been performed only once, or that are completed. The same purpose is served by the double forms of the combined pronoun having the third person as its subject. The suffix *-ūl* is always added to the verbal stem; while *-ū* is suffixed to the stem, in addition to the transitive suffixes. It must be understood, however, that this interpretation of the double system of adding the combined pronominal suffixes does not apply to each individual case. Verbs with the pronominal suffixes added to the bare stem are frequently employed to denote past, completed actions, and *vice versā*.

ne' xkan ēwīlā' mī I am looking for you

ēwīwīnā' mī I am cheating you

ēk!wīnā' is you were shooting at me

ēsqā' is you were seizing me

ɳk!wī' nūl he was shooting at me

ēwīlūwītā' mī I have looked for you

ēwī'ntsā' mī I have cheated you

ēk!wīntā' is you took a shot at me

ēsqatsā' is you seized me

ɳk!wī' ntū he shot at me

The imperative transitive pronouns have been described in § 43. They are *-em* TO ME, *-ēis* ME.

§ 47. Transitive Verbs in *-āya*

Language in general has a number of verbal ideas, which, strictly speaking, do not imply any actions on the part of the subject; or denote actions, that, while intransitive, may be performed for the benefit of or in connection with a certain given object. Verbs like TO KNOW, TO UNDERSTAND, TO DESIRE, TO BELIEVE, TO WATCH, TO BE AFRAID, etc.,

express ideas that are not real actions, but which may be used as such in connection with some object. Thus, I may KNOW HIM, UNDERSTAND THEM, DESIRE IT, BELIEVE HER, WATCH MYSELF, etc. On the other hand, verbs like TO GO, TO RUN AWAY, etc., express intransitive actions that may be performed in connection with a given object. Thus it is possible TO GO TO HIM, TO RUN AWAY FROM ME, etc.

Coos treats the stems expressing such ideas as intransitive verbs, which do not take any of the transitive suffixes; but since these intransitive verbs may, without the aid of any additional grammatical device, become transitive, and imply the existence of an object (which is usually that of the third person), there is a special suffix *-āya* which indicates the (mental) process described above. This suffix, always added to the bare verbal stem, denotes an intransitive action that has become transitive by being used in connection with the third person object. It may therefore be called the "pronominal suffix," expressing, besides the subject, the third person object of an intransitive verb.

āwalqsā'ya they two are afraid
of it 7.5

ṇdōwā'ya I want her 70.6

neqā'ya he ran away from it
42.4

ṇx'na^atā'ya I am riding (a
horse)

lqā'ya *lex swāl* believed it the
grizzly bear 94.25

mītsī'sī'ya she knows it 60.1

īn kwaā'nīya (they) did not
know it 86.12

latsā'ya he went after it 94.7

lō^{ux}tā'ya he watched it 94.6

īl lō^ukwaā'ya *hE l/tā* they
occupy the country 44.21

a'lqas fear 66.4

tsīx'tī' dō'wa wu'txe tī'ye
pū'yatc here wants to come
back thy uncle 122.15

neq he ran away 100.16

x'ne'et he is on top 10.1

lq- to believe

mī'tsīs wise 132.6

kwaān- to know

la he went 22.18

lō^{ux}t- to watch

e^elō^uk^u you sit down! 38.22

The plurality of the object is expressed by the affixed numerical particle *hEma* ALL (§ 109), or by the separate suffix *-ītex* (§ 54).

ṇlō^{ux}tā'ya hE'ma I watch them all

The imperative of this form has the suffix *-īt* (see § 43).

§ 48. Subject and Object Pronouns of Verbs in *-āya*

The corresponding suffixes for the above discussed verbs, expressing, besides the object, also the subject of the first, second, or third person, are etymologically related to the suffixes treated on p. 351. They appear, however, in such changed form, that they require separate discussion. These forms are—

	I, We Two, We	Thou, Ye Two, Ye	He, They Two, They
Me	-	<i>ē-yextāis</i>	<i>ŋ-yextū</i>
Thee	<i>ē-yextāmī</i>	-	<i>ē-yextū</i>
Him	-	-	-
etc.			

They are suffixed directly to the verbal stem.

ēdōwā'yextā'mī thee I want
ēlōxtiyextā'mī of thee I take care
ēlōxtiyextā'is you take care of me 86.20
ŋkweē'nīyextū me he knows
ēdōwā'yextū thee he wants

The etymology of the first element in these suffixes (*-yext-*) is quite obscure. It may be suggested that *-yex-* is the adjectival suffix (see § 66), and *-t* the transitive (see § 26), although we are no longer able to understand the psychological principles underlying this peculiar formation.

§ 49. Transitive Verbs in *-a*

This suffix is preceded by the transitive suffixes. Its function is varied. It may have expressed originally the indirect object; but verbal ideas requiring both a direct and an indirect object are very few in number in the Coos language, and the functional scope of this suffix is much wider now, permitting its use for other purposes. Thus it is very frequently suffixed to transitive verbs where the object of the action is actually expressed, and not merely understood; and it is often, but not as a rule, used as a suffix denoting plurality of the object. The most plausible suggestion that can be offered in explanation of this suffix is that it may denote an action performed upon an object that possesses another object. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the predominating function of this suffix is that of a special characterization of the pronominal object.

nmîlxa'na I made lunch for him *mî'la* lunch 28.15

ā'tsa he gave it to him 28.7 *āts-* to give

tetc c^Ealcta'texa clothes he made for (his child) 108.5

kwiñā'was sî'x·t^Etsa smoke he scented 22.23

kwā'xal ha^wxtsa lE temî'snātc a bow she made for her grandson 112.25, 26

ā'yu L!ha'tsa lū tetc surely (he) put on his clothes 28.23

kā's yî'xēi pE'nLta lE tsî'γen nearly he tore off one handle 30.4

pwi'ta lE mā ai'wît he took to his house the people (pl.) whom he killed 112.11

ēwutxai'ta lî'ye ū'māc ūx pkāk' you (should) take home, thy grandmother them two (and) grandfather 68.26

ūl nî'l^Eatsa at them I looked
nsga'tsa lE quwai's I seized the boards

lk!wa yîxw'awa fern roots she had 64.14, 15

wutxai'yat lū pkā'kate he brought home his grandfather 70.2

nî'lxats I looked at him
nsgats lE quwai's I seized the board

hî'nî yîxuwē'wat there he was holding it 64.3, 4

Compare, on the other hand,

tc!wā'tetc t!cî'tsa into the fire he shoved it (no object is actually expressed here) 32.26

tc!wā'tetc t!cîts into the fire he shoved it 32.24

or

yî'xwū wutxai'yat hE tcō'atcōx two he brought home the rabbits
pōkwî'lnēi tî'lqats opposite each other he set (them) down 112.12

§ 50. Verbs in *-anāya* with Direct and Indirect Object Pronoun

This suffix is composed of two suffixes, *-enī* (see § 45) and *-āya* (see § 47). The broad *a*-vowel of the second suffix effects the retrogressive assimilation of the *-enī* into *-anī*, and the final vowel of *-enī* coalesces with the initial of *-āya* into a long *ā* (see § 7). It may best be rendered by TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF SOMETHING.

nkwāxalanā'ya I am making a bow out of it (*kwā'xal* bow)

nyîxāwexanā'ya I build houses out of it (*yîxū'wex* house)

la^w k!wenîyawanā'ya lE qa'lyeq he is making a supply out of the salmon (*k!wē'nîya^w* supply) 34.24

yanLawe dī'īl ē'qa^uwenīsa'nāya whenever something you will get mad at (*qa^uwenīse'nī* he got mad) 16.4

la^u hanL ē'l^unuwanā'ya at that thing you shall pull (*l^unuwī* very) 72.2

īl wa'lwalanā'ya they (would) make knives out of it (*wa'lwal* knife) 136.14, 15

The *a*-vowels of this suffix very often change the *e*-vowels of the stem to which they are suffixed into an *a* (see § 7).

xā'nanā'ya he made him feel sorry for it (*xā'nīs* sick) 42.18

ṗlpā'wīsanā'ya I made a hat out of it (*ṗlpā'wīs* hat)

Whenever suffixed to reduplicated stems, this suffix is changed to *-ōnāya*.

aqa'lqsonā'ya la ā'la he became afraid of his child (*a'lqas* fear) 28.24, 25

mītsma'tsōnā'ya lex dī'lōl he became acquainted with him, the young man (*mī'tsīs* wise) 116.1

qai^u·qa'yōnā'ya he became afraid of it (*ṗqa'ya^uts* I am frightened [I fear]) 42.3

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 51-54)

§ 51. General Remarks

The question of plurality, as exhibited in the verbs, is, comparatively speaking, a complicated matter. The chief difficulty arises from the fact that Coos accords a different treatment to transitive and intransitive verbs, and that the phenomena connected with plural formation are by no means of a uniform character. As in most other American languages, the Coos intransitive verbs express plurality of subject, while stems expressing transitive concepts distinguish between actions relating to a singular object and those relating to plural objects.

As a rule, plurality of the subject of verbal ideas is not indicated. One and the same stem is used in the singular and plural alike. There are, however, a few verbal concepts that express such a plurality by means of different stems. While this question ought to be more properly treated under the heading "Vocabulary," it may nevertheless be found useful to give here a few examples of such different stems.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ĩtsẽm</i> 26.20	<i>ne'tsĩ</i> 74.1	to do
<i>yĩwĩ'me</i> 10.3	<i>yuwĩ'tĩt, yuwat-</i> 12.6	to travel
<i>tswũ</i> 28.12	<i>ha'yatĩ</i> 58.19, 20	to lie
<i>qa'qat</i> 40.2	<i>tsĩ'msĩmt</i> 74.1	to sleep
<i>xne^x-t-</i> 74.30	<i>xwaĩt-</i> 22.17	to fly, to jump
<i>lEqaw^wE</i> 42.18	<i>e'qe</i> 84.14	to die
<i>L'ũ-</i> , 14.6	<i>yā'la-</i> 50.3	to speak
<i>Lōwa'kats</i> , 38.10	<i>tĩla'qai</i> 36.11, <i>kwee'tĩ</i> 50.7	to sit, to live

On the other hand, there are a few stems that seem to express singularity or plurality of subject by means of a grammatical process the history of which is not clear. This process may be said to consist in the change of the vowel connecting the suffix with the stem.

Singular	Plural
<i>e'tc!a'at</i> you walk 120.18	<i>ĩl tc!a'ĩt</i> they walk
<i>ŋxa'yat</i> I am whittling	<i>ĩl xa'yĩt</i> they are whittling
<i>ŋt'a'lats</i> I dance	<i>ĩce^e t'a'ĩt</i> you two dance 82.18
<i>ŋwĩ'nat</i> I wade out	<i>ĩl wĩ'nĩt</i> they wade out

This process is the more puzzling, as it also seems to be used for the purpose of distinguishing between duration of action (see § 26). It is quite conceivable that there may be an etymological relation between these two phenomena, and that the phonetic similarity exhibited by them is more than accidental.

§ 52. Reflexive Plural -ũ

In a number of cases intransitive verbs indicate plurality of subject by means of a suffix which is phonetically different from the suffix expressing the corresponding singular idea. This is especially true in the case of the suffix *-qem*, *-xem* (see § 30). This suffix is applied to singular subjects only, while the same idea for plural subjects is expressed by means of the suffix *-ũ*, which is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts*.

Singular	Plural
<i>ĩhe'tqem</i> it is resting 88.16	<i>ĩl lhe'tũ</i> they are resting
<i>ŋwe'lextxem</i> I went to bed	<i>ĩce^e we'lextũ</i> you two go to bed 82.13
<i>ŋLōw'k^wtsxem</i> I sat down	<i>tĩ'l^Eqtsũ</i> (they) sat down 22.15
<i>ŋkwe'et^Etsxem</i> I settled down	<i>ĩl kwe'et^Etsũ</i> they settled down 48.5
<i>ŋsln'txem</i> I hide myself	<i>ĩl sln'tũ</i> they hide themselves

§ 53. Causative Passive Plural *-iyEm*

The same principle is applied to intransitive verbs expressing passive causative ideas. Singular subjects are expressed by means of the suffix *-eet* (see p. 345), while plurality of the subject is indicated by the suffix *-iyEm*. The most perplexing problem connected with this suffix is the fact that its initial *i* disappears before *u*-diphthongs without changing the *u* of the diphthong into a consonantic *w* (see § 8).

<i>sLn-</i>	Singular	Plural
<i>ûx sLnî'yat</i> they two hide him (caus.) 24.9	<i>sLné'et</i> 24.12	<i>sLnî'yEm</i>
<i>w'En-</i>		
<i>ûx'înî'yat</i> I put it on top	<i>w'ne'et</i> 10.1	<i>w'nî'yEm</i>
<i>lEm-</i>		
<i>ûx lEmî'yat</i> they two set it up 8.10	<i>lEmé'et</i> 90.18	<i>lEmî'yEm</i>
<i>q^{Eto}-</i>		
<i>ûq^{Eto}wî'yat</i> I hang it up (<i>w</i>) <i>nō'we</i> , right 44.9	<i>q^{Eto}we'et</i> 46.27 <i>nōwe'et</i>	<i>q^{Eto}w'yEm</i> 84.15 <i>nōw'yEm</i> 44.22
<i>L/a-</i> to be on something		
<i>ûl L!aîyat</i> they put it on 80.20	<i>L!é'et</i> 22.1	<i>L!é'yEm</i> 144.4

§ 54. Direct Plural Object *-itEx*

The idea of plurality of objects in transitive verbs is not clearly developed. The treatment accorded to the different stems is so irregular that no definite rules can be formulated. The majority of stems make no distinction between singular and plural objects, and occur in one form only. Other stems have different forms for the singular and plural; e. g., *tsxa^u-* TO KILL ONE, *aiw-* TO KILL MANY, *la-* TO PUT IN ONE, *w'L!ō^u-* TO PUT IN MANY, etc.; while a number of stems seem to express plurality of object by means of the affixed numeral particle *hēmā* (see § 109), or by means of the suffix *-itEx*.

This suffix expresses the plural third person object, and may be added directly to the verbal stem, or after the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts*.

wō'î tsxūt cîma'itEx (many) deer he pulled 88.12

ā'yu ûl Lana'itEx surely they headed them off 56.16

hats Lōwe'entc la^u laa'itEx just all (wholly) she dragged them 80.9

§ 55. MISCELLANEOUS SUFFIXES

While the functions of the verbal suffixes discussed in the preceding pages are clear, and could be described fairly accurately, there are a few others that appear only now and then, and express ideas of a varying character. It is possible that these suffixes may represent the petrified remnants of grammatical formations that have become obliterated in the course of time. The following is a list of these suffixes:

-a. This suffix seems to express in a number of instances our infinitive idea.

<i>tnē'wat wv' tsxūt</i> he is habitually hunting deer	<i>tn'ta e'he</i> <i>LE</i> <i>dä'mîl</i> hunting (had) gone the man 108.9
	<i>helmî' hîs asô' la tn'ta</i> next day again he went hunting 110.10
<i>sLaqa'ē'wat</i> she is bathing him (caus.) 60.6	<i>yîæ'n sLa'qa la</i> once bathing she went (literally, to bathe) 84.24

In a few cases it has been found suffixed to neutral stems, and seems to denote impersonal actions.

<i>lōq^u</i> - to boil	<i>lōqu'qwa</i> <i>LE</i> <i>s^aal'</i> was boiling the pitch 102.11
<i>kwîñā'was</i> smoke 22.23	<i>îñ kwî'ñā</i> not it smokes 110.14

It is possible that this suffix may have the identical function with the *-a* (or *-e*) suffixed to the modal adverbs (see § 106), and it may consequently be related to the auxiliary *-e* (see § 44).

-e. I am at a loss to detect the exact nature of this suffix and its etymological connection with any of the other suffixes. In the few instances in which it occurs, it was rendered by the passive, or else as an abstract verbal noun.

<i>k'îlō'wî't</i> she saw him 54.2	<i>ā'yu k'îlō'we î la^u djî</i> surely it was seen as it was coming 52.7, 8
<i>k'î' Lō'uts</i> he found it 32.10	<i>lā îw k'î' Le</i> her canoe was found 54.19
<i>hā'wî</i> he grew up 64.12	<i>la û ha^wwe</i> it grew up (literally, goes its growth) 20.16
<i>k!a'lat</i> he shouted (at it) 36.7	<i>ā'wî qk'e'le</i> I quit shouting (literally, the shouts)
<i>mî'lat</i> he swam 30.7	<i>ā'wî ē'mî'le</i> stop swimming (literally, finish your swimming)

-anu. This suffix occurs in two instances only, and expresses in both of them the infinitive. It seems to be related to the verbal suffix *-enī* (see § 45).

yu'wel a pack 70.22

la^u yu^{wi}le'nu he (went out in order) to pack (*enu* > *anu* [see § 7]) 162.25

a'lēc toy 92.10

mā he'laq tēi al'i'canu people came there (in order) to play 90.26

-am occurs very rarely, and seems to denote the absence of the object of an action.

q!mīts he eats it 32.9

hats han_L ēq!a'mtsam just will you eat 42.23, 24

lō^u- to eat 17.2

la^u tsīx' he lō^{wi}yam she usually here eats 24.4, 5

Nominal Suffixes (§§ 56-80)

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 56-65)

§ 56. Nominal *-ts*

This suffix may be said to have a general nominalizing function. It is found suffixed to a great number of stems, and expresses general nominal ideas, including many of our adjectival terms. For a discussion of its etymological nature, see General Remarks, § 25.

hā'wī he grew up 64.12

hā'wīs ready 5.4

stō^wq he stood 20.4

stōwa'qwīs wall 90.18.

l!āts he spoke 16.2

l!ē'yīs language 16.1

īluwe'^xtcīs heart 5.3

k'ēlē'īs corner 58.13

wīx'ī'īs food 14.7

k'īnā'wīs laziness 34.17

hele'yīs salmon-roe 34.27

(*k'ī'nwīs* lazy)

hū^wmīs woman 24.6

kwāyē'īs ridge, mountain 22.13

baltī'mīs ocean 6.2

kwā'sīs ball 38.19

pī'lik'īs anus 40.7

kwī'nīs feather 26.21

pō^wkwīs slave

k!wā'sīs wind 22.11

płpā'wīs hat 136.14

qā'yīs day, sky, world 6.1

tama'īs custom, fashion 19.8

qai'nīs mouth of river 58.1

tqā'īs sun 24.2

q^Ema'tīs fish-basket 36.7

sīk'ē^x.kīs shield 28.7

xala'wīs heat 24.9

tskwa'^xlīs fir-tree 9.2

la^xlīs mud 52.10

tcē'ne'nīs edge 22.15

ltcē'īs ocean beach 7.11

g'īlō'mīs breakers 8.1

lpa'līs sand beach 58.1

he'mîs large 14.5
hū'wîs poor 42.5
pl'îs heavy
mî'tsîs wise 132.6
t^Eqa'îs solid 7.6
tc!icî'îs sweet 32.27
tc!îs dry 166.2

k'î'nwîs lazy
kat'e'mîs five 5.4
x'î'lwîs deep
xal'lwîs hot 24.6
xū'nîs sick 42.18
Le'mîs raw 32.23

§ 57. Nouns of Quality in *-es*, *-tes*; *-enîs*

-Es, -tes. This suffix changes adjectives (or adverbs) into abstract nouns. No explanation can be given for the phonetic difference between the two suffixes.

he'mîs big 14.5

hats kwa x'nek' hemî'stes he
x'ōwā'yas the snake was just as
 big as a hair (literally, just like
 a hair [is] the size [of] the snake)
 86.2

nā^ant much, many 50.13

in kwe' nīyēm itse'ts he'îl nā^antes
 no one knew how many they
 were (literally, not knew they
 how [was] their quantity) 78.2

ŋqai'na I am cold

xqaine'es kās tsxai'wat cold
 nearly killed him 32.7

he'nīye a while 38.15

ta^u henī'yees ŋyāwī'mē (for) such
 length of time I travel 26.9

hethē'te rich 26.2

hethē'tees wealth

paa- to fill 15.7

la ū paa'wes he xā^ap the water
 reached its full mark (literally,
 goes its fullness [of] the water)
 44.19

e'hentc far 26.23

ehē'ntces distance 52.16

qal long

qa'ltes length

k!l'es black 162.13

k!l'estes black color

qat below 36.11

qa'tes, the lower part, half 16.10

-enîs transforms adjectives expressing sensations and emotions into abstract nouns.

cīnlqay you are hungry 70.12

tē' xwīn ā'yā laqē'nîs these we two
 died from hunger (literally,
 these we two [are] hunger-dead)
 36.13, 14

qa^unet he got angry 32.25

qa^uwe'nîs anger, wrath 16.4

§ 58. Nouns of Location in *-Em*

This suffix expresses the abstract conception of a local idea. It is suffixed to adverbs only, and is (with one exception) preceded by the adverbial suffix *-tc*. It may best be rendered by THE PART OF, THE SIDE OF.

<i>lexa'tca kw'inaĩ</i> inside he	<i>lexa'tcem hanL ŋqa'qaĩ</i> in the inside
looked 62.6	(part of my eye) will I sleep 40.2
	<i>he yāxä'wex lexa'tcem</i> of the house the inside (part)
<i>yiqantce'wĩtc</i> backwards 32.13	<i>penLō'wai yīqa'ntcem dji</i> a whale behind it was coming 88.22
<i>ĩla</i> before, first 56.9	<i>ũ k'ĩlō'wĩt ĩla'hatcem dji</i> they saw it in front coming 88.5
	<i>le'wĩ ũ ĩla'hatcem dōwā'ya lä e-nātc</i> he liked his mother best (literally, it is [as] his first[-ness] he likes his mother) 120.19, 20
<i>gat</i> below 36.11	<i>awāndj yā'lanĩ le mā qa'tem</i> ĩla'qai that way are talking the people (who on the) lower part (of the river) live 66.12

§ 59. Verbal Abstract *-āwas*, *-nēwas*

-āwas changes the verb into a noun. It expresses the abstract concept of a verbal idea. If the verb expresses an active, transitive idea, it is suffixed to the bare stem, while in intransitive verbs it is preceded by the intransitive suffix *-enĩ* (see p. 349). In such cases the final vowel of the transitive suffix disappears, and the *a*-vowel of *-āwas* effects the retrogressive assimilation of the stem-vowels and suffix-vowels (see § 7).

<i>e^aa'letet</i> he is working 22.26	<i>ĩ la^a ā'wĩ e^aalctā'was</i> when he quit (the) work 34.6, 7
<i>Lōwēⁱ'wat</i> she is eating 24.5, 6	<i>ā'wĩ ũ Lōwā'was</i> she finished (her) food 24.13
<i>ŋL/hats</i> I put it on	<i>lä L'ahā'was</i> her clothes 110.3
<i>ĩs al'icanĩ</i> we two play 38.11	<i>al'icanā'was ĩn ha^{ux}ts</i> a game we (should) arrange 90.14
<i>ēqe</i> dead 42.19	<i>aqanā'was</i> funeral
<i>hā'yat</i> he gambled 66.15	<i>hayanā'was</i> Indian game

In one instance this suffix has been changed to *-āwal*.

qa'yā^uts he is scared 126.1

īn yū dī^tl qayawā'wal hardly anything can scare him (literally, not very something scaring [to him] 40.24; *qayawā'wal* a thing that scares)

-nē'was. Composed of the distributive *-nē'* (see § 37) and the nominal *-āwas*. Hence it expresses an abstract concept that has a distributive character.

hā qtsū' nla^xanē'was *lōwa'kats* she was sitting between his teeth (literally, his teeth in the [mutual] between[-ness]) 102.18

sōwe'l laxanē'was between the fingers 108.21

sqaīlnē'was the space between the fingers, a crack (*sqaī' L^{Ex}em* it was sticking in a crack 62.8)

§ 60. Verbal Nouns in *-ōnîs*, *-sî*

-ōnîs. This suffix indicates that something has become the object of a certain action. It may best be rendered by WHAT BECAME THE OBJECT OF. Either it is suffixed to the verbal stem directly, or it is preceded by the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts* (see § 26).

īl yā'lanî they are talking 90.16

la^u īl yaaltō'nîs they begin to talk about it (literally, this they [have as their] object of speech) 76.22

ŋk'ī'tîts I cut it

k'ī'tîtsō'nîs la kxla she commenced to cut her foot (literally, object of cutting her foot [became] 80.21)

Lō^u- to eat 17.2

la^u Lōū'nîs î ha'k'îtc la^u yāxu'mē this became his food while he walked crawling (literally, that object of eating [it became] while crawling that one traveled) 32.11

ā'tsa he gave it to him 34.10

atsō'nîs gift 188.26

-sî is used in the formation of nouns from verbal stems. The best rendering that can be given for this suffix is THE RUINS, THE REMNANTS OF.

ai'wīt he killed them 68.11

x'pī it burned down 58.12

is ai'wītstī itē we two (are the) remnants of the slaughter 62.18

qawīlā'we lē yīxū'wex nax'pī'tsī she commenced to look around (of) the house the debris 58.18, 19

It is very likely that the following example may belong here:

k'ītsī'mīs, k'ītsīmā'mīs half
32.11

hē k'ītsī'mīsī ai'wīt half of them he killed (literally, the remaining half he killed) 112.10

§ 61. Nouns of Quantity in *-in*

This suffix occurs in a few instances only. It is added to stems expressing adjectival ideas, and may be translated by *PIECE, PORTION*.

tcā'yua^u small 42.6

qaic small 128.29

e'hentc far 26.23

t'kī tcā'yua^uwin ā'tsa (to) both a small portion he gave 120.17

qaičī'nīs ūx yū'wīyū in a small place they two are stopping 6.3

nā'yīm ehentcesī'nē'tc dji'ñīt because quite far apart it keeps coming (literally, because distance-portion-modality, [they] are coming [singly]) 52.18

§ 62. Nouns of Agency in *-ayawa, -eyāwe, -iyawa*

These suffixes indicate the performer of an action. The *-eyāwe* form is added to stems with *e*-vowels (see § 7). Since the informant was frequently at a loss how to express in English the idea conveyed by this suffix, he invariably translated it by *TO GO AND* (perform the action in question).

t'a'lats he dances
L'x'ī'nt he examined it 32.23
nī'k'īn wood 102.2

mī'laq arrow 12.10

Lō^u to eat 17.2

t'alīya'wa a dancer

L'x'īnīya'wa examiner

mī'lan ŋnīk'īneyā'we permit me to get some wood (literally, let me wood-getter be) 102. 1

is mīlaqayā'we we two go and get arrows (literally, [we two are] arrow-makers) 160.6, 7

ŋLōwīya'wa I am an eater

ŋtē'xītis Lōwīya'wa I go in and eat 168.2, 3

§ 63. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place, *-îs*

It is never suffixed to verbal stems.

qɑ'ntcū where? 94.25

îc xqantcū'wîs from where are you two? (literally, your two selves' whence place) 126.14

lɛ'lɛx medicine

xwîn lɛ'lɛyɑwɛ'wîs we two have been after medicine (literally, our two selves' medicine-makers place) 126.15

tsä'yux^u small 20.5

tsäyuxwî'nîs ɛn̄'k'ɛxɛm lɛ l'tā on a small place is sticking out the land 44.26

qɑic small 128.29

qɑic'î nîs ūx yū'wî yū on (some) small place they two are stopping 6.3

§ 64. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Locality, *-ume*

It signifies WHERE THE . . . IS. It is added to nominal (or adverbial) stems only.

kū^s south

xkukwî' sume hî'yet! he came ashore on the south side (literally, from where south is, he came ashore)

tsɛ'tɪx over here

tsetî'x'ume lō hɛ' hɛ' hɑ'wɛ here on this side make a knot! (literally, where this is, on it, a knot make) 92.7, 8

wî'lūx^u head 30.14

wî'lūxū'mɛ where the head is 146.26

§ 65. Terms of Relationship in *-ätc* (*-atc*)

Terms of relationship appear with the suffix *-ätc* or *-atc* (see § 7), except in the vocative case, where the stem alone is used. A few nouns exhibit in the vocative case an entirely different stem, while others occur in the vocative form only.

The phenomenon so characteristic of many American and other languages, whereby the different sexes use separate terms for the purpose of denoting corresponding degrees of relationship, is not found in Coos. This may in part be due to the fact that the language does not differentiate in any respect whatsoever between the two sexes, and that grammatical gender is a concept entirely unknown to the Coos mind. On the other hand, Coos has one trait in common

with some of the languages of the neighboring tribes, namely, in so far as two different stems are used to denote the same degree of relationship by marriage. One is employed as long as the intermediary person is living, while the second is used after the death of that person.

The following table shows the nouns expressing the different degrees of relationship:

English	Coos	Vocative case
Father	<i>e'kwLātc</i>	<i>k!ō'la!</i>
Mother	<i>e'nātc</i>	<i>nī'k'a!</i>
Son	(?)	<i>Lowa!</i>
Daughter	<i>kwayā'cttc</i>	<i>kwā'ya!</i>
Older brother	<i>hā'Lātc</i>	<i>hāL!</i>
Younger brother	<i>māLkwī'yatc</i>	<i>mā'Lāk!</i>
Older sister	<i>henā'kwnātc</i>	<i>he'nākwī!</i>
Younger sister	<i>kwīya'zltc</i>	<i>kwē'ēL!</i>
Grandfather	<i>pkā'kāt</i>	<i>pkā'k!</i>
Grandmother	<i>āmā'catc, ū'māc</i>	<i>ū'mā!</i>
Grandson	<i>temī'snātc, temī'sin</i>	<i>temī'sī! (sing.)</i> <i>temā'mis! (pl.)</i>
Granddaughter	<i>tek' tēt'nātc</i>	<i>teka'ztē!</i>
Paternal uncle	<i>pū'yatc, pī's</i>	<i>pī'sī!</i>
Maternal uncle	<i>ax'ī'axatc</i>	<i>axa'x!</i>
Paternal aunt	<i>ā'tatc</i>	<i>ā'at!</i>
Maternal aunt	<i>xwkwī'nātc</i>	<i>kwā'kwī!</i>
Father-in-law	<i>mātc/tsānātc</i>	<i>ya'k! (?)</i>
Mother-in-law	<i>qalī'ksātc</i>	<i>kwa'ūk!</i>
Son-in-law	<i>mī'nkāt</i>	(?)
Daughter-in-law	<i>mēlū'nātc</i> ¹	(?)
Brother-in-law	<i>hā'ūk!</i>	<i>hā!</i>
Sister-in-law	<i>kwī'hāt</i>	<i>kwī'hā!</i>
Relative, by marriage, after death of person whose marriage established the relationship.	<i>xa'yusLātc</i>	(?)
Nephew (son of sister)	<i>teu'tātc</i>	<i>teu!</i>
Nephew (son of brother)	(?)	<i>kwē'wēL! (?)</i> <i>nexleu! (?)</i>
Niece (daughter of sister)	<i>upxanā'catc</i>	(?)
Niece (daughter of brother)	(?)	<i>pekwi'nL!</i>

¹ Alsea *māstūn*.

Besides the above-enumerated terms of kinship, there are two stems that are used as such, although they do not, strictly speaking, denote any degree of relationship. One of these is the term *sla'atc* (vocative *sla*), employed by the Coos in addressing a male member of the tribe, and even a stranger; and the other is *xwūl*, used in the same way in addressing females.

In one instance the term *kwe'nēL* is employed to denote SISTER, without mentioning the rank of her birth. All attempts to obtain the corresponding term for BROTHER have proved unsuccessful.

§ 66. SUFFIXES *-ēx*, *-īyēx*, *-īyetēx*

These three suffixes, occurring in a few instances only, seem to express the idea PERTAINING TO. They are suffixed to nominal and to adverbial stems.

<i>bē'ldj</i> north	<i>lē lā'mak' lala^u tē bīldjī'yēx</i> the bones those (are) the Umpqua Indians (literally, the Northern Indians) 50.5, 6
<i>yī'qante</i> behind	<i>yīqa'ntēimēx mā</i> the last generation 9.6
<i>L!an-</i>	<i>L!a'nēx qa'lyeq</i> new salmon 36.25
<i>qa'lu</i> winter (?) 162.20	<i>qa'lēx</i> old 38.18
<i>qa'xan-</i> up 14.1	<i>qaxanī'yetēx mā</i> from above the people 150.5
<i>qā'yīs</i> sky 6.1	<i>qāyīsa'yēx mā</i> the sky-people

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 67-70)

§ 67. Local and Modal *-ē'tc*, *-ī'tc*

This suffix indicates rest, and was rendered by IN, AT, ON, UNDER. It is added to nouns and (very rarely) to verbs. For the parallel occurrence of *-ē'tc* and *-ī'tc*, see § 2. (See note to § 36.)

<i>yīxā'wēx</i> house 22.25	<i>yīxā'wēxē'tc lōwa'kats</i> in the house he is sitting
<i>L!lā</i> country 30.28	<i>yēai' L!tā'ī'tc nīts'ē'ts</i> in another country I stay 26.8, 9
<i>hē'wīlts</i> road 138.17	<i>hēwī'ltsē'tc stō^uq</i> on the road he stood 36.16
<i>q^uwai's</i> board 52.14	<i>ī la^u quwai'sē'tc tē!cīlē'et</i> while she under the board was 58.25
<i>xā^ap</i> water 6.9	<i>xā^apī'tc dji ū mī'le</i> in the water it was swimming 88.21
<i>īx[*]</i> canoe 44.20	<i>asī' L ī'x'ī'tc ūx tē!ōwī'yat</i> in the middle (of the) canoe they two laid him down 126.23
<i>kwī'leL</i> sweat-house 62.25	<i>kwī'leLē'tc tsxū lāl tō'māL</i> in the sweat-house lay that old man 28.11, 12

tīla'qai (many) live 36.11

hī'nī lōwa'kats lē tīl lē mā xqat
tīla'qayītc there lived the kins-
men (among) the people (who)
below lived 60.11

By prefixing to the noun the local prefix *x-* (see § 22), and by suffixing to it the suffix *-ē'itc*, *-ītc*, the idea FROM is expressed.

qā'yīs sky 6.1

xqa'yīsītc *he'laq* from the sky he
came

L'tā country 30.28

xyēai' L'tā'ītc from another coun-
try 26.6

pqai' back 82.13

xyū'xwā mā L'ō^xk'īnē'wat xpqai'-
hītc two men were supporting
him from the back 40.9

When preceded by the discriminative *x-* (see § 23), this suffix assumes a modal significance, exercising the same function as the English adverbial suffix *-LY* or the word *LIKE*.

nmā'heñet it is populated 12.4

hats kwa xmähe'ntītc stō'waq just
like a person he stood up 114.23,
24

xmähe'ntītc k'īlō'wīt lē mā like
personshe saw the beings (look)
54.18

ā'yu sure enough 7.4

gō^us dīl' īn xā'yurwītc txaū'wat he
killed a little of everything
(literally, [of] everything not
enough-ly he killed) 64.19, 20

qa'lyeq salmon 34.14

xqa'lyeqē'itc īl kwāna'ē'wat as
salmon they look upon it 130.14
xta'nuxwītc lōwa'kats sideways he
was sitting 38.10

yīxē'ī one 5.5

xyī'xē'itc dā'mīl xyī'xē'itc he'īl
hū'mā'k'e each man has one
wife (literally, one [modal] man,
one [modal] their wives) 48.5

The prefix may sometimes be omitted, as shown by the following examples:

gante where 8.8

yī'kwanL gante'itc tēp la perhaps
shall which way this I go 100.18

gaic small 128.29

qai'cītc ha^w īl yī'wīlt into small
pieces they divided it 130.26

tsä'yux^w small 20.5

tsä'yuxwītc pī'lstat to pieces it was
smashed 124.14

Owing to its modal significance, this suffix expresses the idea of our collective numerals IN TWOS, IN THREES, when added to the cardinal numerals.

gō^us qa'ntcītc xyūxwä' hēⁱtc īl la everywhere in pairs they went 48.8
xyīpse'nēⁱtc in threes (*yī'pseⁿ* three)

§ 68. Local Suffix, Indicating Motion, -etc

The suffix -etc indicates motion, action, and may be rendered by AT, IN, THROUGH, ON, INTO.

tācī' mīl spruce-tree 20.5

L!ā'yat lE tsä'yux^u tācī' mīl^{etc} he put it on the small spruce-tree 20.8

dE' mšīt prairie 22.12

lE' yī demstēⁱtc l hē' nāp a good prairie through he goes 22.11

yīwä' wex house 22.25

yīwä' wex^{etc} la into the house he went 28.10, 11

yīwä' wex^{etc} dji to the house he came

tc!wāl fire 38.8

tc!wä' l^{etc} t!cīts into the fire he shoved it 32.24

ä face 10.3

kwīna' ē'wat ä' h^{etc} he is looking at (his) face

When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, the suffix is changed to -*etc* (see § 7).

xā^ap water 6.9

t^Ek!wīl xā^a'pat^{etc} into the water he dove 26.27

L!tā' ground 6.7

L!tā' at^{etc} lemī'yat on the ground he put it 64.1

In some cases it may be suffixed to verbs.

tīla' qai (many) live 36.11

tcī hē'laq lE mā tīla' qay^{etc} there he arrived, where the people were living 36.12, 13

stō^uq he stands 20.4

tsō lE mā qat stō^w'q^{etc} hē'laq now to the person (that) below stood he came 92, 4, 5

alī' canī (they) play 94.8

hē'laq lE mā alīcanī' waqat^{etc} he came to the people (that) were playing 98, 14, 15

§ 69. Local -*ewite*

The local suffix -*ewite* is rendered by TOWARDS.

<i>bēldj</i> north	<i>bīldje'wite qai'cīt</i> to the north he scattered 48.24
<i>ē'qatce</i> aside 26.20	<i>ēqatce'wite kwīlkwe'lē'yu</i> to one side he was rolled 94.19,20
<i>yī'qantc</i> behind	<i>yīqantce'wite ilx</i> backwards he looked 32.13
<i>qaits</i> inside 140.24	<i>qai'tsōwite il tē'xītis</i> (inside) they entered 22.29
<i>yīxā'wex</i> house 22.25	<i>yīxāwexē'wite yla</i> towards the house I am going

§ 70. Instrumental -*Etc*

It expresses our ideas WITH, AGAINST. When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, it is pronounced more like -*atc*; while, if suffixed to a stem with an *e*-vowel, it invariably sounded like -*etc*. When the instrumental idea WITH is to be expressed, the stem to which this suffix is added is very often preceded by the prefix *w*- (see § 24).

<i>mā'luk^u</i> paint	<i>mā'lukwetc ltā'yā^u lä ä</i> red paint with was painted his face 10.2, 3
<i>īx[*]</i> canoe 44.20	<i>mā wīx'E'tc yīxu'mē</i> people in canoes travel (literally, with canoes) 90.3
<i>tc!īltc!</i> hammer 26.26	<i>tqanlts tc!īltc!etc lē kwī'la^u</i> he struck with a hammer the ice 28.1,2
<i>mīx'sō'wēi</i> lucky 20.14	<i>hatā'yīms mīx'sō'wetc alī'canī ū mēn</i> lucky money with they are playing 94.27
<i>q!e'tē</i> pitch 82.23	<i>q!ēē'yetc lā^u pā'ats</i> with pitch it was full 74.25
<i>mī'k'e</i> basket 28.27	<i>wmīk'e'etc tōwī'tīnāye</i> in a basket he was dropped down (literally, with a basket) 28.9,10
<i>qā'yīs</i> sky 6.1	<i>qā'yīsetc tskwī</i> against the sky it struck 22.4
<i>tqā'līs</i> sun 24.2	<i>tqā'līsetc panā'qtsxēm</i> in the sun he is warming himself 32.8
<i>tc!ī'le</i> door 62.5	<i>w'ne'xītis tc!īle'hetc</i> she jumped against the door 76.2

In the following instance the suffix is changed, without any apparent cause, to *-yetc*.

wa'lwai knife 78.11

t^Eqanli'yeqem *awa'lwaiyetc* they
hit her with a knife 80.5

In another instance it occurs as *-a^utc*.

gō^us dī^l tsäyä'neha^utc nL'pe'ne dī^l with all kinds of small birds 46.2

When suffixed to the article or to the personal pronouns, this suffix is changed to *-îtc*.

le it 5.1

ale'îtc *ûx k'înt* with it they two
try it 7.4

y'ne I 50.25

yne'îtc *he'laq* with (or to) me he
came

e'ne thou 15.7

ye'ne'îtc with, to thee 18.11

ä he 15.10

hexä'îtc with, to her 86.3

xwîn we two

hexwînne'îtc with, to us two 24.3

§ 71. SUPERLATIVE *-eytm*

This suffix indicates great quantity or quality. It corresponds to our superlative.

tsä'yua^u small 20.5

he tsäyua^uwe'yîm ä'la the smallest
child

he'mîs big 14.5

he he'mîse'yîm yîxä'wex the big-
gest house

It is added mostly to terms of relationship that denote either a younger or an elder member of the family. In such cases it implies that the member spoken of is the younger (or elder) in a family consisting of more than two members of the same degree of kinship.

henî'k^unätc elder sister
(out of two) 50.8

wändj L'äts he henîkuntce'yîm
that way spoke the eldest sister
126.16

§ 72. DISTRIBUTIVE *-îni*

-îni is suffixed to nouns of relationship only, and expresses a degree of mutual kinship. It is etymologically related to the verbal distributives *-nēⁱ*, *-äni* (see §§ 25, 37).

sla'atc cousin 42.21

ûx sla'tcîni they two were mutual
cousins 42.15

hä'Lätc elder brother 72.27

îni hältcî'ni we are brothers mu-
tually

mîLkwî'yätc younger brother
72.1

kat'e'mîs îl mîLkwî'tcîni five they
(are) brothers (mutually) 90.8

§ 73. INTERROGATIVE -*ū*

It is added only to the particles *tcītc*, *qantc*, *mī'lātc*, *dī'īl*, *wī't*, *ītc*, to the adverb *nī'ātc*, and to the stem *ītsē'ts* (see pp. 406, 407, 408, 411).

tcī'tcū xā'tat ū mēn what are they doing? 92.18

xctē'tcū tēŋ xā'nīs how is it that I am sick?

la'w qā'ntcū la that one where did he go? 94.25

mī'lātcū hanL ē'wū'txē when will you return? 28.3,4

dī'īlū he tē ē'wīlō'wat what usually are you looking for? 54.3

dī'ītcē'tcū hanL tēis k'ī'nt with what shall we two try it? 7.1, 2

(*dī'ītcē'tcū* = *dī'īl* + *-tc* + *-tēc* + *-ū* (see §§ 108, 25, 70, 11))

xwī'tū tsī'w'tī'yat who did it?

ī'tcū ē'dōwā'ya ē'xkan which one do you want? 50.17

īl nī'ctcū how many are they? (literally, [are] they a few?)

ītsē'tsū hēmī'stes tī'ye yīxā'wex how big is your house? (literally, how [the] largeness [size] of your house?)

NUMERAL SUFFIXES (§§ 74-77)

§ 74. Ordinal -*īs*

The ordinal numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals (see § 101) the suffix -*īs*. The first two numerals are irregular, especially the ordinal for ONE. The adverbial stem *īla* AHEAD, the temporal adverb *yuwīnt* BEFORE, or the same adverb with the adjectival ending -*īyex*, are used in lieu of the missing regular ordinal numeral for ONE. The ordinal for TWO is formed by adding the suffix -*īs* to the adverb *asō* AGAIN.

ī'la, yuwī'nt, yuwī'ntīyex first

asō'wīs second

yīpsē'nīs third

hecl'īīs fourth

kat'ē'mīsīs fifth

hē' xā ī'la Lowī'tat she first ran (literally, ahead) 56.9

lēŋ yuwī'nt hū'w'mīs my first wife (literally, my wife [whom I had] before)

lēŋ asō'wīs hū'w'mīs my second wife

Compare also *helmī'hīs* next day (*he'lmī* to-morrow 162.9) 6.7

Of an obscure composition is the indefinite ordinal *tsī'wīs* THE LAST. Its first component can not be explained, while the ending is plainly the ordinal suffix -*īs*.

tsō cku tsī'wīs now (this) must (have been) the last one 120.1

§ 75. Multiplicative *-en*

The multiplicative numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals the suffix *-en* TIMES.

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>yîxé'n</i> | 6. <i>yîxé'wîegen</i> |
| 2. <i>tsō'xé'n</i> | 7. <i>yûxwä'wîegen</i> |
| 3. <i>yîpse'nen</i> | 8. <i>yîxé'ahälen</i> |
| 4. <i>hecl'Len</i> | 9. <i>yûxwä'ahälen</i> |
| 5. <i>kat'E'mîsen</i> | 10. <i>Lep!qa'nîen</i> |

The numeral for TWICE is irregular. It seems to be composed of the conjunction *tsō* NOW, of the inclusive personal pronoun *ûx*, and of the multiplicative suffix *-en*.

yîxé'n sla'qa la once bathing she went 84.24

tsō'xé'n hanL wru'tæ in two days will I return (literally, twice) 28.4

kat'E'mîsen qa'xante x'ne'x'tîts five times upwards (they) jumped 76.4

tsō k'wa nîctce'n qalimî'ye then, perhaps, in a few days . . . (literally, now, perhaps, it seems, a few times, morning it got) 56.21

To this group belongs also the indefinite *weste'n* SO MANY TIMES, formed from the stem *wes* SO MANY.

hîs weste'n tsîx' ta hîs weste'n yeaî' L!tā'îtc qîtsé'ts I stay here just as long as in the other country (literally, also so many times here, and also so many times in another country, I stay) 26.8, 9

§ 76. Ordinal-Multiplicative *-entcîs*

The ordinal-multiplicative numerals, expressed in English by AT THE FIRST TIME, AT THE SECOND TIME, are formed by means of the compound suffix *-entcîs*. This suffix consists of the multiplicative *-en* (see above), of the modal *-tc* (see § 36), and of the ordinal suffix *-îs* (see § 74).

xyîxé'wîege'ntcîs L!é'tc lä îluwe'x'tcîs at the sixth time went out her heart 76.6, 7

xkat'E'mîse'ntcîs at the fifth time

The ordinal suffix *-îs* may be omitted, as shown in the following example:

hecl'Lentc qalimî'ye la' laata'ya lä sla'atc on the fourth day he went to his cousin (literally, four times [at] morning it got . . .) 42.20, 21

§ 77. Distributive *-hîna*

Distributive numerals in the sense of ONE EACH, ONE APIECE, are formed by adding to the cardinal numerals the suffix *-hîna* (see General Remarks, pp. 326, 327). The first two numerals, *yîxê* and *yûxwâ*, change their final vowels into *a* before adding the suffix. This change may be due to purely phonetic causes (see § 7). The numeral for THREE, *yî'psen*, drops its final *n* before taking the suffix.

yîxahî'na one each

yûxwahî'na two each

yîpsehî'na three each

hecl^lLhî'na four each

kat^lEmîshî'na five each

gō^{us} yîxahî'na îl nhû^umă'k'e le wî'ngas î hî'me all of the Spider's children have wives each (literally, all, one apiece, they with wives [are], the Spider's children) 58.9

yîxahî'na he'is mî'laq we two have one arrow apiece

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-79)

§ 78. Irregular Plurals

The majority of nominal stems have the same forms in singular and plural. There are, however, a number of nouns and adjectives that show in the plural a formation which is distinct from the singular form. This formation is based upon two grammatical processes, suffixation and phonetic change, and may be said to be of a petrified character. It is impossible to describe, or even suggest, the processes that may have taken place in this formation; hence no attempt will be made to discuss them in detail.

The following is a list of nominal stems that occur in two distinct forms, — one for the singular, and the other for the plural:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ā'la</i> 10.8	<i>hî'me</i> 20.3	child
<i>hû^wmîs</i> 24.6	<i>hû^umă'k'e</i> 20.3	woman
<i>tō'mîL</i> 20.2	<i>tēmă'Le</i> 24.1	old man
<i>dă'mîl</i> 14.7	<i>tî'mîl</i> 56.18	man
<i>mă</i> 10.1	<i>mēn</i> 24.22	human being
<i>k'nes</i>	<i>k'enē'yese</i> 30.16	hunchback
<i>tsă'yux^w</i> 20.5	<i>tsăyă'ne</i> 48.7	small
<i>tce'wet</i>	<i>tce'nîxet</i> 46.19	short
<i>qal</i>	<i>kale'mka</i> 134.25	tall
<i>alî'maq</i> 112.27	<i>alî'maqa</i> 44.20	big
<i>tōtc</i> 10.9	<i>tîtcă'ne</i> 46.3	kind, manner

This distinction is not consistently carried out. Cases where the singular form is applied to denote plural concepts are quite numerous. This phenomenon is very natural, since in place of the idea of plurality we find rather the idea of distribution developed in Coos.

§ 79. Plural of Terms of Relationship, *-iyas*

The only substantives that form a plural by means of a specific plural suffix are the terms of relationship. The suffix employed for this purpose (*-iyas*) may be added directly to the stem, or may be preceded by the suffix of relationship, *-ätc* (*-atc*) (see pp. 365, 366).

	<i>mēanī'yas</i> parents 86.12
<i>kwīya'zLtc</i> younger sister 50.14	<i>kwīLtcī'yas</i> younger sisters 82.14
<i>hūLätc</i> older brother 72.27	<i>hūLtcī'yas, hālī'yas</i> older brothers 130.23
<i>e'k^wLätc</i> father 20.13	<i>ek^wLtcī'yas, ek^wLī'yas</i> fathers
<i>e'nätc</i> mother 68.16	<i>eⁿtcī'yas</i> mothers

This suffix may be present in the stem *L'tā'yas* VILLAGE, derived from *L'tā* EARTH, GROUND, COUNTRY. The initial *ī* of the suffix would amalgamate with the final *ā* of the stem into *ā* (see § 9), and the noun would express a collective plural.

§ 80. MINOR SUFFIXES

Besides the suffixes discussed in the preceding pages, Coos has a few suffixes of obscure function, that occur sporadically only, and that are confined to certain given stems. These suffixes are as follows:

-i occurs in one or two instances, and is rendered by AND ALL.

<i>mī'laq</i> arrow 12.10; <i>nmī'laqa</i>	<i>hemī'yat lE mā ū kwā'xal nmī'laqai</i>
- with arrow he is 20.18	she took out a person's bow and arrow and all 62.23
<i>lā'mak</i> bones 40.12	<i>nt^{xt} ta nlā'mak<i>·i</i></i> with flesh and bones and all

-ca is suffixed to the noun *hū'^wmīk* OLD WOMAN. It was explained to me as having an endearing character, but instances are not lacking where the suffix is used in a derogatory sense.

wändj *L'ä'xem lE hū'^wmī'k*·ca** thus talking is the (dear) old woman 82.19, 20

lxant tc'wäle'tc lE hū'^wmī'k·ca** (she) threw it into the fire, the (bad) old woman (the Giant-Woman)

-āyîms occurs in three instances, and seems to have a nominalizing character.

<i>tc!hats</i> he put it out (the light) 128.16	<i>k'!âtē!hā'yîms la^u tc!îlê'et</i> it (the fire) is burning continually (literally, without [being] put out it is caused to burn) 40.25, 26
<i>îce^e tîtc!</i> you two come in! 82.14	<i>tîtcā'yîms ydōwā'ya</i> to come in I (should) like
<i>hethê'te</i> rich 26.2	<i>hatā'yîms</i> money 20.15

-îyaL, -āyaL, are suffixed to a few verbal stems, and seem to denote the performer of an action.

<i>îñ-</i> to hunt 24.26	<i>îñ'yāL mā</i> a hunter
<i>alî'canî</i> he plays	<i>alî'canî'yāL</i> a player
<i>Lō^u-</i> to eat	<i>Lōwî'yāL</i> a person that eats
	<i>qacqayā'yāL</i> a shadow (?) 104.9

-îye, -āye. This suffix is added to a number of stems expressing adjectival ideas. It is idiomatically employed in the formation of comparison (see p. 417), and in some instances it is used to indicate plurality of adjectival concepts. When used for the purpose of expressing comparison, it seems to have a nominalizing function.

<i>pL!îs</i> heavy	<i>yū kwā pāL!ā'yē akwî'na^utc</i> they (pl.) look very heavy (literally, much as if weight [according to] appearance) 64.8
<i>x'î'lwîs</i> deep	<i>asî'L la ū x'îlwî'yē lex ya'bas</i> the maggots go halfway deep (literally, middle, goes its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12
<i>wū'us</i> light	<i>hîs xā ta hē'ūx wū'wîyē lē ē'ne</i> they two are as light as you (literally, also he and their two light weight [as] yours)

Singular	Plural	
<i>pL!îs</i>	<i>pāL!ā'yē</i>	heavy
<i>mî'tsîs</i> 128.20	<i>mātsā'yē</i>	wise
<i>wū'us</i>	<i>wūwî'yē</i>	light

-yîya is suffixed in one or two instances to local adverbs, giving them an adjectival coloring, as it were.

hî' nî there 5.2

hîn' yîya mǎ dî't la^u mî'tsîs from
there the people something
know 128.19, 20

tsî hê'îl tama'tîs hîn' yîya mǎ just
their fashion (of the) people from
there 130.8, 9

The function of this suffix may best be compared to that of
the German suffix *-ige* in phrases like—

der heutige Tag this day

die dortigen Einwohner the inhabitants from there

-î has been found suffixed to the article only. It seems to express
the idea of instrumentality, although this idea may be due to
the prefixed instrumental *n-*.

lê it, he, the 5.1

nlê hî la with it he went 42:8

nlê hî wî'twê with it she returned
70.23

The infixed *h* is due to hiatus (§ 10).

Reduplication (§§ 81-83)

§ 81. *Introductory*

Reduplication as a means of forming grammatical processes is
resorted to frequently in Coos. The reduplication may be either
initial or final. Initial reduplication affects the consonant, vowel, or
whole syllable. It consists in the repetition of the weakened vowel
or consonant of the stem, or in the duplication of the first stem-
syllable. The connecting vowel between two reduplicated consonants
is the obscure *e*-vowel; but, owing to the great tendency of Coos
towards euphony, this obscure vowel is frequently affected by the
stem-vowel (see § 7). Final duplication is always consonantic, and
consists in the repetition of the final consonant by means of a con-
necting obscure vowel, which very often changes its quality in accord-
ance with the stem-vowel preceding it, or with the vowel of the suffix
that follows it (see § 7).

The grammatical use of reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb.

§ 82. *Initial Reduplication*

Initial reduplication expresses, in connection with the proper verbal
suffixes, intensity of action, repetition, duration, and customary
action. It is employed, furthermore, in the formation of the passive

voice. Syllabic reduplication is used very often in addition to a phonetic device (see § 84) for the purpose of forming a number of verbs expressing transitive ideas of continuous duration. These verbs do not then require any of the transitive suffixes. This latter application may be of a later, secondary origin.

Examples of reduplication of initial sound, or of initial consonant and following vowel:

<i>wīn-</i> to cheat	<i>ēwīwīnā'mī</i> I am cheating you
<i>qaic</i> small 128.29	<i>qeqaī'cū lā wī'tīn</i> clubbed (into pieces) is his blood 10.6
<i>ai'wīt</i> (he) killed them 124.4	<i>īl ai'ai'wā'yu</i> they were killed 58.8
<i>pīls-</i> to tear up	<i>pepīlsū'ye</i> he was torn up 48.16
<i>tīw-</i> to coil	<i>ṽtītīwē'wat</i> I am coiling it
<i>Lōw-</i> to buy	<i>LōwLōwī'yeqem</i> it is being bought 88.13, 14

Examples of syllabic duplication:

<i>tāne'henī</i> he is thinking 24.13, 14	<i>ēn hanL tēntēnā'īs</i> you sha'n't think of me 88.29
<i>cīm-</i> to attract	<i>cīmcīmd'ē'waq</i> it was attracting by means of its breath 88.25
<i>ītīslō'wat</i> he recognized it 30.28	<i>īti'tīsī'lū</i> (she) is being recognized 56.5
<i>ūx hī'tō'uts</i> they two put it down 7.4	<i>la^u hīthītōwē'wat</i> these he is putting down 34.8
<i>lē'p-</i> to paint	<i>alē'ītc kīptī'yap.lā ā</i> with it she painted their faces 122.6
<i>Lōw-</i> to hit	<i>wnā'nt la^u LōwLōw'wax</i> many that one were hitting 80.4, 5
<i>pōw'kwīs</i> slave	<i>mā pōw'kpō'wak^u</i> people she was enslaving 70.15
<i>wēL-</i> to twist	<i>xqe'īltc wīLwē'yāl</i> slowly she is twisting him 60.7
<i>sī'x'īts</i> he shook it off 42.3	<i>ṽsīx'sī'yax</i> I am shaking it off

Owing to the fact that reduplication and duplication are based upon the principle of consonantic or stem weakening, the repeated element occurs very often in a changed form. The following rules have been observed in this respect:

(1) The semi-vocalic *y* reduplicates into a long *ī*.

<i>yīxē'ntce</i> together 64.8	<i>īyīxāntcū'ye</i> it was gathered up
<i>yatē'wat</i> he is coaxing him	<i>wāndj īl ī'yatū</i> thus they were coaxed 98.4, 5

(2) The spirant *x* in consonantic combinations, when reduplicated, becomes *k*. In the same manner alveolar *s* becomes the affricative *ts*.

<i>is x^Llō^ut</i> we two put it in	<i>il k^Lil x^Llōwē^uwat</i> they are putting
26.25	them in frequently 52.9
<i>x^tti</i> it slid down 26.19	<i>k^Lil x^tti^uyu</i> it was slid down 94.5
<i>yixēⁿ sLa^uqa la</i> once to bathe	<i>tsisLa^uqaai</i> she was bathing 84.21
she went 84.24	
<i>stō^uq</i> he stood 20.4	<i>tsEstōgē^uyu</i> he was made to stand
	on his feet

(3) The reduplication of the fortis palatal *k*! consists in the mere amplification of the consonant by means of a prefixed *a*-vowel.

<i>k!^alat</i> he shouted 36.7	<i>ak!^alaai lE hū^umīs</i> shouting is the
	woman 56.5

(4) Combinations of two or more consonants, of which a velar, a palatal, a nasal (*m*, *n*), an *h* or *l*, form the second element, reduplicate the second consonant. The lateral (*l*) is in such cases preceded by a vowel, since initial combinations of *l* + velar are impossible.

<i>skw^uwat</i> he informed him	<i>wändj kwiskw^uwat</i> that way he is
164.22	informing her 60.19
<i>tsxanw^uyat</i> he put it down	<i>wEtsxanwē^uwat</i> he is putting it
36.21	down
<i>lkwa^uat</i> he cut it off	<i>kwilkwā^uyu</i> it was cut off 76.14
<i>sqats</i> he seized it 36.20	<i>mū qEsqā^uyu</i> the person was
	seized 10.4
<i>l!^xant</i> he threw it 42.10	<i>xal!^xanē^uwat</i> he is throwing it
	frequently
<i>a^ulqas</i> fear 66.4	<i>aqā^ulqsōnā^uya</i> he became afraid
	of him 28.24, 25
<i>l!^ha^utsa</i> he put on 28.23	<i>hal!^hā^uyu</i> it was put on
<i>xmen^uyat</i> he tipped it over	<i>mExmenē^uwat</i> he is tipping it over
46.26	
<i>q!^mits</i> she ate it 24.16	<i>mEq!^mit^uyu</i> it is eaten 142.6
<i>x^Eal^uyat</i> he hugged him 116.4	<i>elxē^ulē^uyu</i> he was hugged

Compare also —

<i>la^ui xw^uit</i> she jabbed him 112.17	<i>ilExw^uye</i> he was jabbed
<i>l!ⁿō^ut</i> he opens (the door)	<i>nōL!ⁿōwē^uwat</i> he is constantly
	opening (the door)

(5) Syllables ending in an *m*, *n*, *l* + consonant omit the *m*, *n*, and *l* in the repeated syllable.

<i>kwilt-</i> to roar	<i>kwiltkwil^ultaai</i> it is roaring 114.6
<i>qals-</i> to cut	<i>gasqa^ulsaai</i> he is cutting

<i>x'ne'x'tits</i> he jumped 32.4	<i>x'itx'it'ntaa</i> he is jumping
<i>mî'ntcîts</i> she asked him 62.15	<i>mîtemî'ntcî'yeqem</i> he is asked 70.9
<i>ha^uma-</i> to dress hides	<i>ûx ha^uxha^uma^ux</i> they two are dressing hides 68.27, 28
<i>dä'mîl</i> man 14.7	<i>ic teltä'mîltu</i> you two (will) get strong 120.17, 18
<i>k!wanx^u-</i> to cut (the hair)	<i>k!wa'xk!wanax</i> he is cutting his hair
<i>tsîlk</i> to tie a knot	<i>tsî'k'tsîlak</i> he is tying a knot
<i>sîlp-</i> to comb (hair)	<i>sî'psîlap</i> he is combing (his hair)

A number of stems occur in parallel forms showing both consonantic reduplication and syllabic duplication.

<i>yîxe'ntce</i> together 64.8	<i>yîxwantceⁿē'yu</i> it was gathered up
	<i>yexyîxentceⁿē'yu</i> it was gathered up 84.16
<i>x'ne'et</i> he is on top 10.1	<i>x'înx'îne'wat</i> he is putting it on top
	<i>x'î'x'întû</i> it is being put on top
<i>mîntc-</i> to ask	<i>mîtemî'nate</i> she is asking 80.12
	<i>memîntcū'ye</i> he was asked
<i>cūlts</i> he set afire	<i>cîlcū'laai</i> it is burning
	<i>cecū'lû</i> fire was set to 58.11

§ 83. Final Reduplication

Final reduplication is used for the purpose of expressing distribution, mutuality, and, in intransitive verbs, an action that is performed now and then (see § 37). It is also employed as a means of forming neutral verbs that indicate actions of long incessant duration.

<i>yeg</i> he went away	<i>qai'nîs la^u yaq^Eqä'nî</i> from the shore they are running away (one after the other, singly) 36.18, 19
<i>sō^{uz}t-</i> to trade	<i>îs sō^{uz}tîttä'nî hanL</i> we two will trade (mutually) 16.7, 8
<i>hû'wîs</i> woman 26.7	<i>înlEaxä'nâ la^u hû'wîsîsä'nî</i> them- selves they marry 12.5
<i>stō'waq</i> he stood 20.7	<i>stōwa'qeqänî</i> he is continually standing up and sitting down
<i>kwîlî'yat</i> he rolls it	<i>kwîl^Elä'nî lE baltî'mîs</i> rolling is the ocean 6.2
<i>kw^aa'tîs</i> dream 98.7	<i>la^u kwä^atîsîsä'nî</i> he is constantly dreaming (literally, now and then) 72.1

<i>lk'wī tē xā^ap</i> runs down the water 16.9	<i>lk'wa'k^u tē xā^ap</i> is continually running down the water 17.4
<i>x'pī lē yīxā'wex</i> it burned down, the house 58.12, 13	<i>x'pa'ap lē yīxā'wex</i> burning (down) is the house
<i>wu'twe</i> he came back 28.9	<i>wutxa'wa tē'is hī'me</i> came back (one by one) our (dual) children 44.7
<i>k'uxwī lē hū'w'mīs</i> the woman was lost 54.19	<i>hep plpā'wīs k'u'wax^u</i> my hat got lost (impersonal)
<i>neq</i> he ran away 100.16	<i>īl neqa'qa</i> they ran away (severally)

There are a number of stems expressing verbal, nominal, and adjectival ideas, that appear invariably in reduplicated or doubled form. Some of these expressions are onomatopoeitic in character; others may have been borrowed from the neighboring languages; while still others may be new formations, necessitated by the introduction of new ideas and concepts through the contact of the Coos with the white people. (See also § 116.)

The following is a partial list of such stems:

<i>e'geq</i> killing spot 80.14 (compare <i>e'ge-</i> to die)	<i>īl'plp</i> white man's paint (compare <i>lē'p-</i> to paint)
<i>yī'myīm</i> eyelash (compare <i>yīm-</i> to twinkle)	<i>tcō'xtcōx</i> rabbit 60.23
<i>wa'lwal</i> knife 78.11	<i>g'img'ī'mīs</i> rain (compare <i>g'ī'mīt</i> it rains)
<i>ha'x'haax</i> wagon (compare <i>ha'x-</i> to drag)	<i>k'ī'nk'īn</i> stick
<i>hethe'te</i> rich 26.2	<i>k'isk'a'sīL</i> fish-hawk
<i>he^u'he^u</i> knot 92.8	<i>ku'kum</i> raven
<i>pū'spūs¹</i> cat	<i>qatqai'L</i> belt 28.7 (compare <i>tqai'L-</i> to put a belt on)
<i>pū'xpux</i> a spout 30.25	<i>qa'lqal</i> digging-stick 26.17
<i>mūs'mūs¹</i> cow	<i>x'ī'nax'īn</i> saddle (compare <i>x'ne'et</i> it is on top)
<i>ta^u'ta^u</i> basket 112.4	<i>xa'Lxat</i> ax (compare <i>Lxat-</i> to chop)
<i>tsetse'kwīn</i> cane 28.18	<i>xwa'lwal</i> eye 40.1
<i>tseīl'mtseīlīm</i> button	<i>xwī'tsxūt</i> deer 64.19
<i>ta'ntan</i> to come ashore (whale) 128.28	
<i>pī'x.pī</i> to go home 28.3	
<i>yū'yū</i> to stop (while traveling) 5.2	

¹ Chinook jargon.

Phonetic Changes (§§ 84-85)

Grammatical processes by means of phonetic changes are few in number, and not clearly developed. The phonetic change may be of a vocalic or consonantic character.

§ 84. Vocalic Changes

Vocalic change is confined to the verb, and consists in the amplification of the stem by means of a vowel (usually the *a*-vowel), or in the modification of the vowel connecting a suffix with a stem. Stem amplification is employed for the purpose of forming active or transitive verbs from verbal stems, and of denoting duration of action. The latter application occurs in verbs that have already been transitivized by means of some transitive suffix. The stem is frequently duplicated before amplification is applied to it (see §§ 82, 83). For another explanation of this phenomenon see §§ 4, 11.

<i>tkwīL-</i> to follow	<i>īn tēte tkwī'yal</i> (they) can not follow him
<i>tcīnL-</i> to reach	<i>yīxā'wewete tcī'nal lā k^umā'x.</i> to (the roof of) the house reached its horn 86.25, 26
<i>stō^uq</i> he stood 20.4	<i>nhal' stō'waq</i> at the foot of the tree he stood 26.17
<i>ūx yū'yū</i> they two stopped (for a moment) 5.2	<i>ūx yū'^{wi}yū</i> they two stopped (for a long time) 5.5
<i>k'a^u-</i> to peck	<i>k'īlō'wīt k'a'wat</i> he saw him (in the act of) pecking at it 20.9
<i>sīlp-</i> to comb one's hair	<i>sī'psīlap</i> he is combing his hair
<i>mānto-</i> to ask	<i>wāndj mātcmā'nate</i> that way she is asking 80.12
<i>wīL-</i> to twist	<i>xq'ēte wīlwē'yāl</i> slowly she is twisting him 60.7

Modification of a connecting vowel, whenever it occurs, is employed for the purpose of indicating duration of action. As this phenomenon has been discussed more fully in connection with the transitive suffixes *-t* and *-ts*, the reader is referred to the chapters dealing with those suffixes (see § 26 and also p. 357), in order to avoid repetition.

<i>ūx w'cīt</i> they two shake it 13.8	<i>w'cat hē L'tā</i> (he) is shaking the earth continually 16.2
<i>y^mu'wōit</i> I felt it	<i>y^mu'wat</i> I am feeling it
<i>y^ltīts</i> I painted it	<i>y^ltats</i> I am painting it

§ 85. Consonantic Changes

The application of consonantic changes as a means of forming grammatical processes is a very peculiar phenomenon, characteristic of the Coos language. Its use is confined to a very few instances; and the process, while to all appearances consisting in the hardening of the final consonant, is of such a petrified nature that it is no longer possible to analyze it. It occurs only in a few nouns of relationship, and its significance may be said to be endearing and diminutive. The following examples of consonantic change have been found:

kwē'is a young woman 86.1

hū'wîs woman 24.6

dä'mâl man 14.7

dî'lōl young man 22.6

kwē'îk a young girl 12.2

hū'wîk old woman (used in the same sense as we use our phrase MY DEAR OLD WIFE) 58.5

tō'mâl old man 20.2

dî'lōL young boy 60.2

Syntactic Particles (§§ 86-95)

§ 86. Introductory

By syntactic particles is meant here the great number of enclitic and proclitic expletives that are employed in Coos as a means of expressing grammatical categories and syntactic relations. They cover a wide range of ideas, and refer more properly to the whole sentence than to any specific part of it. With the exception of two particles, none of them are capable of composition; that is to say, they can not be used with any suffix or prefix, although two or even three particles may be combined into one. Such combined particles usually retain the functions of each of the component elements. All syntactic particles are freely movable, and may be shifted from one position to another without affecting the sense of the sentence.

§ 87. Temporal Particles

1. *han* ABOUT TO. It denotes actions that will take place in the immediate future. Its position is freely movable, and it may be placed before or after the verb.

tso han kwîlt hE k'îtsîmä'mîs now he was about to bend the half 62.29

x^Ealî'yat han hE dî'lōl he is about to hug the young man 114.26.

2. *hanL* SHALL, WILL. It is regularly used to denote a future action, and it is the sign of the future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

neŋ pkā'kate hanL ŋk'itō'wīt I will see my grandfather

gō^{us} dīt^l hanL hā'wī everything will grow 9.3

cīn sqats hanL te tc'wāl you shall seize that yonder fire 40.18, 19

īs alī'canī hanL we two will play 38.11

īn lē'γī hanL not good will (it be)

3. *Ēit* INTEND, ABOUT TO. It gives the sentence the force of a periphrastic future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

ī gante Ēit ē^{la} when anywhere you intend to go 15.3

ī dīt^l it lōwēⁱ'wat Ēit when something they intend to eat 38.2

qaik^u ūx wutā'a'xa Ēit te'īs hī'^{me} I thought that they two should come back, those our (dual) children 44.7

4. *nīk!wa* USED TO (BE). It denotes an action that took place long ago. It is often used as a sign of the past tense. In such cases it is always preceded by the particle *he* USUALLY (see below), and it follows the verb which is used in its repetitive form.

tēⁱ nīk!wa ye^ene^u nā'hīn this used (to be) your shinny club 38.16

xā^ap ŋlu'qūt nīk!wa water I used to boil

ŋwīwī'naai he nīk!wa I used to cheat

ŋsī'psīlap he ŋx'ne^k nīk!wa I used to comb my hair

By suffixing to *nīk!wa* the obsolete suffix *-lī*, the temporal adverb *nīk!wa'lī* YESTERDAY is obtained.

nīk!wā'lī ŋqa'la yesterday I crossed (the river)

hū^wmās he'laq le nīk!wa'lī a woman arrived yesterday 142.10

5. *he* USUALLY, FREQUENTLY, HABITUALLY, denotes an action that is performed very frequently. The particle either precedes or follows the verb. The verb is very often used in the repetitive form, whenever possible.

gō^{us} mī'lātc he L!ā'xem always usually he is talking 15.4

tēmā'le mā la^u tc'icīla'ē'wat he old people on that sit habitually 38.3

When following the future particle *hanL*, or its potential form *yanL* (see p. 391), *he* coalesces with them into *hanLawe* and *yanLawe* respectively.

yanLawe dīt^l ē'qa^wwenīsa'nāya, hanLawe xē'itc l'nuwī ē^L!ā'xem
whenever you will get mad at something, you will talk with it

loud (literally, if shall usually something you get angry at it shall usually with it hard you be talking) 16.3, 4

yanLawe xqante mā hū'yam, lēla^u hanLawe ē^hkwā'nanā'ya whenever a person gets ready to come from somewhere, this you shall usually tell (literally, if shall usually from where a person get ready [to come] this shall usually you tell it) 19.3, 4

The particle *he* amalgamates with the adverb *yū* VERY into a temporal adverb, *yurwe* WHENEVER.

xā'lwīs he yurwe la^u yīxū'mē warm usually (it is) whenever that one travels 24.6

yurwe yī'mat ha^u gō^us mī'lātc lōk^ulō'kwāai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), it is always lightning 16.6, 7

The same process may have taken place in the rare adverb *towe* WHEN. The first component may be a stem, *to-*, while the second element is the particle *he*. The example given below will substantiate this assertion. We have here a complex of two sentences stating a fact of frequent occurrence. In the first sentence the repetitive particle occurs clearly, while it seems to be missing in the subordinate sentence. And since, according to the examples given above, all the components of a complex of sentences must show the particle *he*, it is safe to assume that the frequentative particle is one of the two elements in *towe*. The example follows:

xyeai' L/tā'itc he āx yīxū'mē towe hū^u'mīs hīk!a'mtīye from another country usually they two travel when(ever) a woman gets her monthly courses 26.6, 7

§ 88. *Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Knowledge*

6. *kwa* IT SEEMS, AS IF, LIKE, KIND OF, denotes an object or an action the quantity or quality of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

hats kwa tō'hīts just as if he hit it

kā^as kwa lī'cat hē L/tā almost as if he shook the earth 16.2

hats kwa ū'yu wīna'qaxem lāl Lōwē'wat just like a rainbow is spread out that (which) he was eating 32.14

hats kwa ntō'māL just like an old man I (am)

7. *yīku, k^u* MAYBE, PERHAPS, I GUESS. Both forms appear without any apparent distinction. This particle may apply to any part of speech in a sentence, and its position is freely movable. It has a

dubitative character. It expresses the possibility of a certain action taking or having taken place, and at the same time doubts the certainty of its occurrence.

hā' nī k^u ē'k'ēxēm lī'ye hā' Lātc there perhaps amongst (them) is your elder brother 94.28

tsī k^u īc hewesē' nī merely perhaps you two are lying 28.13, 14

La' yetat k^u (she) may get hungry 64.15

ē'wā' nīs k^u maybe (that) you are sick

This particle is very often followed by the negation *īn* NOT.

yīku īn wā' nīs he is probably sick (literally, maybe [or maybe] not he is sick)

When followed by the future particle *hanL*, it amalgamates with it into *yīkwanL* or *kwanL* (see §§ 8, 9), and it is translated by (I) WONDER WHETHER, (I) SUPPOSE IF.

nī kwanL ā'ya ŋqā'ya won't I loose my breath? (literally, not I perhaps will [be] gone my breath) 54.13, 14

la^u ŋəl'ts kwanL suppose I hit that one with a club (literally, that one I hit it with a club perhaps shall) 124.16

yīkwanL dī'ttē' ŋlōwē'wat I wonder what I shall eat (literally, maybe will that there I eat it) 32.19, 20

It is contracted with the following *ūL* into *yīkūL*, *kūL* (see § 9 and p. 391).

yīkūL īn lē' yī perhaps that will be good (literally, perhaps would [be] that not good)

yīkūL xtcītc yūL līm ŋha^{ux}ts I wonder how it would be if I should make a dam (literally, perhaps would [be] how, if should a dam I make) 34.16

īn kūL qaic ha^w pīt teŋ xmi' nkate could not my son-in-law cut off a chunk? (literally, not perhaps would a chunk cut off this my son-in-law) 128.29

When followed by the particle *īl* SURELY (see p. 388), it is contracted with it into *yīkwīl* or *kwīl* (see § 8), and lends to a statement a high degree of probability.

qa'wax kwīl lī'ye hā' Lātc above may (be) surely your elder brother 96.4, 5

The particle *yīku*, *k^u*, appears sometimes as *yīkwa*, *yīkwe*, or *kwe*.

The reason for this phonetic change could not be found.

yīkwa qantc la where may it have gone? (literally, perhaps somewhere it went?) 88.3

yîkwe dîl tE nk'îlô'wît what may it be that I see? (literally, perhaps something this I see it) 108.11

kwa kwe yû in ā'yu L sla? (I) wonder if it is not so, cousin? (literally, as if perhaps very not surely [it] must be, O cousin!) 38.21

8. **hakwat, kwat.** A compound particle having the same significance as *kwa*. It consists of the unexplained prefix *ha-* (which seems to occur also in *hamîL*, see p. 392), the particle *kwa*, and the abbreviated form of *dîl* (see p. 407).

hakwat x'îā'yam lE lî'kwît kind of reddish (were) the feathers 20.10
k'wā'ant hakwat qa'l'uatat he heard some kind of a noise (literally, he heard as if a noise were made) 60.29

9. **qēn** denotes suspicion. It is very difficult to render it in English otherwise than by a whole sentence.

kwa qēn dîl L'î'meq she suspected some scent (literally, as if, suspicion, something [a] smell) 24.10

kwa qēn mā îc sîna'ēwat it seems as if you two are hiding a person (literally, as if, suspicion, a person you two are hiding) 24.11

10. **qai ku** expresses a supposition on the part of the speaker. It was invariably rendered by I THOUGHT. Its first component can not be analyzed, while the second is clearly the particle *k^u*.

qai ku îx wutxa'xa Êt te'îs hî'me I thought they two were going to come back, these our two children 44.7

qai ku in îl ye'ne'w lô I thought not surely (this was) your property 112.7

11. **qainî.** Neither of the two elements of this particle can be analyzed. It indicates that a certain fact came suddenly into one's recollection, and may best be translated by OH, I RECOLLECT, I REMEMBER. It is usually amplified by the particle *L* (see p. 392), which either follows it immediately or else is placed at the very end of the sentence.

qainî L nwa'wala û qā'yîs he recollected that this was a spider (literally, recollection, must be, with [its] spider, world) 30.3

qainî k^u nîō'we û qā'yîs L he came to remember that there was such a thing (literally, recollection, perhaps, with such a thing, the world, must [be]) 32.9

12. **natsî.** It is used by the speaker for the purpose of expressing doubt. It was rendered by I DOUBT.

natsi xdi'la la^u lōwē'wat I doubt (whether) some one (will) eat it
36.9

natsi xtcite hñ sqats (we) doubt (whether) we (shall) catch it
56.19, 20

13. **hēn** HEARSAY. It denotes that a certain occurrence or fact is known to the speaker from hearsay only. It may best be translated by I WAS TOLD, IT IS SAID.

hā'wī hēn le w'ngas ā teni'snātc grew up the Spider's grandson,
it is said 66.11, 12

penlō'wai hēn ta'ntan whales are reported to (have) come ashore
128.28

ye'ne^u i'le hēn la^u nai'wīt your enemies (as I heard you say) those I
killed 110.16, 17

14. **il** SURELY, CERTAINLY, confirms a statement, and gives it the appearance of certainty. It is often used in apposition to *hēn*, whenever the speaker wishes to imply that he himself was a witness of a certain occurrence. It denotes knowledge by experience, and may be translated by I SAW IT. It either follows or precedes that part of a sentence which it is to specify more clearly.

mā il ŋlōwē'wat persons I do eat, indeed 24.18

ŋiloxgai'nīs mā il I am a doctor, surely 10.2

tcī il ē'lō'k^u there, indeed, sit down 38.22

ŋk'īlō'wīt il I saw him, for sure

xā'nīs il he is sick (I saw it)

le'γī hanlel it will be good certainly 15.9 (*hanlel* = *hanl* + *il*
see § 7)

in hel sla not so, cousin 42.23 (see § 7)

15. **cku** indicates knowledge by evidence. It is used whenever the speaker wishes to state a fact that occurred beyond doubt, but whose causes are not known to him. It is composed of *c^E* (see p. 389) and *k^u*. It may be rendered by IT MUST HAVE BEEN THAT.

yū'awä cku hū'mā'k'e yū'kwe two women must have gone ashore
126.11, 12 (the speaker knows this fact to be true by examining
the tracks on the sand beach)

hats cku kwa xmä la^u tcī hñhñtōwē'wat just it must be as if a per-
son that thing there put it 112.2 (the evidence of this fact was
the finding of the object in question)

§ 89. *Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas*

16. *yîqax, yîqa*. The exact significance of this particle is not clear.

It was rendered by STILL, ANYWAY, AT ANY RATE, NEVERTHELESS, RIGHT AWAY, JUST. In some cases it denotes a continual action.

yîqa in tō'hîts he to'qmas still not he hit the woodpecker 22.5
yîqa hanL tsîx' é'hakutō'wat tî'ye îx' at any rate, you will here
 leave your canoe 54.10, 11

yîqax hanL nla right away I am going

mā yû'xwä mā la, yîqa îl tsxäw'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10

hats yîqa xqa'wax üx kwîna'ê'wat just continually from above they
 two look at it 6.9

17. *qats* HOWEVER, NEVERTHELESS, NOTWITHSTANDING.

xqa'wax hä'k!wîtem, la^u qats kwa ä'yu Lōwa'hai qa'xante from
 above, some one pulled him, however, it seemed as if he surely
 ran upwards (by himself) 92.9, 10

qats kwîlkwä'yu, hats leqa'we le ä'la nevertheless it was cut off
 (and) it just died, the child 76.15, 16

18. *mā* BUT, EVEN IF, REALLY.

mā yû'xwä mā la, yîqa îl tsxäw'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10

ma yanLawe tî'mîli dî'l é'tō'hîts, yîqa hanLawe la^u é'tsxäw'wat
 even if strong something you will strike, still you will kill it
 124.11, 12

mā with the negative particle *in* is rendered by NOT AT ALL.

mā in mā kwaä'nîya, mā wändj L'ä'xem not at all people he
 saw, nevertheless that way he was talking (making believe that
 he saw them) 30.27

19. *nā, nāyim* BECAUSE.

é'alqâtā'mî, nāyim wändj é'L'ä'xem you scare me, because that
 way you are talking 110.15, 16

nā ä'yu qa'lyeq ha'ltsat because surely salmon (will) come into the
 river 36.26

§ 90. *Particles Denoting Emotional States*

20. *c^E* expresses slight surprise at a state of affairs that has come into existence contrary to one's expectations.

hū'wîs c^E la ä'la a female (was) his child (a boy was expected in
 this case) 108.6

dä'mâl c^E ä'yu a man (it was) surely

tsâm'ye c^E summer it got 30.20

tsō c^E Lq! now it was cooked 34.2

yū c^E Le êk!a'lat too loud you shout (literally, very contrary to my expectations you shout [the speaker ordered the whale to shout loud, but he did not expect such a noise; hence the use of *c^E* in this sentence]) 36.15

hâ'wî c^E Le wî'ngas û temâ'snâtc grown up (has) the Spider's grandson (this statement was made by a person who believed the boy to have been dead) 64.24, 25

c^E is combined with the future particle *hanL* into *canL*, and with the potential *ûL* into *cûL* (see § 9). These new particles express expectation that will certainly be fulfilled, and may be translated by I HOPE, IT OUGHT.

ê'Le'yî canL you will be all right (I hope) 124.14

nî canL tcîtc xâ'tlîl (I hope) he won't do anything to me (literally, not to me, it ought, what he does) 116.2

yū cûL ŋk'!âk'ânâ'wîs yûL ŋlî'mlet I ought to get very tired, if I keep on spearing (literally, very much, it ought to be, I without laziness, if should I spear it) 34.17

Le'yî cûL î la^u in kwîLkwâ'yu good it might have been if that one not had been cut off 76.16

la^u cûL nî'cîtc îs pî'yat (of) that a little we two ought to take home 112.3

c^E is frequently prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun *te*, forming a new particle *ct^E* or *cta*. This particle often follows the interrogative forms of *tcîtc*, *dî'îl*, and *wît* (see pp. 407, 411), giving the interrogation a tinge of surprise, as it were.

ê'wî'tū cta who are you? (literally, you, who is it?)

dî'îlū cta te ŋk'îlō'wît what do I see? (literally, what is it that I see?) 106.16, 17

xtcî'tcū cta te la^u in L'nō'wat why does it not come open? (literally, why is it that that one not comes open?) 76.4

21. *cîl* INDEED. Composed of *c^E* and *îl*. It has retained the significance of both of its component elements. It consequently denotes a fact known by actual experience, at the occurrence of which the speaker is surprised, as it came into existence contrary to his expectations.

hîs cîl ê'ne ye^s mē'lâ'kuk^u la û x'na'at also indeed, thou, O heart of salmon! runnest? 36.19, 20

tsō cîl xwândjî'ye now, indeed, that way it is 8.2

ê'ne cîl you it is, indeed 10.3

This particle occurs frequently with the transitional suffix *-nye* (see § 35).

hî'nî cîlî'ye mândj k'wā^{ant} there, indeed, already he felt it 32.16, 17

22. *hîtc* indicates surprise. The native Coos is unable to render it. Its meaning was deduced from the sense of the sentences in which it occurred.

hê'hats dâ'mîl k'îlô'wîl tsxû hîtc lēn henî'kⁿnâtc suddenly a man she saw lying with her elder sister 50.22, 23
mâ hem'tset hîtc a person was laid bare 58.22

§ 91. *Particles Denoting the Conditional*

23. *ūL* WOULD, SHOULD. It puts the sentence in which it occurs in a potential mode. It may either precede or follow the verb to which it belongs.

kat'ê mîsen qatîmî'ye ūL wu'twē tēŋ ā'la in five days, if should return my child 42.22, 23

la^u ūL ŋk'îlô'wîl alî'canî ū mēn (I) should be the one to see them play, if— 92.16

ŋk'î'lô^uts ūL I should find it if—

xtcî'tcūL how would it be if— 5.2 (contracted from *xtcî'tcū + ūL*; see § 9).

24. *yūL* IF—SHOULD, IF—WOULD. It gives the sentence a conditional tinge. It occurs usually in the subordinate sentence whenever *ūL* has been used in the co-ordinate sentence, although it is frequently used independently of *ūL*. It always precedes the verb.

xtcî'tcūL yūL îs sô^xtîtä'nî how would it be if we two should trade? 15.6

yūL kwîna'ê'wat la^u îŋ ūL aiaî^êwā'yu lē hî' me if she had seen it, they not would have been killed, the children 58.10, 11

lē'γî yūL ŋnî^l'me good (would it be) if I should have a fish-trap 34.19

25. *yanL* IF expresses the conditional in the present or future tense. It usually precedes the verb, and it is used in subordinate sentences in apposition to *hanL*. It also occurs independently of *hanL*. Since the native Coos does not distinguish between the conditional present and future tenses, *yanL* is used to express also the present conditional.

îl nî hanL kwîna'îl, yanL ŋc^Ea'letet they will not see me, if I [will] work 128.23, 24

yanL ēn dōwā'ya wüändj, yāxē' dā'l hanL ēmātsmāstā'mā if you don't want it that way, one thing I will teach you 124.7, 8
 . . . *yanL yeai' L!tā'atc īs hē'laq* when in another country we two shall arrive 28.23
ŋk'!nt yanLeL I guess, I will try, surely (literally, if I shall try, surely; *yanLeL*=*yanL*+*īl*; see § 7)

§ 92. Exhortative Particles

26. *L* MUST, NECESSARILY. It signifies that a certain state of affairs or an action must take place. It has therefore the force of an emphatic imperative. It is placed either before or after the verb (or noun), no matter whether the verb is used in its imperative form or not.

ttāla'aīs L cīn la'Ex close to the shore you (must) go 30.23
qa'xante L pēī'tE loud you (must) shout (literally, shout upwards) 30.26
īn L tēte xa'tte teŋ dā'māL don't you do anything to my husband (literally, not [must], manner, do it, [to] that my husband) 26.15
cīne' tīla'qai L you must stay (here)
ēleqa'wīya'tanī L you (must) tell a story 38.13, 14
tō L ūL lē'γī this must be good (literally, that thing, necessarily, should be good) 40.25

27. *hamīL, mīL, īL*. The exact function of this particle defies all attempts at an explanation. It was usually translated by LET ME, I SHOULD LIKE TO, BETTER (IT WILL BE, IF), whenever it referred to the speaker. When referring to the person spoken to or spoken of, it was rendered by BETTER, YOU MAY, PLEASE, A WHILE.

hamīL ŋkwīna'ē'wat I should like to look at him
mīL dāltē' tō'hīts better hit this one 124.15
hamīL ēne xle'ītc ēk'!ī'ntgem you may with it try 92.1
hamīL ēL!āts please, speak 16.2
mīL halt! ēne xle'ītc ēL!āts now you with it speak (a while) 16.5
īL hanL xtcītc xa'lal? what (would be) better to do? 86.10

In examining these sentences one must arrive at the conclusion that *hamīL* (or *mīL*) is of an exhortative character. By its means the speaker either asks permission of the imaginary person spoken to, to perform a certain action, or he conveys a polite command to the person spoken to. In both cases the granting of the desire is a foregone conclusion.

ham̄l and *m̄l* are contracted with the periphrastic *han* into *ham̄lan* and *m̄lan*, adding to the particle a future significance.

ham̄lan ŋl'ē'te let me go out 28.26

ham̄lan n̄l'k'īn ŋw̄lō'wat let me look for wood 102.3

m̄lan ē'mux̄t̄tsā'm̄ permit me to feel of you 72.17

28. *kw̄s* LET US TWO. This particle is composed of the particle *k^u* PERHAPS and of the inclusive form of the personal pronoun *īs* WE TWO. Its function is that of an imperative for the inclusive. The verb, which it always precedes, takes the imperative suffixes.

kw̄s lxa'te let us two chop wood 26.15, 16

kw̄s tse'm̄t̄tse te tahā'lik̄ let us two loosen that quiver 122.27

29. *kw̄n* LET US (ALL) exercises the function of the imperative for the first person plural. The first component is, beyond doubt, the particle *k^u* PERHAPS. The second element can be no other than the personal pronoun for the first person plural *l̄n*. The contraction of *k^u + l̄n* into *kw̄n* may have been effected by the analogy of *k^u + īs* into *kw̄s*.

kw̄n le tsæ'we let us kill him quickly 68.3

kw̄n sqa'tse let us seize it

§ 93. Particles Denoting Emphasis

30. *hēi*. By its means the Coos emphasizes any part of speech. It usually precedes the word to be emphasized.

hēi yū xtcā'yua^u mā a very insignificant man (literally, emphasis, very small man) 42.6

hēi xā ī'la Lowī'tat xā'apate she first ran into the water 56.9

hēi c̄l kw̄ēk'ī'ye surely, indeed, it was a girl 12.1, 2

Whenever *hēi* precedes the conjunction *hats*, it forms a new particle, which is rendered by **SUDDENLY**.

hēi hats mā k'īlō'w̄t suddenly a person she saw 54.2

hēi hats L'nō'wat le tc'ī'le suddenly came open the door 62.5

31. *hēi kw̄n* EXCEEDINGLY (like the English colloquial **AWFULLY**). This particle consists of the following three independent and separable components: *hēi*, *kwa*, and *īn*. Literally translated, the particle means **VERILY, IT SEEMS NOT**. Since the phrase is used as a sort of an exclamation with an interrogative character, it may best be compared to our English exclamation **ISN'T THIS A FINE DAY!** which really means **THIS IS A FINE DAY**.

hē'kwāin lē'γī ū iluwe'tcās she was awfully glad (literally, what, as if not her heart good?) 64.9, 10

hē'kwāin xhū'wīs mǎ a very poor man (literally, what, as if not a poor man?) 42.5

hē'kwa ūl īn dōwā'ya they liked him very much (literally, what, as if they not liked him?) 24.29

32. **īte** is used in direct discourse only. It always follows the word that is to be emphasized.

γ'ne īte lē ēdōwāyextā'īs qa'wa I am (emphatic) the one you wanted (last) night 50.25, 26

ē'hū'wīs īte! you will (be) a woman (emphatic) 24.20

tō īte kwā'wal lī'ye ē'k^ulātc this (emphatic) (is) the bow (of) thy father 62.24

qa'lyeq īte īn īte penlō'wai it is salmon, not whale (literally, salmon [emphasis], not [emphasis] whale) 130.12, 13

§ 94. Restrictive Particles

33. **La** ONLY. It limits the action to a certain object. It always follows the word so limited.

la^u la īn tētc walt (to) that only not anything he did 68.13

wa'lwal la ā tsem a knife only give me 80.14, 15

wāndj la ūa kwee'nīyēm that way only people know them two 19.10

34. **tsī** SIMPLY, MERELY, JUST. It has a slight restrictive character.

tsī ē'qa'qal you were merely sleeping 68.19

γīwē'n qakimī'ye tsī īn dīl one morning, it was simply gone (literally, once, morning it got, simply, not something) 88.3

tsī contracts with the following *hanL* into *tsanL* (see § 9).

tsanL ē'tā'tcīnts only then shall you have it 78.15

§ 95. The Interrogative Particle ī

35. **ī**. This particle, exercising the function of our sign of interrogation, is used only in sentences that have no other interrogation. It is usually placed at the end of the sentence.

ā'yu ē'iloxqai'nīs ī surely (art) thou a doctor? 10.4

tsīx ūa la ī did they two go (by) here? 96.18, 19

ē'kwīna'ē'wat ī neq hā'lātc have you seen my elder brothers? 96.18

When preceded by the particle *han*, *ī* is rendered by MAY I?

neq!mīs han ī may I eat it?

THE PRONOUN (§§ 96-100)

§ 96. The Independent Personal Pronouns

Coos has two sets of independent personal pronouns, formed from two different stems.

The first of these two sets is formed from the stem *-ʷkan* for the first and second persons, and *-ʷka* for the third person, to which are prefixed the personal pronouns (see § 18), giving the following series:

Singular	{ 1st person <i>nɛ'ʷkan</i> { 2d person <i>e'ʷkan</i> { 3d person <i>ʷd'kū</i>
Dual	{ Inclusive <i>ʷnɛ'ʷkan</i> { Exclusive <i>ʷwɛnɛ'ʷkan</i> { 2d person <i>ʷe'ʷkan</i> { 3d person <i>ʷʷd'kū</i>
Plural	{ 1st person <i>ʷnɛnɛ'ʷkan</i> { 2d person <i>ʷeɛnɛ'ʷkan</i> { 3d person <i>ʷʷd'kū</i>

The obscure vowel in *nɛ'ʷkan* is due to the law of consonantic clusters (see § 4).

For the dropping of the glottal stop, inherent in the second person singular, see § 3.

The peculiar vowels in the third person singular may be the combined effect of accent and of the dropping of the final *n*.

It will be seen from this table that the singular forms are the basis for the corresponding dual and plural forms. Thus, the inclusive is formed by combining the inclusive pronoun *ʷs* with the singular for the first person *nɛ'ʷkan*; the second person dual is composed of the personal pronoun for the second person dual *ʷe*, and the singular for the second person *e'ʷkan*; etc.

These pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be translated by I (THOU, HE . . .) AM THE ONE, WHO —

nɛ'ʷkan hanL laʷ ɳʷʷɛnɛ'ʷyat tɛ ʷāʷp I will be the one to run away with that water 40.20, 21

hɛs hanL e'ʷkan ʷɛʷe'ʷk!wɛnɛ also thou shalt be the one to shoot one (arrow) 13.1

That the dual and plural forms of this set are not felt to be integral units, and may easily be separated according to their component elements, is best shown by the following example:

tsō hanL nE'xkan xwîn e^siltā'mî now will we two tell thee
126.21, 22 (*nE'xkan xwîn* instead of *xwînne'xkan*)

This use of the singular pronouns in place of the plural has been referred to in § 46.

The second set of independent personal pronouns may be called the "verbal set." These pronouns are formed by prefixing the personal pronouns *ŋ*, *e^s*, etc., to the stem *-ne*, which seems to have a verbal significance. The pronouns thus obtained may be translated by IT IS I, IT IS THOU, etc.

The third persons singular, dual, and plural have no special forms in this set; but they are replaced by *xä*, *äxxä*, *ilxä*, forms related to *xä'kä*, *äxxä'kä*, and *ilxä'kä*.

The series follows.

Singular	{ 1st person <i>ŋ'ne</i> { 2d person <i>e'ne</i> { 3d person <i>xä</i>
Dual	{ Inclusive <i>i'sne</i> { Exclusive <i>xwîn'ne</i> { 2d person <i>i'ene</i> { 3d person <i>i'xä</i>
Plural	{ 1st person <i>lin'ne</i> { 2d person <i>cin'ne</i> { 3d person <i>il'xä</i>

hîs hanL ŋ'ne tci ŋla I too will go there 94.22

halt! e'ne tsîx' e'stō^uq now it is thy turn to stand here 64.32

hîs xä e^Ea'letet she too is working 22.26, 27

The Possessive Pronouns (§§ 97-98)

§ 97. The Sign of Possession, *û*

The idea of possession is expressed in Coos by means of the possessive particle *û*, which follows the term expressing the possessor, and precedes that indicating the possessed object. The possessor is not infrequently preceded by the article.

- k!wē'he ū l' nēk' k'īLō'witsa* leaves of a willow he found 30.17, 18
hē hā'tcīt! ū ā'la x'ī'ntset Hetcit's child got on top 24.23
ūx lemī'yat lē mexā'ye ū kwā'x^u they two set up the eagle's feathers 8.10
xwāndj ū lq' nas hē tsä'yux^u lā'nāk' such (was) the name of the small river 46.10, 11

The possessive sign very frequently takes the place of the possessive pronoun for the third persons singular and plural.

- lē'γē ū īlunwē'tcīs* he was glad (literally, good his heart) 32.5
ā'yā cku ū qā'ya she must have lost her breath (literally, gone must be her breath) 58.24, 25
la ū ha'we lē tēcē'māl the spruce-tree is growing (literally, goes its growth, the spruce-tree) 20.16
la ū paa'wes lē xā^ap the water is filling up (literally, goes its fullness, the water) 44.17
ā'wī ū lōwā'was she finished eating (literally, it ended, her food) 24.13
hē e'stīs mā alī'maqa ū īx' some people had large canoes (literally, some people, large their canoes) 44.20
yūxwā' ū hū'mā'k'e he has two wives (literally, two [are] his wives) 20.3
djī ū x'na'at lē nō'šk'ī'lī the Big Woman came quickly (literally, comes her quickness, the Big Woman) 78.26

The possessive sign is employed in impersonal sentences, where the subject of the sentence is *qā'yīs* WORLD or *mēn* PEOPLE. In these cases the subject is placed at the end of the sentence, and the possessive sign is affixed to the possessed object, immediately preceding the subject. The sentences are rendered by THERE WAS, THEY ARE.

- k'!āl!tā' ū qā'yīs* there was no land (literally, without [its] land the world) 5.5; 6.1
īn tē!lē'xēm ū qā'yīs there was no low tide (literally, not [has] its dry condition [the] world) 15.8
nwa'wala ū qā'yīs there was a spider (literally, with its spider [is] the world) 30.3
qaičī'nīs kweē'tī ū mēn people were living in a small place (literally, in a small place their living [place have] people) 50.7
tē tī'k'īne ū mēn there they were standing (literally, there their standing [place, severally have] people) 74.28

§ 98. *The Possessive Pronouns Proper*

The possessive pronouns proper are formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns *n*, *e*^ε, etc., the article *l_E* or *h_E*, or the demonstrative pronoun *t_E*. These forms may be regarded as loose prefixes.

Singular . . .	{ 1st person	<i>heŋ</i>	<i>leŋ</i>	<i>teŋ</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>li'ye</i>	<i>li'ya</i>	<i>ti'ye</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>hā</i>	<i>lā, la</i>	<i>tā</i> (?)
Dual	{ Inclusive	<i>he'is</i>	<i>le'is</i>	<i>te'is</i>
	{ Exclusive	<i>he'awin</i>	<i>le'awin</i>	<i>te'awin</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>he'ic</i>	<i>le'ic</i>	<i>te'ic</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>he'ux</i>	<i>le'ux</i>	<i>te'ux</i>
Plural	{ 1st person	<i>he'in</i>	<i>le'in</i>	<i>te'in</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>he'cin</i>	<i>le'cin</i>	<i>te'cin</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>he'il</i>	<i>le'il</i>	<i>te'il</i>

The second person singular *li'ye* has resulted from the combination *l_E* + *e*^ε. This phonetic irregularity remains unexplained. The forms *li'ya* and *la* occur before nouns having *a*-vowels (see § 7).

ā'yu cīli'ye heŋ kw^aa'tis surely, true came my dream 100.14

la^u kwinda'ē'wat li'ye iluwe'xtcis that one is looking into thy heart 14.8

pī'nts li'ya kōla bend thy foot 120.13

hān ye'es la^u L!k'its into his mouth she poured it 102.12

la^u han_L he'is katalis these shall be our two subjects 124.6

halt!yū nā^ant he'in e^aletā'was too great (is) our work 68.27

lōwa'kats he'il eⁿātē living is their mother 84.21

lā L!ahā'was her clothes 110.3

lōwa'kats la ā'la his child remained 110.10

āū'nīs le'awin e'k^ulātē sick is our (dual) father 126.18, 19

ic la'tsit le'ic e'k^ulātē you two go and get your (dual) father 20.13

ux kwiskwō'wat le'ux e'k^ulātē they two were informing their (dual) father 20.25

ī^Eyuwī'lte le'cin sō'wel! wiggle your fingers! 122.8

ŋtswā'wat han_L teŋ mī'nkate I will kill that my son-in-law 26.22

tī'yex e'k^ulātē han_L la^u k'ī' Lō^uts tī'ye īx thy father will find thy canoe 54.11

A peculiar form of the possessive pronoun for the first person singular is the frequently occurring *neŋ*. This form may be explained as a reduplicated stem, in which the first *n* is, so to speak, the article for the first person singular, formed in analogy to *l_E* or *h_E*.

neŋ pkā'kate han_L ŋk'īlō'wīt my grandfather I shall see

ai^ai^ewā'yu neŋ hī'mē killed were (all) my children 62.18

The personal pronouns without prefixes are often employed as possessive pronouns. In such cases the second person singular e^e occurs as ye^e .

ī'tcū ŋdä'mūl? which one (is) my husband? 80.3

ā'yā ŋqā'ya I am out of breath (literally, dead my breath) 66.27

nā^{ant} hanL ye^e Lōwā'was you will have much to eat (literally, much will [be] your food) 54.6

k!ā hanL yeⁿ k!wīnts ŋla'ats a rope around thy neck I'll put 94.12

In two instances the possessive pronoun of the third person singular is amplified by the addition of the possessive sign.

lē'γī hū ū ūlwe'^xtcīs he is good-natured (literally, good [is] his heart)

dzū'lī lū ū kwī'yōs a fur-seal (as) his dog 132.2

A possessive pronoun expressing absence is formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns the prefix $k'!ä-$. The form for the first person singular only could be obtained in this series.

nī kwīskwī'ūl tEx k'!āŋ ū'mā not me informed that my (absent) grandmother 62.12

Besides these pronouns, there is another series of independent possessive pronouns. They are formed by prefixing to the verbal form of the personal pronouns $ŋ'ne$, e^ene , etc., the article h_E or l_E , or the demonstrative te_E , and by suffixing the possessive sign $ū$.

Singular . . .	{ 1st person	<i>heŋ'neu</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>ye^e'neu'</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>he^xāū'</i>
Dual	{ Inclusive	<i>he^sneū'</i>
	{ Exclusive	<i>he^xwīn'neu</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>he^sneū'</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>he^sā^xāū'</i>
Plural	{ 1st person	<i>he^līn'neu</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>he^cīn'neu</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>he^lā^xāū'</i>

The second person singular shows a phonetic irregularity which I am at a loss to explain.

These pronouns are independent, and have a verbal significance. They may be rendered by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc.

heŋ'ne^u tō te qe'mä my property is that camas 112.6,7
e'heŋ'ne^u t'le you (are) my enemy 118.3
ye'ne^u pī^t L'a'nēx thy cradle is new 38.17
heä^u tō hēn it is his property (it is said) 116.21, 22

§ 99. The Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by prefixing the possessive pronouns to the stem *tet* BODY. The possessive pronominal prefixes for the first and second persons singular are *ŋ-* and *ye^e-* respectively. The third person singular has no pronominal prefix. The rest is regular.

Singular . . .	{ 1st person	<i>ŋtet</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>ye'tet</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>tet</i>
Dual	{ Inclusive	<i>he'tstet</i>
	{ Exclusive	<i>he'xwintet</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>he'tctet</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>he'xtet</i>
Plural	{ 1st person	<i>he'nttet</i>
	{ 2d person	<i>he'cttet</i>
	{ 3d person	<i>he'ltet</i>

ŋtō'hits ŋtet I hit myself

tō^uxtit ye'tet watch thyself 74.3

wändj pī'ctcits tet thus he warmed himself 32.8

ux L'x'i'nwīt he'xtet they two examine themselves 84.3

il yu'xtits he'ltet they rubbed themselves 52.13

The particle *i'nēx* ALONE is not infrequently placed before the verb (see § 108), and emphasizes the subject.

x'i'nēx ŋtō'hits ŋtet alone I hit myself

§ 100. The Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns exhibit a variety of forms. Attempts have been made to discover whether the different forms may not indicate position from the standpoint of the speaker; but they have proved unsuccessful, owing to the fact that this idea does not seem to be clearly developed in Coos. Only the first two pronouns seem to accentuate this distinction. The following demonstrative stems have been found.

tē denotes an object that is near to the speaker, and may be translated by THIS HERE. It always precedes the object to which it refers.

tē *hanL tō'hîts* this here he shall hit 20.14

tē *ēpā'ts* this here you fill up 78.12

It is frequently employed as an adverb in the sense of HERE.

tē *yîxau'me* here I travel 26.9

yte *hāl* I (am) here, O elder brother! 72.26.

tE indicates an object that is away from the speaker, and may be rendered by THAT THERE. It usually precedes the object.

tkwîlē'wat tE tō'qmas he is following that (there) woodpecker 22.2

ûx k'îlō'wît tE L!tā they two saw that (there) land 6.5

dîltce'te tE yL!aga'ē'wat with what (shall) I point my finger (at) this one (there?) 40.24

tE often exercises the function assigned in English to the conjunction THAT.

xtē'tcū tE gō'us mî'lâte ē'yîxau'me why (is it) that always you travel? 48.14

xtē'tcū tE wāndj ē'vîltā'is why (is it) that thus you tell it to me?

(For *tE* as a prefix in possessive pronouns, see § 98. See also under *la^u* below, and *lewî*, p. 402.)

dîltē'. A compound pronoun composed of the indefinite particle *dîl* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and the demonstrative *tē* THIS HERE. It may be translated by THIS HERE.

dîltē' *ku'î'yex* this stone here 124.16, 17

dîlte'. A compound of *dîl* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and *tE* THAT THERE. It is usually translated by THAT THERE.

dîlte' tE ku'î'yex that stone yonder

dîlte' mā the person yonder

la^u, *ha^u*. This pronoun has the force of a whole sentence. It applies to both subject and object, and it is used in singular and in plural alike. It invariably precedes the subject or object to which it refers. It may be translated by HE, THAT IS THE ONE; HE IT IS.

yîxē'n qakîmî'ye la^u L!ē'itc hāl tō'mîL one morning that one went out, (namely) that old man 20.4.

xqante la^u sî'x.t^Etsa la^u tē la from where he (was the one to) scent it, there he (was the one to) go 22.24

la^u lû xwî'lux^u ba'nax^utat that (was the one) his head became bald 30.14

la^u tēmā'le mā la^u tē'icāla'ē'wat he it is the old people (it is they who) sit (on) that, usually 38.3

la^u īn la^u ī'lwats he did not look at it (literally, he was the one, not, it was the thing, he looked at it) 40.8

la^u han_L ūx c^Ea'letet it is they two (who) shall work 68.26

k'ida'mīnate ha^u x^L!īt into the bowl she put it 102.6, 7

la^u and *ha^u* are frequently emphasized by the prefixed article or by the demonstrative pronoun *tē*.

lē lā'mak^{}, lala^u tē bīldjī'yex* the bones, those are the Umpqua Indians 50.5, 6

lala^u he lōwē'wat that's what she usually eats 24.5, 6

tela^u qha^{ux}ts tē L!tā I am the one who made that land 10.3, 4

In composite sentences having one and the same subject, *la^u* and *ha^u* are used in the subordinate sentence to avoid the repetition of the subject.

kwi'na'was sī'x·tEtsa (lē dī'lōt) ī la^u hī'nī stō^uq smoke scented (the young man) as he stood there 22.23, 24

xā'nanā'ya la ā'la ī la^u leqa^wwe his child made him feel sorry, when it died 42.18, 19

lewī, a demonstrative pronoun with verbal force. It is invariably followed by the article or by the demonstrative pronoun *tē*; and it is sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, preceded by *la^u*. It may be translated by **IT IS, THAT IS.**

lewī lē eñī'k'exem that is it, sticking out 46.11

hēi cīl lewī'ye lē tē'ī'le surely, indeed, it was a door 72.25

lāl, hāl, a demonstrative pronoun used for subject and object, singular and plural. It precedes the subject or object. It denotes objects that have been previously mentioned. It is composed of the article *lē*, *hē*, and of the abbreviated form of the particle *dīl* **SOMETHING** (see p. 407).

qa'nōtc stō^uq lāl tō'māL outside stood that old man 20.4, 5

wāndj L!āts lāl hū^wmāk^{}* thus spoke that old woman 102.10

asō' sqats hāl hū^wmāk^{} lēx swā* again seized that old woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

ūx neqa'qa hāl tēmā'le they two ran away, those old people 24.12, 13

hāl and *lāl* have a nominalizing function, and often take the place of our relative pronouns.

hats kwa la^u ū'yu wīna'qaxem lāl lōwē'wat just like a rainbow was spread out (that thing) which he was eating 32.14

tcī'tcū tē la^u xto^us hāl ē^L!aha'ē'wat why (is it) that that thing stiff (is) which you have on 110.4, 5

lō has a nominal force, and denotes THAT KIND, SUCH A THING. It always precedes the object.

ā'yu lō k'ī' Lō^uts hē pa'xwīya surely, that kind he found, the manzanita berries 32.10, 11

tsō ā'yu lō ha^uts now surely, that thing she made 60.16

When preceded by a possessive pronoun, **lō** expresses the idea of property.

hep^une^u lō tē qē'mä that camas belongs to me 112.6, 7

Lō has a local meaning, and may be translated by IN IT, ON IT. It always follows the object to which it refers.

p^usīk' ā'tsem lō nī'cītc xā^ap ha^wwe a cup give me, in it a little water have 68.17, 18

tsetī'x^ume lō he^u'he^u ha^wwe! on this side make a knot (literally, where this side is, on it a knot make) 92.7, 8

k'!ān MY ABSENT. The prefix of this possessive pronoun may be regarded as a demonstrative pronoun (see pp. 323, 399).

THE NUMERAL (§§ 101-102)

§ 101. The Cardinals

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>yīxē'</i> | 20. <i>yūxwä'ka</i> |
| 2. <i>yūxwä'</i> | 30. <i>yīpse'nka</i> |
| 3. <i>yī'pseⁿ</i> | 40. <i>hecl'lka</i> |
| 4. <i>he'cl'l</i> | 50. <i>kat'e'mīska</i> |
| 5. <i>kat'e'mīs</i> | 60. <i>yīxē'wīeqka</i> |
| 6. <i>yīxē'wīeq</i> | 70. <i>yūxwä'wīeqka</i> |
| 7. <i>yūxwä'wīeq</i> | 80. <i>yīxē'ahälka</i> |
| 8. <i>yīxē'ahäl</i> | 90. <i>yūxwä'ahälka</i> |
| 9. <i>yūxwä'ahäl</i> | 100. <i>yīxē' nī'k'in</i> |
| 10. <i>Lēp!qa'nī</i> | 111. <i>yīxē' nī'k'in Lēp!qa'nī</i> |
| 11. <i>Lēp!qa'nī yīxē'ū'qtsī</i> | <i>yīxē'ū'qtsī</i> |
| 12. <i>Lēp!qa'nī yūxwä'ū'qtsī</i> | |

The Coos numeral system is of a quinary origin, and, strictly speaking, there are only five simple numeral stems; namely, those for the first five numerals. The numerals for SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are compounds, the second elements of which can not be explained. In the same manner the numeral for TEN defies all attempts at analysis.

Besides the cardinals, Coos exhibits special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and distributive numerals, formed by means of adding certain numeral suffixes to the cardinal numerals (see §§ 74-77).

The collective numerals expressed in English by the phrases IN TWOS, IN THREES, etc., are formed in Coos by means of suffixing to the numerals for TWO, THREE, etc., the adverbial suffix *-ē'tc* (see § 67).

yáawä'hē'tc la^u hithitōwē'wat in pairs he is putting them down

34.7, 8

wyápsē'nē'tc in threes

The collective numeral for ONE, *yáxē'ntce*, shows a peculiar formation. It consists of the cardinal *yáxē'*, the distributive suffix *-n* (see pp. 327, 341), the modal suffix *-tc* (see pp. 327, 340, 369), and the suffix *-e* (see p. 359).

yáxē'ntce sqats together he seized them 64.8, 9

yáxē'ntce ūl nL!tā'yas together they (live) in (one) village 122.18.

§ 102. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten have forms exemplified by TEN (TWENTY) ONE OVER. Thus *Lep!qa'nī yáxē'ū'qtsī* ELEVEN literally means TEN ONE OVER, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of suffixing to the numerals from ONE to TEN (exclusive) the suffix *-ka*. The numeral for ONE HUNDRED, translated literally, means ONE STICK, which indicates that the Coos may have used counting-sticks for the purpose of counting up to one hundred. TWO HUNDRED would mean TWO STICKS, etc. The numeral ONE THOUSAND does not seem to have been used at all. There is no special stem for it. The natives to-day form this numeral by adding the noun *nī'k'in* STICK to the numeral stem for TEN, expressing ONE THOUSAND by the phrase TEN STICKS.

THE ADVERB (§§ 103-106)

§ 103. Introductory

The dividing-line between adverbs and particles can not always be drawn very definitely. This is especially true in the case of the three particles expressing locality, time, and modality (see § 112). Adverbs express local, temporal, and modal ideas. A few of them may be said to express local phrases. In a number of cases two adverbs have been combined for the purpose of indicating a new adverbial concept, which is nothing more than an amplification of the ideas conduced by each of the two separate component elements. Some of the local adverbs seem to distinguish slightly between the idea of locality that is near the first, second, or third person; although

I am somewhat doubtful on that point, owing to the fact that this idea is hardly recognizable in the demonstrative pronouns.

The great majority of modal adverbs occur with the adverbial suffix of modality *-tc* (see §§ 25, 36), and are often preceded by the modal prefix *x-* (see § 24). It is conceivable that this suffix may have been originally adverbial *par excellence*, and that it gradually became confined to adverbs expressing mode and manner. This opinion may be substantiated by the fact that the adverbial suffix *-tc*, when added to nouns, expresses other adverbial ideas besides those of modality. It is also suffixed to a number of stems expressing local phrases.

The following is a complete list of adverbs that have been found in Coos:

§ 104. Local Adverbs and Phrases

<i>asi'l</i> between, halfway 5.1	<i>qa'wax</i> high up 8.11
<i>ē'qatce</i> to one side 42.3	<i>qai'nas</i> close to the fire 82.19
<i>ī'la</i> before, ahead, in front 56.9	<i>qai'nīs</i> away from the shore 36.18
<i>yī'helq</i> close by 60.21	<i>qaits</i> inside the house 140.24
<i>yīqa'tē'</i> close there (?) 90.23	<i>gat</i> below 36.11
<i>yīqa'tsīx'</i> close here 104.12	<i>qapn'kul</i> the other side, across 140.18
<i>yīqai'nī</i> so far, right here 14.4	<i>qa'xan</i> up 34.4
<i>hī'nī</i> there 5.2	<i>qat</i> down, below, under 116.9
<i>tī^u</i> over there 90.21	<i>xtse'tīx'</i> from here 136.3
<i>tsīx'</i> here 24.4	<i>xqa'wax</i> from above 6.4
<i>tsī'x'tī</i> over here 13.5	<i>xqa'tīn</i> from under 90.4
<i>tse'tīx'</i> over here	<i>xlē'tīx', le'tīx'</i> from there 12.2; 78.28
<i>tē</i> there 7.4	
<i>tc!ē'etc</i> back in the woods 88.11	<i>ttāla'ais</i> close to the shore 30.23
<i>qaya'^atc, qa'tītc</i> down the stream 24.24; 54.1	<i>l!ha'wāis</i> near, close to 50.20

§ 105. Temporal Adverbs

<i>asō'</i> again 6.1	<i>tē'ma</i> at the same time 17.3
<i>ai'wa</i> still, yet 7.6	<i>tī'x'tse</i> to-day 19.9
<i>yūwe</i> whenever (<i>yū + he</i> [see § 9]) 24.4	<i>kwi'yal</i> now 9.1
<i>yūwī'nt</i> before 178.25	<i>lēai'wa</i> while (<i>lē + ai'wa</i> ; the article is prefixed here for the sake of emphasis)
<i>hats^Eyū</i> always (<i>hats + yū</i> [see § 110])	
<i>halt!</i> now 15.6	
<i>māndj</i> already (used for the purpose of expressing the past tense) 20.1	

§ 106. Modal Adverbs

<i>ā'yu</i> sure, enough 16.2	<i>awē'liætc</i> in a stooping position 118.15
<i>yū</i> very, very much 11.5	
<i>halt!yū</i> (<i>halt!</i> + <i>yū</i>) too 44.18.	<i>xpīyē'etc</i> homewards 42.7
	<i>ta'a'nuawītc</i> sideways 38.10
<i>wāndj</i> , <i>mwāndj</i> thus, that way 68.16; 6.8	<i>xtema'atc</i> crossways 64.28
<i>pē'lukwītc</i> entirely 130.7	<i>xnō'we</i> right 44.9
<i>ta^u</i> , <i>ta</i> so, such 52.16	<i>xci'γ'tcītc</i> clear around it 128.18
<i>nā^ont</i> much, many 44.18	<i>xqe'ītc</i> slowly 60.7
<i>nī'cītc</i> a few, a little 68.17	<i>xla'gate</i> belly up and mouth open 102.11
<i>tsō'nō</i> both ways 6.2	<i>xleye'entc</i> truly 148.1
<i>tsqē'yīætc</i> edgeways	<i>xlōwe'entc</i> wholly 44.17
<i>g'ī</i> , <i>g'ī'kwa</i> a little 36.6; 28.10	<i>lai'sama</i> quickly, hurriedly 30.1
<i>kā^as</i> almost 20.19	<i>t'nuwī</i> very, very much 15.6
<i>x^u</i> , <i>yūx</i> , <i>yūatī'k'ī</i> hardly 28.17	<i>l^Epe'ætc</i> belly side down 58.14
	<i>lōwe'entc</i> entirely 30.11.

A number of purely local adverbs occur with the modal suffix, implying the modal character of a local idea.

<i>qa'xantc</i> upwards (literally, in the manner of up) 14.1
<i>qa'nōtc</i> outside 20.4
<i>qeltc</i> downwards 6.4
<i>yī'qantc</i> backwards
<i>lē'xatc</i> inside 62.8
<i>e'hentc</i> far off (compare <i>e'he</i> he was gone 108.9) 26.23
<i>qa'tītc</i> down stream 54.1
<i>teqai'tc</i> up stream 160.15

The temporal phrase *xtemī'towetc* FROM THAT TIME ON 42.12 may also belong here, although the original stem is no longer recognizable.

Whenever these modalized local adverbs are used in connection with verbs expressing motion or active ideas, they take the verbal suffix *-e* (see § 55).

<i>e'hentc stō^uq</i> far off he stood 26.23	<i>īn e' ehe'ntce yīxū'mē</i> not you far away go 112.24
<i>qa'nōtc kīn tsxū</i> outside we lay 50.10	<i>qanō'tca īl lī'ētc</i> outside they went 50.11
<i>qeltc ūx īlx</i> down they two looked 14.2	<i>qe'ltce tsī'x'tī hē'laq</i> down right here it came 13.5

PARTICLES (§§ 107-112)

§ 107. Introductory

No formal distinction can be made between the stems that were termed "syntactic particles" (see §§ 86-95), and the words treated in the following chapters. Both exhibit practically the same phonetic structure. There is, however, a vast difference between these two sets of words, which asserts itself in the grammatical use to which they are applied, and in the morphological treatment that is accorded to them. None of the syntactic particles can be clearly and definitely rendered when used independently; or, in other words, the syntactic particles are capable of expressing concepts only in a complex of words. On the other hand, all particles proper express definite ideas, regardless of whether they are used independently or not. However, the most important point of distinction between syntactic particles and particles proper lies in the fact that the latter are capable of word composition. Hence all grammatical processes may be applied to them; and, as a matter of fact, the majority of them occur with a number of nominal and verbal suffixes.

§ 108. Pronominal Particles

By means of these particles Coos expresses the ideas conveyed by our indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns. The following particles are employed for this purpose:

wît SOMEBODY is applied to persons only. It often exercises the function of a relative pronoun, and is then translated by WHO.

īn wît la^u k'îti'wîta nobody that one can overtake 92.21, 22

kwaā'nîya wît lâl hū'^u mîk she knew who it was that old woman 102.20

di'î SOMETHING is applied to objects other than persons. It always follows the object to which it belongs.

he'mîs di'î nk'îlō'wît big something I saw 62.21

gō^{us} di'î hanL hū'wî everything will grow (literally, all something will grow) 9.3

yū'wvā di'î nk'îlō'wît two things I saw 112.26, 27

ntc!a' ha di'î tē he'laq animals arrived there (literally, something [that is] with legs [walkers] arrived there) 46.1, 2

nL!pe'ne di'î tē he'laq birds arrived there (literally, something [that is] with wings arrived there) 46.2, 3

dīl is very often abbreviated to *l*.

k!weni'ya^ul qwīlō'wat for some food I am looking

(See also under *lāl*, *hāl*, p. 402.)

By suffixing the interrogative suffix *-ū* (see § 73) to *dīl* and *wīt*, two interrogative pronouns are obtained that may be rendered by **WHAT** and **WHO** respectively (see also p. 390).

dī'lū he tē ēwīlō'wat what are you continually looking for? 54.3
qwī'lū tsī'x'tī'yat who did it?

wīctce' takes the place of our interrogative pronoun. It always stands at the beginning of the sentence, and may be rendered by **WHICH ONE**.

wīctce' ēdōwā'ya which one do you want? 50.16

ītc **WHICH** occurs very rarely. It may be said to exercise the function of our relative pronoun.

ītc yū he'mīs whichever is the biggest (literally, which [is] very big) 30.21

ītc he nq!e'ītse whichever had a handkerchief 70.19

ī'nīEX **ALONE**. This particle exercises the function of the reflexive pronoun in intransitive sentences. It is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence, and precedes the verb. It is then rendered by **MYSELF**, **THYSELF**, etc. (see also p. 400).

ī'nīEX la^u L^Eān alone they went down into the water 36.18

ī'nīEX q^Ea'letet alone I work, I myself work

īnīEX lōwa'kats alone he lived 106.24

This particle occurs sometimes as *īnīEXa'mā* or *īnīEXa'nā*. These forms frequently precede verbs having reciprocal suffixes.

īnīEXa'nā la^u hū'mīsīsā'nī they marry one another 12.5

īnīEXa'mā ūx yā'lanī they two speak to each other

īnīEXa'nā tīn tō'sīsā'nī we are hitting one another

When used in connection with possessive pronouns, *ī'nīEX* assumes the function of a reflexive possessive pronoun, and may be rendered by **MY (THY) OWN**.

ī'nīEX qha^{ux}ts qyīxā'wex I build my own house

ī'nīEXa'mā qha^{ux}ts qyīxā'wex I build my own house

§ 109. Numeral Particles

ī'k'ī BOTH, *gō's* ALL, *hē'ma* ALL, *denk*• EACH, EVERY, and *yEai'* ANOTHER, may be called numeral particles. *hē'ma* is used to indicate plurality of the object, and immediately follows the verb, while *gō's* precedes the verb and usually denotes plurality of the subject (see § 18).

gō's wāndj īl L!ä'æm they all that way talk 50.9, 10

xgō's mā la^u kwaā'nīyahā'ya all people came to know it 102.29

īk'ītī'wīta hē'ma I overtook them all

alqsā'ya hē'ma he is afraid of them all

denk k!wī'līs every night 82.9

halt! yEai' x'ne'x'tīts qa'xante now another one jumped upwards 76.3, 4

halt! yEai' mā Low'ītat now another man runs 78.28

ī'k'ī expresses the idea of duality in both subject and object of the sentence.

ī'k'ī tō'hāts he hit both of them 114.4

ē'qe ī'k'ī dead (are) both 120.5

īk'ī ūx tc!a'at both walked 120.19

§ 110. Conjunctions

Coos has a number of stems that must be classed as conjunctions. The following may be regarded as such:

hīs also

hats just

ta and

tsō now, then

ī when, as, since, while

hīs and *ta* serve as copulas between nouns and sentences.

hīs xā c^Ea'letet also she is working 22.26, 27

kwaā'nīyahā'ya lāx hā'Lātc hīs lāx ē'nātc hīs lāx ē'k^uLātc (they) came to know it, her elder brother, also her mother, also her father 86.22, 23

sqats ta tc!wāle'tc L!want he caught and into the fire he threw him 104.15

ī connects subordinate clauses with the principal clause.

ā'yā ū īluwe'xtāts ī la^u īk!wa'k^u lE.xā^ap he was tired (waiting), while it was running down, the water 17.3, 4

īaqtstō^wwat ī dji he waited, as he came 118.9, 10

ī la^u sqats la^u wāhī'ye la^u lō when one seizes it, it belongs to him (literally, when that one seizes it, that one becomes he [to whom] that thing belongs) 92.22

hats serves to introduce a new idea. It was conventionally rendered by **JUST**, although it hardly conveys the idea expressed by our English word.

lqa'at i tc!wä'tetc kw'ñait. *Hats kwa mî'la le wä'wa i la^u xai'la* he opened his mouth, as into the fire he looked. Just like a liver the little girl as she became warm 108.24, 25

ä'yu l'nuwî tc!ñl'yat he tc!wät. *Hats yî'qax qa'qat le swał* surely, she built a big fire. Just right away fell asleep the bear 100.27, 28

hats . . . **hats** is usually rendered by **AS SOON AS**. *Hats* prefixed to the adverb *yū* **VERY** forms a new adverb, *hats^{Eyū}*, which was invariably rendered by **ALWAYS** (see § 105).

tsō indicates a syntactic division with a continuation of the same thought. It was translated by **NOW**.

"hamî lan nî'k'îñ wîlō'wat" wändj *L!ä'xem le hū'w mîk'.* *Tsō ä'yu tsä'yux^u mî'k'e sqats* "(please) for wood I will look," thus said the old woman. Now, surely, a small basket she took 102.3, 4, 8

mîtsîstî'ya läl hū'w mîk' lew swał, tsō asō' sqats häl hū'w mîk' lew swał knew that old woman the bear, now again he seized that old woman, the bear 102.21, 22

tsō é'îl'tä'mî tsō hanL é'îlx when I tell you, then you shall look (literally, now I tell it to you, now shall you look) 17.2, 3

§ 111. Interjections

ä'nta **LOOK, BEHOLD!** It is always placed at the beginning of the sentence.

ä'nta tē' tî'ye mî'lq look! here (are) your arrows! 22.28

ä'nta k'îlō'wîte behold, see it! 94.25

tā'î the greeting formula of the Coos. It was rendered by **HALLOO**.

tā'î sla' halloo, cousin! 44.3

tā'î nex ā'la halloo, my child! 28.21

§ 112. Miscellaneous Particles

îñ **NOT**, a particle of negation. The particle of affirmation is **En**. This is, however, rarely used, being supplanted by the syntactic particle **îl** **SURELY** (see p. 388).

îñ k'î' Lō^uts he did not find it 22.18, 19

ux îñ kwaä'nîya they two did not know it 22.9, 10

(See also § 9.)

qante PLACE, WHERE.

qante lēla^u laā' yam, la^u hīs wä tē la wherever they went, he also there went 22.17, 18

ŋkwaā'nīya qante I know where (it is) 80.14

gō^us qante everywhere 46.22

īn qante k'ī' lō^uts nowhere he found it

mī'lāte TIME. It is used mostly in connection with the numerical particle *gō^us*, and is then rendered by ALWAYS.

gō^us mī'lāte L!ä'xēm always he is talking 14.5, 6

mī'lāteū hanL ē'wutxe when will you return? (literally, time, question, shall, you come back) 28.3, 4

tcēte MANNER, KIND, WAY, MODE (see also p. 390).

gō^us tcēte īl alī'canī all kinds of (games) they are playing 30.25

tcēte he lōwē'wat whatever he is eating (habitually)

īl īn tcēte tsaw'wat they can not kill her (literally, they [have] no way [to] kill her) 80.24

ā'watu WHETHER OR NOT. This particle is very rarely used.

ā'watu ŋdji I may or may not come

ā'watu īn tsī'x'tī he'laq (they) may or may not come here 90.15

§ 113. The Stem *ītsē'ts*

Morphologically speaking, it is a verbal stem *īts-*, transitivized by means of the suffix *-ts*, but its application covers such a wide range of different ideas that each of them will have to be enumerated separately.

(1) It is used as an expletive particle with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence.

īn kweē'nīyēm ītsē'ts he'īl nā'ntēs no one knew how many they were (literally, they [indefinite] not know it, *what* [was] their number) 78.2

yedā' L!tā'ītc ŋītsē'ts in another country I stay 26.8, 9

xtcī'tēū ītsē'ts he nō^usk'ī'lī what is the matter with the Big Woman 72.28

ītsē'ts yī'k^u īl la^u henī'yēs hīnī' lōwa'kats he may have been sitting there for a long time 40.14

kwaā'nīya xtcēte hanL lē ītsēm he knew what was going to happen (the *-ēm* in *ītsēm* is the indefinite subject suffix [§ 30]) 26.19, 20

ūx īn kwaā'nīya qante ha^u ītsēm they two did not know where he was 22.9, 10

ēn hanL tcēte ītsēm to you nothing will happen 66.5

(2) When the transitive suffixes, other than *-ts*, are added to it, its significance is clearly verbal.

yí'kwan_L atcātc n̄tsātsā'wat I wonder what I shall *do with it* 86.8

yí'kwan_L atcātc wāw ē'ātsātsā'mī I wonder what we two shall *do with you*, how we two shall *keep you* 24.3, 4

atcā' tēū ē'ātsātsā'wat tī'ye wāw'ī'āts how did you *get* that your food? 64.17, 18

īn kwee'n̄yēm atcātc ūl ī'tsetū no one knew what *became of* them 52.1, 2

§ 114. Verbs as Adjectives

The use of verbs as adjectives is confined to a few sporadic instances. These verbs are, as a rule, intransitive, although they occur with the transitive suffix *-t*. (See also § 117.)

lkwī'īt ha^u yāw'āme she travels blazing (red-hot) (*lkwīl-* to burn) 24.18, 19

lkwī'īt tsaxa'āsetc la^u lō'q^uāts by means of red-hot pebbles she boiled it 102.6

Whether the phrases *pāā'hīt lē yāw'wex* THE HOUSE IS FULL, *g'āmg'ī'māit* IT IS RAINING, belong here, is a problem which is hard to decide, although the psychological relation between these examples and those quoted above is not inconceivable.

§ 115. Nouns as Qualifiers

Substantives are often used to qualify other nouns. In such cases the qualifying noun always precedes the qualified substantive, and both nouns retain their nominal character.

ā'ālō_L ā'la a young boy (literally, a young male child) 60.2

hū'w'mā_k mā lōwa'kats there lived an old woman (literally, an old female being) 100.20, 21

tō'mā_L dā'mā_L tsxū an old man lay (literally, an old male man) 50.21

tsāyā'ne tī'mā_L lē'āx hī'āme their (dual) little children were boys (literally, little male children) 42.16

§ 116. Vocabulary

All Coos stems are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic (mostly bisyllabic). Monosyllabic stems consist of a vowel followed by one or two consonants, of one or two consonants followed by a vowel, or of consonants, vowel, and consonants. Some of the bisyllabic stems that are found in the language have been expanded by means of grammatical processes (see §§ 4, 84).

Examples of monosyllabic stems:

a^w- to kill (many) 58.8
a^w- to quit 14.4
ēⁱk[.]- to be among 46.13
ilā- to look 14.2
īⁱl- to tell 7.8
īⁱlⁿ- to set up 34.23
haⁱ- to gamble 38.23
hū- to be ready 19.3
pā^a- to fill 15.7
sqa- to seize 10.4
lqa- to believe 28.13
tsaxa^u- to kill (one) 14.7
yex- to run away 36.19
yōq- to split in two 7.3
wīn- to wade 58.2

hak- to crawl 32.10
ha^up- to tear off 58.14
pīⁿ- to shake 58.24
mīⁱl- to swim 24.27
te^xt- to enter 22.29
tcīⁱl- to be ashamed
kⁱal- to shout 24.22
wīnq- to weave, to pile 18.1
mīⁿtc- to ask 62.15
tsīm^x- to fasten 46.7
k[.]īmst- to pick 17.1
tkwīⁱL- to follow 9.9
tqanⁱL- to strike 28.1
tqāⁱL- to put a belt on 28.22

Examples of polysyllabic stems:

eⁱhe to be gone 38.15
yīⁱaxa^u- to have, to carry 54.12
wūⁱtxe to come back 28.4
haⁱk^ut- to leave 30.8
sīⁱtsīⁱn- to go and see 9.7
k[.]īⁱlō^u- to see 6.5

kwīⁱna- to look 6.4
ak[.]aⁱnak[.] to stick out 42.1
īⁱtsīⁱl- to recognize 30.28
yīⁱaxīⁱmē to travel 10.3
tīⁱk[.]īⁱne to stand 62.22

With the exception of the terms of relationship, the nouns indicating parts of the body, and all other words of a denominative character, the Coos stems are neutral and receive their nominal or verbal character through the suffixes.

stō^uq- to stand 20.4

Lⁱā- to speak 9.3

Lⁱha- to put on 28.22

lōⁱwa^k lightning 18.5

stōwaⁱq^wis wall 90.18

Lⁱēⁱyīs language 14.5

Lⁱahāⁱwas clothes 110.3

lōⁱkwīt it lightens 18.8

In a few instances nouns have been formed by reduplication or duplication of a neutral stem.

tqaiⁱL- to put around 28.22

tcō^u- to jump

Lxat- to chop wood 26.16

pū^u- to spout

tēⁱp- to paint

xīⁿ- to be on top

yīm- to twinkle

qaⁱtqaiⁱL belt 28.22

tcōⁱxtcō^x rabbit 60.23

xaⁱLxat ax

pū^uxpū^u a spout 30.25

tīⁱpīⁱp paint

xīⁱnaxīⁱn saddle

yīⁱmyīm eyelash

§ 117. Structure of Sentences

The structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, owing chiefly to the fact that in the absence of incorporation, subjects, objects, and predicates are expressed by means of independent words. No strict rules can be laid down for the consecutive order in which the different parts of a sentence occur. It may, however, be said in a most general way, that all adverbial ideas precede the verb, and that the subject of the sentence tends to appear at the very end, especially in subordinate clauses. The object may either precede the verb or follow it.

kwîl' lē'tc tsxū lāl tō'mîl in the sweat-house was resting that old man 28.11, 12

yîxâ' wexetc la le hū'w'mîs into the house went the woman
lex tsyna' hetc l'äts le mā'qal with the thunder-language spoke the crow

xwändj û tñ' nas he tsä'yux^u lā'nîk this is the name (of) the small river 46.10, 11

sqats le hū'w'mîs lex swāl seized the woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

mä xwîn wutxai'yat a person we two brought home 128.8, 9
qtō' hîts le dī'lōt I hit the young man

Nominal attribute complements precede the noun. When following the noun, they assume a predicative function.

<i>tsä'yux^u lā'nîk</i> a small river	<i>lā'nîk tsä'yux^u</i> the river is small
<i>he'mîs yîxâ' wex</i> the big house	<i>yîxâ' wex he'mîs</i> the house is big
<i>xâ'nîs mā</i> a sick person	<i>mä xâ'nîs</i> the person is sick

No formal distinction is made between coordinate and subordinate clauses, nor is the succession of the parts of speech changed in different types of sentences. Subordinate clauses may precede the principal clauses whenever the occasion requires it. Subordinate clauses are distinguished by means of conjunctions that are placed at the beginning.

k'î lō'uts le qe'mä lex dī'lōt î la^u hî'nî he'laq the young man found the kamass when he arrived there

î la^u tsxū le hū'w'mîs k'îlō'wît le yū'mî as the woman lay (there) she saw the stars

§ 118. Idiomatic Expressions

An exhaustive discussion of the Coos idiomatic expressions is limited *a priori* by the scope of the present work. Consequently only the most salient features of this phase of the language will be pointed out in this chapter.

Perhaps the most striking examples of idiomatic phraseology are found in the manner of expressing verbal concepts, like IT GROWS, IT FILLS UP, IT RUNS, etc. These ideas are expressed in Coos by means of a phrase which consists of the verbal stem TO GO or TO RUN and of the abstract derivative of the particular verbal concept preceded by the sign of possession *û* (see § 97).

hă'wî he grew up 64.12

la û ha'we hE tcîcî' mîl the spruce-tree grew up (literally, goes its growth [of] the spruce-tree) 20.16

la û ha'we lê'ûx hă'wîs L!tā their (dual) ready land began to grow (literally, goes its growth [of] their [dual] ready land) 8.10, 11

x'î'lwîs deep

asî' L la û x'îluwî'ye lEx ya'bas the maggots went halfway deep (literally, halfway went its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12

paa- to fill

la û paa'wes lE xā'p the water is filling up (literally, goes its full [mark of] the water) 44.17

x'î'n- to run

nle'hî la û x'na'at with it he ran (literally, with it went his swift-ness) 42.8

la û x'na'at hE cā'imî the bear ran (literally, went his quick-ness [of] the bear)

mîl- to swim

djî û mî'le [it] swam [towards her] (literally, came its swimming [motion of]) 86.3

hamL- to float

la û hamLalā'was lâl tsä'yûx^u L!tā that small piece of land kept floating (literally, went its [conception of] floating [of] that small place) 46.10

Another idiomatic expression worth while mentioning is the manner in which our terms THERE IS, THEY ARE, are expressed. The Coos subject of such a sentence is either the noun *qā'yîs* WORLD or *mên* PEOPLE, which are invariably preceded by the sign of possession (see § 97).

tc!l- to be dry

tc!l̄ û qā'yîs there was low tide
(literally, dry its [condition of
the] world) 18.6

nî'k'în wood, tree 26.25

în tc!l̄'x̄em û qā'yîs there is no
low tide (literally, not dry its
[condition of the] world) 15.8

wa'wal spider

k'!ânî'k'în û qā'yîs there were no
trees (literally, without trees its
[appearance of the] world) 8.7, 8

l̄ō that thing 32.10

nwa'wala û qā'yîs there was a
spider (literally, with spider its
[condition of the] world) 30.3

kwee'tî many live

n̄ō'we û qā'yîs there was such a
thing (literally, with that thing
[was as] its [asset the] world)
32.9

k'al- to shout

gaicî'nîs kwee'tî û mên they were
living in a small place (literally,
a small place [had as] their liv-
ing [place the] people) 50.7

tî'k'îne many stand

gak'elenî'we û mên they began to
shout (literally, began their
shouting [act, of the] people)
24.22

tc̄ tî'k'îne û mên they were stand-
ing there (literally, there [the]
standing [place was of] people)
74.28

To the same group of idiomatic expressions belong phrases like I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HUNGRY, I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HEAVY, etc. The verb of such phrases in Coos is always the stem *la* TO GO, which is preceded by the attributive complement amplified by means of the modal suffix *-tc* (see § 36). Consequently such a phrase, literally translated, means INTO A STATE OF . . . I (THOU, HE . . .) GO.

lqa- to be hungry

lqate q̄la I am getting hungry

pl!- to be heavy

pl!̄tc la he is getting heavy

A very peculiar expression, though by no means confined to Coos alone, is the manner of forming sentences that have dual subjects. Such sentences present two possibilities. Either both subjects are actually expressed, or only one is indicated while the other is understood.

1. In sentences where one subject is understood, duality of subject is indicated in Coos by using the verb in its dual form, followed immediately by the (expressed) subject.

yâä'wexetc ûx wu'txæ hâl tō'mîL into the house they two returned
(the whale and) that old man 30.15, 16

tsō ā'yu tēi ûx la, lē ûmā'catc now, surely, there they two went
(he and) the grandmother 66.19

yî'xen qakîmî'ye tsî t'nta ûx la lă hu'wîs one morning just hunt-
ing they two went (he and) his wife 110.26

ā'yu tēi ûx la lē tek'îtsî'nâtç surely, there they two went (she and)
the granddaughter 80.15, 16

2. If both subjects are expressed, it will be found that, in addition to the dual form of the verb, the dual pronoun is placed before either one or both subjects.

hî'nî hanL ûx tîlâ'qai lē û'mâc ûx pkāk there shall they two live
(namely) the grandmother (and the) grandfather 68.28

wândj la ûx kwee'nîyēm tē ûx tsî'na ûx mî'qal thus only they
two are known, that Thunder (and) Crow 19.10, 11

In a few instances a similar treatment has been found in sentences with plural subjects.

yâä'wexetç îl la lē dâ'mîl into the house they went (the two
women and) the man 128.7

tsî îl huwē'îtsēm lē hu'wîs just they got ready (he and) the (two)
women 130.17, 18

The last idiomatic formation worth mentioning here is the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives in accordance with the three degrees,—the positive, the comparative, and the superlative.

A comparative statement in the positive degree is expressed by means of a whole sentence in which the adjective is treated as a noun appearing with the nominal suffixes *-es*, *-tes* (see § 57), or *-îye*, *-äye* (see p. 376), and is placed between the subject and object with which it is compared. The sentence is invariably introduced by means of the conjunction *hîs* ALSO (see § 110); and its comparative character is

further indicated by the use of the modal adverb *ta*, *ta^u*, SO, SUCH (see § 106), which immediately follows the subject of the sentence.

hīs ŋ'ne ta ŋhethé'tes te éne I am as rich as you are (literally, also I such I [have] wealth [as] this you)

hīs ŋ'ne ta ŋxä'nîses le éne I am as sick as you are

hīs ŋ'ne ta^u ŋle'yîtes te éne I am as good as you are

hīs ŋ'ne ta^u ŋhe'mîstes le éne I am as tall as you are

hīs xä ta xwä'wîye le éne he is as light as you are

hīs xä ta^u päl'ä'ye le éne he is as heavy as you are

hīs te lä'nîk' ta^u x'îlwî'ye te baltî'mîs that river is as deep as that ocean

In many instances the abstract noun expressing the adjective concept is repeated after the object, in which case the object (and also the subject) assumes the function of a possessive pronoun (for pronominal subjects and objects) or of a genitive case (for nominal objects and subjects).

hīs ŋ'ne ta ŋqainé'es lî'ye qainé'es I am as cold as you are (literally, also [of] me such [is] my cold [condition as is] your cold [condition])

hīs éne ta ye'ne' q!āna'tes te heŋ'ne' q!āna'tes you are as young as I am (literally, also [of] thee such [is] thy youth [as is] that my youth)

The comparative degree is expressed by means of a sentence in which the adjective is used in its simple form, while the object is indicated by the use of the instrumental suffix *-etc* (see § 70). There is a marked tendency to place the object at the beginning of the sentence.

ye'ne'îtc ŋle'yî I am better than you are (literally [as compared], with you I [am] good)

hexä'îtc ŋle'yî I am better than he is

ŋne'îtc éqal you are taller than I am

xä ŋne'îtc tsä'yux^u he is smaller than I am

xwîn tî'mîlî ye'ne'îtc we two are stronger than you are

The superlative degree may be expressed in two ways. Either the numeral particle *gō^us* ALL (see § 109), amplified by means of the adverbial suffix *-etc* (see § 70), is placed before the simple form of the adjective; or else the nominalized adverb *îla'hatcem* (see §§ 58, 104) is used for that purpose.

xgō^usîtc ŋle'yî I am the best of all (for the use of the prefix *x-* see § 24)

teŋ tē ka'pō xgō^usîtc pl'îs this here is my heaviest coat

xä îla'hatcem he'mîs hethé'te he is the biggest chief

xä îla'hatcem tō'mîl mǎ L!ta'yasîtc he is the oldest man in the village

TEXTS

ORIGIN OF DEATH

Ūx ¹	sla'tcīnī. ²	La ^{u3}	īl ⁴	kwee'tī. ⁵	La ^{u3}	ī'k-ī ⁶	ūx ¹	nhū'mä'k'e-
They	cousins(were)	These	they	lived	These	both	they two	with wives
two	mutually.			together.				
he. ⁷	ī'k-ī ⁶	tsäyā'ne ⁸	le'ūx ⁹	tī'mīhī ¹⁰	hī'me. ¹¹	Yī'xen ¹²	qalīmī'ye ¹³	
are.	Both	small	their(dual)	male beings	children.	Once	morning it got	
tsī ¹⁴	wītcwehe'xtcī ¹⁵	la ¹⁶	ā'la.	In ¹⁷	he'nīye ¹⁸	xā'nīs ¹⁹	la ¹⁶	ā'la.
just	sick it is	his	child.	Not	a long time	sick	his	child.
Tsī ¹⁴	hats ²⁰	leqa ^{u'} we ²¹	la ¹⁶	ā'la.	Xānanā'ya ²²	la ¹⁶	ā'la,	ī ²³ la ^{u3}
Merely	just	died	his	child.	Sorry (it) makes him (feel)	his	child, when	that one
leqa ^{u'} we. ²¹	Tsō ²⁴	īl ⁴	aganā'ya. ²⁵	Helmī'hīs ²⁶	īn ¹⁷	lō'wīyam. ²⁷		
died.	Now	they	buried it.	Next day	not	(he) eats.		
La ^{u3}	maha'ē'wat ²⁸	le ²⁹	ā'la.	Hecl'ī'lentc ³⁰	qalīmī'ye ¹³	la ^{u3}		
That	is looking after it	the	child.	Four times at	morning it got	that		
one	frequently					one		
laata'ya ³¹	lā ¹⁶	sla'atc. ²	“E ³²	tcīne'henī. ³³	Tā'ī ³⁴	sla! ³⁵	Xtcī'tcū ³⁶	
went to him	his	cousin.	“Thou	thinking art.	Halloo,	cousin!	How	

¹ Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).

² *sla-* COUSIN; *-atc* suffix of relationship (§ 65); *-īnī* distributive (§§ 72, 11, 7).

³ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

⁴ Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18).

⁵ Plural stem (§ 51).

⁶ Numeral particle (§ 109).

⁷ *n-* WITH (§ 21); *hūmāk'e* WIVES (§ 78); *-e* auxiliary (§§ 44, 10, 7).

⁸ Plural formation (§ 78).

⁹ Possessive pronoun 3d person dual (§ 98).

¹⁰ Plural formation (§§ 78, 115).

¹¹ Plural formation (§ 78).

¹² *yāē* ONE (§ 101); *-en* multiplicative (§ 75).

¹³ *qalīm-* MORNING; *-īye* transitional (§ 35).

¹⁴ Restrictive particle (§ 94).

¹⁵ *wītcwahatc-* SICK; *-ī* neutral intransitive suffix (§§ 31, 7).

¹⁶ Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§§ 98, 7).

¹⁷ Particle of negation (§ 112).

¹⁸ *henī-* A WHILE; *-īye* transitional (§§ 35, 9).

¹⁹ *xān-* SICK; *-īs* nominal (§ 56).

²⁰ Conjunction (§ 110).

²¹ Singular stem (§ 51).

²² *xān-* SICK; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).

²³ Conjunction WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).

²⁴ Conjunction (§ 110).

²⁵ *ege* DEAD; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).

²⁶ *helmī* TO-MORROW; *-īs* ordinal (§§ 74, 10).

²⁷ *lōu-* TO EAT; *-am* (§ 55).

²⁸ *maha-* TO WATCH; *-ē'wat* frequentative (§ 33).

²⁹ Definite article (§ 17).

³⁰ *he'cl'īl* FOUR; *-entcīs* ordinal multiplicative (§ 76).

³¹ *la-* TO GO; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

³² Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).

³³ *tcīne-* TO THINK; *-enī* verbal (§§ 45, 10).

³⁴ Interjection (§ 111).

³⁵ Vocative (§ 65).

³⁶ *x-* modal (§ 24); *tcītc* particle (§ 112); *-ū* interrogative (§ 73).

ye^{ε 37} fluwe'xtcīs,³⁸ kat'e'mīsen³⁹ qal'mī'ye¹³ ūl⁴⁰ wu'txe ten⁴¹ ā'la."⁴²
 thy heart, five times morning it gets should return that my child."
 Wändj⁴² L'ä'xem.⁴³ "In¹⁷ hel⁴⁴ sla.³⁵ Hats²⁰ e^{ε 32} q'la'mtsam!⁴⁵
 Thus talking condition. "Not surely cousin. Just thou eat!

La^{u 3} nī'wets hanL⁴⁶ ye^{ε 37} fluwe'xtcīs."³⁸ Wändj⁴² i'lt.⁴⁷
 That one happy will (be) thy heart." Thus (he) told it to him.

Tsō²⁴ qats⁴⁸ i'niye⁴⁹ tcite⁴² ū⁵⁰ fluwe'xtcīs.³⁸ Hats²⁰ wändj⁴²
 Now still no more manner his heart. Just thus

tcīne'henī.³³ "E^{ε 32} lalahā'm⁴⁹ hanLel.⁵² Ā'yu⁵³ in¹⁷ yū⁵⁴
 thinking (he) is. "Thee get even with, shall surely." Surely not very

he'niye¹⁸ ā'yu⁵³ wīcwehe'xtcī¹⁵ la¹⁶ ā'la. In¹⁷ he'niye¹⁸
 long time surely sick it is his child. Not long time

xā'nīs.¹⁹ Mändj⁵⁵ leqa'wē.²¹ Hē'kwaīnta⁵⁶ ū⁵⁰ fluwe'xtcīs.³⁸
 sick. Already (it) died. Very bad his heart

ī²³ la^{u 3} leqa'wē²¹ la¹⁶ ā'la. Ā'yu⁵³ cīlī'ye⁵⁷ le²⁹ wändj⁴²
 when that died his child. Surely indeed it was he thus

L'ä'xem.⁴³ ī²³ la^{u 3} dōwā'ya⁵⁸ wu'txe la¹⁶ ā'la. Tsō²⁴ ā'yu⁵³
 talking condition when that one wants it (to) return his child. Now surely

tcī⁵⁹ la. "Tā'ī³⁴ sla!³⁵ Ā'yu⁵³ cūL⁶⁰ wutxa'xa⁶¹ Eīt⁶²
 there (he) went. "Halloo, cousin! Surely ought (to) return singly about to

te'īs⁶³ ā'la. Kat'e'mīsen³⁹ qal'mī'ye¹³ ūx¹ wu'txe hanL⁴⁶ te'īs⁶³
 this our child. Five times morning it gets they two return shall these our (dual)

ā'la." Wändj⁴² i'lt.⁴⁷ "In¹⁷ hel⁴⁴ sla!³⁵ Hats²⁰ hanL⁴⁶
 children." Thus (he) told it to him. "Not surely cousin! Just shalt

e^{ε 32} q'la'mtsam!⁴⁵ La^{u 3} nī'wets hanL⁴⁶ ye^{ε 37} fluwe'xtcīs."³⁸ Wändj⁴²
 thou eat! That one happy will (be) thy heart." Thus

L'ä'xem.⁴³ "Qaiku⁶⁴ ūx¹ wutxa'xa⁶¹ Eīt⁶² te'īs⁶³ hī'mē,¹¹ ta⁶⁵
 talking condition. "(I) thought they return singly about to these our children, and

³⁷ Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§ 98).

³⁸ *fluwe'xtc-* HEART (?); *-ts* nominal (§ 56).

³⁹ *kat'e'mis* FOUR; *-en* multiplicative (§ 75).

⁴⁰ Syntactic particle denoting the optative (§ 91).

⁴¹ Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).

⁴² Modal adverb (§ 106).

⁴³ *L'ä-* TO SPEAK; *-xem* generic (§ 30).

⁴⁴ Syntactic particle denoting degree of certainty (§§ 88, 7).

⁴⁵ *q'm-* TO EAT; *-ts* transitive (§ 26); *-am* (§§ 55, 11).

⁴⁶ Syntactic particle (§ 87).

⁴⁷ *īl-* TO TELL TO; *-t* transitive (§ 26).

⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 89).

⁴⁹ *in* NOT; *-iye* transitional (§ 35).

⁵⁰ Sign of possession (§ 97).

⁵¹ *Lala-* TO GET EVEN WITH; *-āmī* transitive subject and object pronoun I—THEE (§§ 46, 10).

⁵² *hanL* SHALL; *ū* SURELY (§§ 87, 88, 7).

⁵³ Modal adverb (§ 106).

⁵⁴ Modal adverb (§ 106).

⁵⁵ Temporal adverb (§ 105).

⁵⁶ Syntactic particle (§ 93); *ta* so [literally, VERILY, NOT SO] (§ 106).

⁵⁷ *cīl* syntactic particle (§ 90); *-iye* transitional (§ 35).

⁵⁸ *dōw-* TO WISH, TO DESIRE; *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

⁵⁹ Local adverb (§ 104).

⁶⁰ Syntactic particle (§§ 90, 91).

⁶¹ Reduplicated stem *wutxe* TO COME BACK (§ 83).

⁶² Syntactic particle (§ 87).

⁶³ Possessive pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 98).

⁶⁴ Syntactic particle denoting degree of knowledge (§ 88).

⁶⁵ Conjunction (§ 110).

qats ⁴⁸ however	la ^{u3} that thing	ēn ⁶⁶ thou not	dōwā'ya ⁵⁸ died want it	xwāndj. ⁶⁷ thus.	Hē ⁱ⁶⁸ (Emphatic)	hanL ⁴⁶ shall	yîqa ⁶⁹ still	in ¹⁷ not
wûtxa'xa ⁶¹ return singly	ēit ⁶² going to	yanLawe ⁷⁰ whenever	mā beings	leqa ^{u7} we, ²¹ die,	nāyîm ⁷¹ because	ēn ⁶⁶ thou not	dōwā'ya ⁵⁸ died want it	
xwāndj. ⁶⁷ thus.	Xnōwe ⁷² Right	î ²³ when	cîl ⁵⁷ indeed	te ⁷³ that there	xwāndj ⁶⁷ thus	e ^{ε32} thou didst tell it to, thou-me."	Wāndj ⁴² Thus	
tcîne'henî. ³³ thinking (he) is.	Mā ⁷⁵ However	xnōwe ⁷² right	lela ^{u3} that's (the thing)	wāndj ⁴² thus	îlt. ⁴⁷ (he) told it to him.	Kat'E'mîsen ³⁹ Five times		
qaîmî'ye ¹³ morning it gets	ûl ⁴⁰ should	wutxa'xa ⁶¹ return singly	ēit ⁶² going to	yûl ⁷⁶ if should	xwāndj ⁶⁷ thus	Llâts. ⁷⁷ speak.	Le'γî Good	ûl ⁴⁰ would be
yûl ⁷⁶ if should	kat E'mîsen ³⁹ five times	qaîmî'ye ¹³ morning it gets	wutxa'xa ⁶¹ return singly	ēit ⁶² inten- tion	he ²⁹ the people (who)	mā die.	leqa ^{u7} we. ²¹	
Tso ²⁴ Now	yîgai'nî ⁷⁸ so far	heîa'qaxem. ⁷⁹ it got (the story).	Wāndj ⁴² Thus	hâtet'enî'yeqem. ⁸⁰ the story is being told.				

[Translation]

Once upon a time there were two cousins. They lived together. They were both married, and each had a little boy. One morning one of the boys became sick. He was not sick long before he died. The father felt sorry when the child died. Then they buried it.

The next day he (the father of the dead boy) could not eat. He was merely looking at the dead child. On the fourth day he went to his cousin. "Halloo, cousin! What do you think? Should my child return after five days?"—"Oh, no, cousin!" answered the other one. "You simply eat, and you will feel happy." He did not know what to answer. He was merely thinking to himself, "I will certainly get even with you."

After a short time the other man's child became sick. It was not ill very long before it died. The father was very much grieved when his child died. He therefore went to his neighbor and said to him, "Halloo, cousin! I think our two children ought to return. They ought to come back after five days." But the other man answered,

⁶⁶ *ε* THOU (§ 18); *in* NOT (§ 112, 9).⁶⁷ *x-* modal (§ 24); *wāndj* THUS (§ 106).⁶⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 93).⁶⁹ Syntactic particle (§ 89).⁷⁰ *yanL* IF (future) (§ 91); *he* CUSTOMARILY (§ 87).⁷¹ Syntactic particle (§ 89).⁷² *x-* modal (§ 24); *nōwe* ALL RIGHT.⁷³ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).⁷⁴ *îlt-* TO TELL; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-âis* transitive subject and object pronoun (§ 46).⁷⁵ Syntactic particle (§ 89).⁷⁶ Particle denoting the optative (§ 91).⁷⁷ *L/û-* TO SPEAK; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).⁷⁸ Adverb (§ 104).⁷⁹ *heîaq* TO ARRIVE; *-xem* generic (§§ 30 4, 11).⁸⁰ *hâtet!* STORY; *-enî* verbal (§§ 45, 11); *-îyeqem* passive (§ 40).

"Oh, no, cousin! You just eat and you will feel happy again. I had intended that our dead children should come back, but you did not wish it that way. And now, whenever people die, they will not come back, because you objected to it. You were right when you spoke against it."

He was justified in thus addressing him. People would have come back after five days if he had originally consented to it. It would have been good if the dead people could come back. Here the story ends. In this manner people relate this story.

THE THEFT OF FIRE AND WATER

Nmä'heñet ¹ With people it (mutually) was	te ² that there	Lltā. land.	Gō ^{us} ³ All	teite ⁴ kinds	h'mx'nē ⁵ mixed up (they were) mutually	mā. (the) beings.
Î ⁶ k'läte!wāl. ⁷ They without fire.	Î ⁶ k'läxāp. ⁷ They without water.	Î ⁸ dī ⁹ When something	Î ⁸ dī ⁹ When something	Î ⁸ dī ⁹ When something	Î ⁸ dī ⁹ When something	Î ⁸ dī ⁹ When something
Eî ¹¹ la ^{u2} intend, that thing	Î ⁶ Llpēqaqa'ē'wat. ¹² they in the arm-pits to be, cause it frequently.	Xle'îte ¹³ With it with	Xle'îte ¹³ With it with	Xle'îte ¹³ With it with	t'a'lats. ¹⁴ (they) dance.	La ^{u2} Those
temā'Le ¹⁵ old	mā people	la ^{u2} tēl'cila'ē'wat. ¹⁶ that cause it to be under- neath, frequently	he. ¹¹ custom- arily.	Tsō ⁸ Now	he. ¹¹ custom- arily	p'etēi. ¹⁷ warm it gets,
tsō ⁸ he. ¹¹ la ^{u2} now custom- arily that thing	q!mîts. ¹⁸ (they) eat.	Yuwe ¹⁹ Whenever	qa'lyeq salmon	L'le, comes out,	la ^{u2} they are the ones	he. ¹¹ Î ⁶ usually they
Ltl!ē'yat. ²⁰ scoop it out.	Wändj ²¹ That way	yuxtūk. ²¹ barely	he'Î ²² their	Lōwā'was. ²³ food.	La ^{u2} That thing	La ^{u2} That thing
skweyenī'yeqem ²⁴ it is talked about	le ²⁵ the	te!wāl. fire.	"Xteî'teū ²⁶ How	ūL, ²⁷ would it be,	yūL ²⁷ if should	la ^{u2} Î ⁶ that thing

¹n- adverbial (§ 21); mā PEOPLE; -e auxiliary (§§ 44, 10); -n distributive (§§ 37, 25); -i transitive (§§ 26, 4).

²Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

³Numeral particle (§ 109).

⁴Particle (§ 112).

⁵h'mx- TO MIX; -nē distributive (§ 37).

⁶Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18)

⁷k'lä- privative (§ 20).

⁸Conjunction (§ 110).

⁹Pronominal particle (§ 108).

¹⁰Lōw- TO EAT; -ē'wat frequentative (§§ 33, 8).

¹¹Syntactic particle (§ 87).

¹²Llpēq- TO BE IN ARM-PITS; -ā'wat frequentative causative (§ 34); see also reduplication (§ 83).

¹³x- instrumental (§ 24); lē article (§ 17); -ite instrumental (§ 70).

¹⁴t'al- TO DANCE; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹⁵Plural formation (§ 78).

¹⁶te!cila MAT; -ā'wat frequentative causative (§ 34).

¹⁷p'etē- TO BE WARM; -i neutral intransitive (§ 31).

¹⁸q!m- TO EAT; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹⁹yū VERY (§ 106); he CUSTOMARILY (§ 87); see also § 9.

²⁰Ltl!- TO SCOOP OUT; -iyat causative (§§ 27, 2).

²¹Modal adverb (§ 106).

²²Possessive pronoun 3d person plural (§ 98).

²³Lōw- TO EAT; -āwas verbal abstract (§§ 59, 8).

²⁴skw- TO TALK ABOUT; -enī verbal (§ 45); -iyeqem passive (§§ 40, 9).

²⁵Article (§ 17).

²⁶x- modal (§ 24); teite MANNER (§ 112); -ū interrogative (§ 73).

²⁷Syntactic particle (§ 91).

²⁸Personal pronoun 1st person plural (§ 18).

²⁹ ʔa'tā'ya? "go to it?"	²⁹ — "There shall we go."	³⁰ Tcī ³⁰ hanL ³¹ hñ ²⁸ la."	³¹ Tsō ⁸ ā'yu ²¹ tcī ³⁰ hñ ⁶ la.
Surely there they arrived.	Surely to burn it is caused there	that fire, when they	
³² te ³³ tūts. entered.	³³ Hats ⁸ yīqax ³⁴ k'ñlō'wīt ³⁵ le ²⁵ xā ^{ap} .	³⁴ Lōwa'kats ³⁶ tcī ³⁰ le ²⁵ mā ²⁵ ha'lqait. ³⁷	³⁵ Xta'nuxwīt ³⁸ Lōwa'kats. ³⁸ "Tā'ī ³⁹
there the person (he) came to.	Sideways (he) was sitting.	"Halloo, cousin! We two play shall."	Just as if not (he) hears it.
⁴⁰ Xpēkwī'ltcume ⁴⁴ From the opposite side	³⁶ Lōwa'kats. (he) sat.	³⁸ Tsō ⁸ he'niye. ⁴⁵ Now (after) a while	⁴⁵ tsō ⁸ i'lxats. ⁴⁶ now (he) ooked at him.
⁴⁷ "Qaniya'ta ⁴⁷ Stranger	⁴⁸ e ⁴⁸ hen'ne ⁴⁹ sla ⁴⁹ hñc ⁵⁰ cante? ⁵¹ Wändj ²¹ L'äts. ⁵²	⁵¹ "E ⁴⁸ leqa ^u wi'ya'tani ⁵³ L. ⁵⁴ "Mā ³⁴ cku ⁴² e ⁴⁸ hen ⁴⁹ nīla'hatcem ⁵⁵	⁵² "Thou story tell must." "But it must be thou my at priority
⁵⁶ la ye ⁵⁶ ha ^u 'we. ⁵⁷ goes thy growth."	⁵⁷ Tsō ⁸ qats ³⁴ L'ē'itc. Now, however, (he) went out.	⁵⁸ He'niye ⁴⁵ e'he qanō'tca. ⁵⁸ A while (he) was gone outside.	
⁵⁹ Tsō ⁸ asō ⁵⁹ te ³³ tūts. Now again (he) entered.	³⁹ "Tā'ī ³⁹ sla! Ānta ³⁹ tē ⁱ² nī'k'wa ³¹ ye ^{ne} ^{u56}	³¹ ye ^{ne} ^{u56} Now again (he) entered. "Halloo, cousin!" Look here this used (to be). thy	
⁶¹ pī'ī. Indian cradle.	⁶² Te ² ye ^{ne} ^{u56} pī'ī la ^{u2} L'a'nēx. ⁶⁰ Tē ² hen'ne ^{u49} pī'ī la ^{u2}	⁶⁰ Indian That thy Indian that (is) new. That my Indian that	⁶¹ cradle. there cradle one
⁶¹ qa'lēx ⁶¹ ; ta ⁸ tē ⁱ² nī'k'wa ³¹ ye ^{ne} ^{u56} na ^u 'hñ, ta ⁸ tē ⁱ² nī'k'wa ³¹	⁶² (is) old; and this here used (to be) thy shinny-club, and this here used (to be)		

²⁹la- TO GO; -t transitive (§ 26); -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47).³⁰Local adverb (§ 104).³¹Syntactic particle (§ 87).³²tc/ñ- TO BURN; -eet causative passive (§§ 41, 7).³³te³³- TO ENTER; -ts transitive (§ 26).³⁴Syntactic particle (§ 89).³⁵k'ñlō- TO SEE; -t transitive (§§ 26, 8).³⁶Lōwku- TO SIT; -ts transitive (§§ 26, 11).³⁷hēlq- TO ARRIVE; -t transitive (§§ 26, 7, 11).³⁸x- modal (§ 24); tanuxu- SIDE; -ñc modal (§§ 67, 8).³⁹Interjection (§ 111).⁴⁰Personal pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 18).⁴¹alēc TOY; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 7).⁴²Syntactic particle (§ 88).⁴³k'ayaha- TO HEAR; -ē'wat frequentative (§ 33).⁴⁴x- locative (§ 22); pēkwil- OPPOSITE; -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -ume nominalizing (§ 64).⁴⁵henī- A WHILE; -iye transitional (§§ 35, 9).⁴⁶ñx- TO LOOK; -ts transitive (§ 26).⁴⁷qaniya'ta BELONGING TO A DIFFERENT TRIBE, A STRANGER.⁴⁸Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).⁴⁹Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).⁵⁰Syntactic particle (§ 90).⁵¹Can not be analyzed.⁵²L'ä- TO SPEAK; -ts transitive (§ 26).⁵³leqa^uwi'yatas STORY (compare leqa^uwē TO DIE); -enī verbal (§§ 45, 7).⁵⁴Syntactic particle (§ 92).⁵⁵n- adverbial (§ 21); ñla BEFORE (§ 104); -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 103, 10, 7); -em adverbial abstract (§ 58).⁵⁶Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§§ 18, 98).⁵⁷ha^u- TO GROW; -e (§ 80); see also §§ 8, 118.⁵⁸qanō- OUTSIDE; -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -a directive (§ 55).⁵⁹Temporal adverb (§ 105).⁶⁰L'an- NEW; -ēx adjectival (§ 66).⁶¹gal- OLD (compare galu WINTER); -ēx adjectival (§ 66).

hep'ne ^{u49} my	na'u'hîn, shinny-club,	ta ⁸ tē ¹² and this here	nī'k'wa ³¹ used (to be)	ye'ne ^{u56} thy	kwā'sis, ⁶² ball,	ta ⁸ tē ¹² and this here
nī'k'wa ³¹ used (to be)	hep'ne ^{u49} my	kwā'sis. ⁶² ball.	L'a'nēx ⁶⁰ New (is)	ye'ne ^{u56} thy	kwā'sis. ⁶² ball.	Qa'lēx ⁶¹ Old (is)
tē ¹² this here	hep'ne ^{u49} my	kwā'sis. ⁶² ball.	Kwa ⁴² As if	kwe ⁴² perhaps	yū ²¹ in ⁴ very not	ā'yu ²¹ L ⁵⁴ sla. ⁷⁹ surely must (be) cousin."
Tcī ³⁰ There	hītō'tsa'texa. ⁶³ (he) put them down for him.	Ā'yu ²¹ Surely	k'fīlō'wīt. ³⁵ (he) saw it.	“Ā'yu ²¹ “Surely	cīl'i'ye ⁶⁴ indeed it is	sla. cousin
Tcī ³⁰ There	īl ⁶⁵ e ⁴⁸ Lō'uk ^u . surely thou sit down.	ī ⁴⁰ We two	alī'canī ⁴¹ play	hanL. ⁷⁹ shall."	Tsō ⁸ ā'yu ²¹ Now surely	ūx ⁶⁶ they two
hañtī'teme ^u . ⁶⁷ gamble together.	“Yī'kwanL ⁶⁸ “Perhaps shall	dīl'tce'tc ⁶⁹ something with	ten ⁷⁰ that I	Llaqa'ē'wat, ⁷¹ point my finger at him frequently,		
ī ⁸ la ^u 2 when that one	L'l'teta ⁷² le ²⁵ puts (his) hands the behind (his) back (one of)	na'm ^e xqa? ⁷² players?"	Tcīne'henī. ⁷³ (He) is thinking.	“Yī'kūL ⁷⁴ “Perhaps would be		
xtēite ⁷⁵ in the manner	yūL ²⁷ if would	wī'yete a piece of abalone shell	nxwa'lxwal ⁷⁶ in eye	n ⁷⁷ I	x'Lōwa'ē'wat? ⁷⁸ cause it to be inside?	
Lexa'tcem ⁷⁹ Inside, the part	hanL ³¹ n ⁷⁷ shall I	qa'qaL. sleep.	Cīn ⁸⁰ You	Llō'k'īnā'īs ⁸¹ support you—me	hanL, ³¹ shall,	yanL ²⁷ if shall.
n ⁷⁷ I	L'l'teta. ⁷² put (my hands), behind (my) back."	Wändj ²¹ Thus	Llā'xem. ⁸² talking, condition.	Wändj ²¹ īl't ⁸³ Thus (he) told the it to	le ²⁵ the	ma'nat. crowd.
Ā'yu ²¹ Surely	yīqa'x ³⁴ just	wändj. ²¹ that way.	Tsō ⁸ ā'yu ²¹ Now surely	Llaqa'ē'wat, ⁷¹ (he) points (the) finger at him, frequently	ī ⁸ la ^u 2 when that one	
L'te'ta. ⁷² puts (his) hands behind (his) back.	Ā'yu ²¹ Surely	yūxwā' ¹⁰⁹ two	mā Llō'k'īnē'wat, ⁸⁴ persons support him steadily.	Tcī'tcū ⁸⁵ e ⁸⁶ How sur- prise	dīl ⁹ things	
ītsēm. ⁸⁷ happened.	Xya'bas ⁸⁸ Maggots	yaptī'tsa ⁸⁹ ate up	lā ⁹⁰ pī'lik'īs, ⁹¹ his anus,	lā ⁹⁰ ye'es, his face,	lā ⁹⁰ tcūl, his nose,	lā ⁹⁰ his

⁶²kwās-?; -īs nominal (§ 56).⁶³hītō- TO PUT DOWN; -īs transitive (§ 26); -tex direct object pronoun plural (§ 54); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49; see also § 7).⁶⁴cīl syntactic particle (§ 90); -īye transitional (§ 35).⁶⁵Syntactic particle (§ 88).⁶⁶Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).⁶⁷hai- TO GAMBLE; -t transitive (§ 26); -t transitive (§ 26); -meu reciprocal (§ 29; see also § 4).⁶⁸yīku syntactic particle (§ 88); hanL SHALL (§§ 87, 8, 9).⁶⁹dīl SOMETHING (§ 108); -tc adverbial (§ 25); -etc instrumental (§ 70).⁷⁰Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§§ 18, 98).⁷¹Llaqa- TO POINT AT; -ē'wat frequentative (§ 33).⁷²L'l'teta TO PUT ONE'S HAND BEHIND THE BACK (during a game).⁷³tcīn- TO THINK; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 10).⁷⁴yīku PERHAPS (§ 88); ūL WOULD BE (§§ 91, 9).⁷⁵x- modal (§ 24); tcīte particle (§ 112).⁷⁶n- adverbial (§ 21); xwalxwal EYE (§§ 83, 116).⁷⁷Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 18).⁷⁸x'Lōw- TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); -ā'ē'wat frequentative causative (§§ 34, 8).⁷⁹lexa- INSIDE (§ 104); -em adverbial abstract (§ 58).⁸⁰Personal pronoun 2d person plural (§ 18).⁸¹Llō'k'īn- TO STEADY, TO SUPPORT; -ā'īs transitive, subject and object pronoun THOU-ME (§ 46).⁸²L'l- TO TALK; -xem generic suffix (§ 30).⁸³īl- TO SAY TO; -t transitive (§ 26).⁸⁴Llō'k'īn- TO SUPPORT; -ē'wat frequentative (§ 33).⁸⁵tcīte particle (§ 112); -ū interrogative (§ 73).⁸⁶Syntactic particle denoting surprise (§ 90).⁸⁷īs- TO DO, TO BE (§ 113); -em suffix defining the subject (§ 30).⁸⁸x- discriminative (§ 23); yabas MAGGOT.⁸⁹yab- MAGGOT; -t transitive (§ 26); -īs transitive (§§ 26, 25); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).⁹⁰Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98).⁹¹pīlik- ANUS; -īs nominal (§ 56).

<i>k^uha'ñas.</i> ears.	<i>Hîs</i> ⁸ Also	<i>înheni'yees</i> ⁹² (in) no time	<i>xya'bas</i> ⁸⁸ maggots	<i>q!mîts.</i> ¹⁸ ate him.	<i>La^u 2</i> That one	<i>în</i> ⁴ not	<i>la^u 2</i> that thing
<i>î'lxats.</i> ⁴⁶ (at) looked.	<i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just	<i>yî'qa</i> ³⁴ continually	<i>tcî</i> ³⁰ there	<i>Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ (he) sat.	<i>Xyûxwā'</i> ⁹³ Two	<i>mā</i> persons	
<i>L'ō'k'îñē'wat</i> ⁸⁴ support him steadily	<i>xpqai'hîtc.</i> ⁹⁴ from (the) back.	<i>Wî'yax</i> Abalone shell	<i>x'Lōwa'ē'wat</i> ⁷⁸ (he) caused to be inside	<i>lān</i> ⁹⁵ his in			
<i>xwa'lxwal.</i> eye.	<i>Lexa'tcem</i> ⁷⁹ Inside, the part	<i>qa'qał.</i> (he) slept.	<i>La^u 2</i> That one	<i>qats</i> ³⁴ just	<i>kwa</i> ⁴² as if	<i>ā'yu</i> ²¹ surely	
<i>kwî'nait.</i> ⁹⁶ looked at it.	<i>Hîtc</i> ⁵⁰ Surprise	<i>wî'yax</i> abalone shell	<i>le</i> ²⁵ it	<i>x'Lî'ye</i> ⁹⁷ inside it is	<i>lān</i> ⁹⁵ his in	<i>xwa'lxwal.</i> eye.	<i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just
<i>lā'mak' Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ bones sitting.	<i>Asî'L</i> ³⁰ Halfway	<i>la û</i> ⁹⁸ goes its	<i>x'îluwî'ye</i> ⁹⁹ growth (of)	<i>lex</i> ¹⁰⁰ the	<i>ya'bas, î</i> ⁸ maggots, when		
<i>la^u 2</i> that one	<i>xya'bas</i> ⁸⁸ the maggots	<i>Lōwe'wat.</i> ¹⁰ eat him continually.	<i>Itse'ts</i> ¹⁰¹ May be surely	<i>yîku</i> ⁶⁵ he	<i>lā^u 2</i> for some time	<i>heni'yees</i> ⁹² with	
<i>hî'nî</i> ³⁰ there	<i>Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ (he) sat.	<i>Tsō wāndj</i> ²¹ Now thus	<i>tcîne'henî.</i> ⁷³ thinking.	<i>“YîkwanL</i> ⁶⁸ “Perhaps shall	<i>dîl'tce'tc</i> ⁶⁹ something with		
<i>ten</i> ⁷⁰ that I	<i>L'laqa'ē'wat?</i> ⁷¹ point my finger at him frequently?	<i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just	<i>kwanL</i> ¹⁰² as if	<i>în</i> ⁴ not	<i>yû</i> ²¹ very something	<i>dîl' 9</i> scared,	<i>qaya'wîye,</i> ¹⁰³ he becomes
<i>yûL</i> ²⁷ if would	<i>xle'îtc</i> ¹³ with it	<i>n</i> ⁷⁷ I	<i>L'laqa'ē'wat.</i> ⁷¹ point my fingers at him frequently.	<i>Wāndj</i> ²¹ Thus	<i>tcîne'henî.</i> ⁷³ thinking.	<i>Yî'qa</i> ³⁴ Still	<i>în</i> ⁴ not
<i>î'lxats</i> ⁴⁶ (he) looked at	<i>le</i> ²⁵ the	<i>ya'bas; mā</i> ³⁴ maggots; ever	<i>îl</i> ⁶⁵ surely	<i>hats</i> ⁸ just	<i>lā'mak' sîl'nē.</i> ¹⁰⁴ bones joined together.	<i>Yî'qa</i> ³⁴ Still	<i>în</i> ⁴ not
<i>î'lxats.</i> ⁴⁶ (he) looked at it.	<i>“Cîn</i> ¹⁰⁵ “You not	<i>k'elē'wat.</i> ¹⁰⁶ forget it.	<i>Cîn</i> ⁸⁰ You	<i>sqats hanL</i> ³¹ grab shall	<i>te</i> ² that there	<i>tc!wāl, yanL</i> ²⁷ fire, if shall	
<i>kn</i> ²⁸ we	<i>tgats.</i> ¹⁰⁷ win (game).	<i>La^u 2</i> That one	<i>hîs</i> ⁸ also	<i>te</i> ² that there	<i>xāp</i> water	<i>cîn</i> ⁸⁰ you	<i>x'întî'ta</i> ¹⁰⁸ cause it to run
<i>Wāndj</i> ²¹ That way	<i>L'ā'xem.</i> ⁸² talking, condition.	<i>Yîxē'</i> ¹⁰⁹ One	<i>mā wāndj</i> ²¹ person that way	<i>L'ā'xem.</i> ⁸² talking, condition.	<i>“Ne'xkan</i> ¹¹⁰ “I		
<i>hanL</i> ³¹ shall (be)	<i>la^u 2</i> the one	<i>n</i> ⁷⁷ I	<i>x'întî'yat</i> ¹¹¹ run, cause it	<i>te</i> ² that	<i>xāp.</i> — <i>Tē</i> ¹² water.— This here	<i>la^u 2</i> the you	<i>e⁴⁸ x'întî'yat</i> ¹¹¹ to run, cause it shall

⁹² *în* negation (§ 112); *î* abbreviated form of *dîî* (§ 108); *henîye* A WHILE; *-es* noun of quality (§ 57).

⁹³ *x-* discriminative (§ 23); *yû'xwû* TWO (§ 101).

⁹⁴ *x-* FROM (§ 22); *pqai* BACK; *-îtc* local suffix (§§ 67, 10).

⁹⁵ *lā* possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); *n-* adverbial (§ 21).

⁹⁶ *kwîna-* TO LOOK; *-t* transitive (§ 26).

⁹⁷ *x'L-* TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); *-îye* transitional (§ 35).

⁹⁸ Sign of possession (§ 97).

⁹⁹ *x'îlu-* DEEP; *-îye* nominal suffix (§§ 80, 8).

¹⁰⁰ *le* article (§ 17); *x-* discriminative (§ 23).

¹⁰¹ See § 113.

¹⁰² *kwa* AS IF (§ 88); *hanL* SHALL (§§ 87, 9).

¹⁰³ *qaya-* TO BE AFRAID; *-îye* transitional (§§ 35, 8).

¹⁰⁴ *sîl-* TO JOIN; *-nē* distributive (§ 37).

¹⁰⁵ *cîn* personal pronoun, 2d person plural (§ 96); *în* NOT (see § 9).

¹⁰⁶ *k'el-* TO FORGET; *-ē'wat* frequentative (§ 33); see § 83.

¹⁰⁷ *tg-* TO WIN; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).

¹⁰⁸ *x'Ent-* TO RUN; *-îyat* causative (§ 27); *-a* indirect object pronoun (§§ 49, 11).

¹⁰⁹ Cardinal numeral (§ 101).

¹¹⁰ Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 96).

¹¹¹ *x'Ent-* TO RUN; *-îyat* causative (§ 27).

te² te!wāl." Tsō⁸ xwändj²¹ i!lt.⁸³ "Kw'ya! ¹¹² halt!¹¹³ e^{ne} ¹¹⁴ he ¹¹
that fire." Now thus (he) told "Now now thou custom-
there it to him. arily

L!te'ta." ⁷² Wändj²¹ i!lt.⁸³ "Y'kwanL ⁶⁸ d!ltce'tc ⁶⁹ ten⁷⁰ L!aqa'ē'wat?" ⁷¹
put (thy) Thus (he) told "Perhaps shall something this point the finger at
hands behind (thy) back." it to him. with here I him continually?"

"Hats⁸ in⁴ yū²¹ d!l⁹ yū²¹ qayawā'wal. ¹¹⁵ Lo ¹¹⁶ L ¹¹⁷ ūL ²⁷ le'yī,
"Just not very some- very qaying. That neces- would good,
thing thing sarily be

yūL²⁷ x'ōwā'yasetc ¹¹⁸ n ⁷⁷ L!aqa'ē'wat." ⁷¹ K'lätc!hā'yīms ¹¹⁹ la^{u2}
if snake with I point (my) finger at Without dying down that one
should him continually." (the fire)

te!lā'at. ¹²⁰ Tsō⁸ ā'yū ²¹ x'ōwā'yasetc ¹¹⁸ L!a'qat. ¹²¹ Lōwīti'yeqem. ¹²²
to burn, it is Now surely snake with (he) pointed (He) is watching
caused. (the) finger himself.

X'ōwā'yas hān ¹²³ dji'lete xal^pmats. ¹²⁴ Hats ¹²⁵ kwa ⁴² xtcītc ⁷
Snake his at thighs wraps around. Just looks like something
itsēm. ⁸⁷ Mā ³⁴ ai'wa ¹²⁶ in⁴ k'īlō'wīt. ³⁵ Hān ¹²³ we'hel la^{u2}
happened How- still not (he) sees it. His to waist that
ever one

he'laq le²⁵ x'ōwā'yas. Hān ¹²³ ye'es la^{u2} kwa ⁴² l'nuwīt. ¹²⁷
arrived the snake. His to mouth that one as if threatens
(to go).

Ak'a'nak. ¹²⁸ he'ilta hēx ¹²⁹ x'ōwā'yas. Hats⁸ han ¹³⁰ kwa ⁴²
Sticks out (the) tongue the snake. Just will as if

hān ¹²³ teūl la^{u2} te'xtits ³³ le²⁵ x'ōwā'yas. Qai'qa'yōnā'ya, ¹³¹ i⁸
his in nose that one enter the snake. Afraid, (it) made him, when

la^{u2} k'īlō'wīt. ³⁵ Sī'x'its ¹³² ē'qatce. ¹³³ Neqā'ya. ¹³⁴ L'xanā'yēm ¹³⁵
that (he) saw it. (He) shook it off one side to. (He) ran away Throw (indefinite)
one from it. (Peopleshout at him)

ye'es. X'ī'x'intū ¹³⁶ le²⁵ te!wāl. Hē'kwain ¹³⁷ xhū'wis ¹³⁸ mā
mouth. (It) is being taken the fire. Very poor person
away quickly (is)

la^{u2} x'inti'yat ¹¹¹ le²⁵ te!wāl. Hē'yū ¹³⁹ xtcā'yux ^{u138} mā la^{u2}
the (to) run, causes the fire. Very small person the
one (he is) one

¹¹² Temporal adverb (§ 105).

¹¹³ Temporal adverb (§ 105).

¹¹⁴ Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 96).

¹¹⁵ qayaw- TO FEAR; -āwal nominal suffix (§ 59).

¹¹⁶ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

¹¹⁷ Syntactic particle (§ 92).

¹¹⁸ x'ōwāyas SNAKE; -etc instrumental (§ 70).

¹¹⁹ k'īlā- privative (§ 20); te!ha- TO EXTINGUISH; -āyīms nominal (§ 80).

¹²⁰ te!il- TO BURN; -aat passive causative (§§ 41, 7).

¹²¹ L!aqa- TO POINT AT WITH ONE'S FINGER; -t transitive (§ 26).

¹²² lōwīt- TO WATCH; -īyeqem passive (§§ 40, 3, 11).

¹²³ hā possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); n- adverbial (§ 21).

¹²⁴ xalm- TO WRAP AROUND; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹²⁵ Conjunction (§ 110).

¹²⁶ Temporal adverb (§ 105).

¹²⁷ l'nuwī VERY, modal adverb (§ 106); -t transitive (§ 26).

¹²⁸ ak'ank- TO STICK OUT (§ 4).

¹²⁹ hē article (§ 17); x- discriminative (§ 23).

¹³⁰ Syntactic particle (§ 87).

¹³¹ qayaw- TO SCARE; -anāya direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 3, 82).

¹³² šix- TO SHAKE OFF; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹³³ Local adverb (§§ 104, 103, 56).

¹³⁴ neq TO RUN AWAY; -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

¹³⁵ L!xan- TO THROW; -āya (§ 47); -ēm suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 9).

¹³⁶ x'ent- TO RUN; -ū present passive (§§ 38, 82).

¹³⁷ Syntactic particle (§ 93).

¹³⁸ x- discriminative (§ 23).

¹³⁹ hē syntactic particle (§ 93); yū VERY, modal adverb (§ 106).

t!kwí'tsa. ¹⁴⁰ kicks it	le ²⁵ the	xā ^a p. water.	Xpiye'etc ¹⁴¹ In the manner of going home	L ^o wa'hait ¹⁴² run	he ²⁵ the	mēn. ¹⁴³ people.
K ^u ha'nasatc ¹⁴⁴ Ear in	ha ^u 2 that one	lexalxā'yū ¹⁴⁵ was put in	he ²⁵ the	tc!wāl. fire.	Nle'hī ¹⁴⁶ With it	la ū ⁹⁸ goes his
x'na'at. ¹⁴⁷ quickness (he runs).	Le ²⁵ The	xā ^a p water	ha'kwāl ¹⁴⁸ as if	he'mtset, ¹⁴⁹ (to) lay bare, caused, it was,	ī ⁸ when	la ^u 2 that one
Māndj ¹⁵⁰ Already	hats ⁸ Just	g'ímtset ¹⁵¹ (to) rain caused it was	le'tsīx'. ¹⁵² right here.	K ^u mene'iletc ¹⁵³ Brush into	L'xa'na ¹⁵⁴ (he) threw it,	
le ²⁵ the	tc!wāl. fire.	K!we'hetc ¹⁵⁵ Willow into	la ^u 2 that one	L!xant. ¹⁵⁶ threw it.	Hats ⁸ Just	L!xant, ¹⁵⁶ (he) threw it,
māndj ¹⁵⁰ already	!kwí'litu. ¹⁵⁷ to blaze, it begins.	Tsō ⁸ Now	asō' ¹⁵⁰ again	ī ⁶ they	wu'txe returned	tsí'x'tī. ¹⁵⁸ here.
Xtemí'towetc ¹⁵⁹ From that time on	leíł ¹⁶⁰ they	ntc!wā'le. ¹⁶¹ with fire are.	Xtemí'towetc ¹⁵⁹ From that time on	towe ¹⁶² usually		
g'í'mīt. ¹⁶³ (it) rains.	La ^u 2 That	xwāndj ²¹ (is) thus (the manner how)	towe ¹⁶² usually	g'í'mīt. ¹⁶³ (it) rains.	Xwāndj ²¹ That way	La ¹⁶⁴ only
kwee'niyēm. ¹⁶⁵ know it (indefinite).	Tsō ⁸ Now	tcī ³⁰ there	ä'wīxēm. ¹⁶⁶ end, condition.			

[Translation]

The earth was full of people. All kinds of people lived in a mixed-up fashion. They had no fire or water. Whenever they wanted to eat, they would put the food under their arms (in order to heat it). They would dance with it, or the old people would sit on it. And when the food became warm, then they would eat it. Whenever salmon came ashore, they used to scoop it out.

¹⁴⁰ t!kw- TO KICK; -ts transitive (§ 26); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).¹⁴¹ x- modal (§ 24); pīx- TO GO HOME; -etc modal (§ 36; also § 8).¹⁴² Lowahai- TO RUN; -t transitive (§ 26).¹⁴³ Plural formation (§ 78).¹⁴⁴ kuha'nas EAR; -etc local (§§ 68, 7).¹⁴⁵ lax- TO BE INSIDE (singular object); -āyu past passive (§§ 39, 83, 54).¹⁴⁶ n- adverbial (§ 21); -lɛ article (§ 17); -i instrumental (§§ 80, 10).¹⁴⁷ See § 118.¹⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 88).¹⁴⁹ hēm- TO LAY OPEN; -ts transitive (§ 26); -et causative passive (§ 41).¹⁵⁰ Temporal adverb (§ 105).¹⁵¹ g'im- TO RAIN; -ts transitive (§ 26); -et causative passive (§ 41).¹⁵² lɛ article (§ 17); tsīx' HERE, local adverb (§ 104).¹⁵³ kumene'īł BRUSH; -etc local (§ 68).¹⁵⁴ L!xan- TO THROW; -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).¹⁵⁵ k!wehe- WILLOW; -etc local (§§ 68, 9).¹⁵⁶ L!xan- TO THROW; -t transitive (§ 26).¹⁵⁷ łkwīł- TO BLAZE; -t transitive; -u transitional (§§ 35, 114).¹⁵⁸ Local adverb (§ 104).¹⁵⁹ x- FROM, locative (§ 22); temītowetc (see § 106).¹⁶⁰ lɛ article (§ 17); īł personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 96).¹⁶¹ n- WITH, instrumental (§ 21); tc!wāł FIRE; -e auxiliary (§ 44).¹⁶² See § 87.¹⁶³ g'im- TO RAIN; -t transitional (§§ 26, 114).¹⁶⁴ Syntactic particle (§ 94).¹⁶⁵ kwaan- TO KNOW; -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47); -ēm suffix defining the subject (§§ 80, 7).¹⁶⁶ āw- TO FINISH, TO END; -xēm generic (§ 30).

In this manner they had hardly any food. They were all the time talking about fire. "How would it be if we should go after fire?"—"Let us go." They went. When they arrived, they found the fire burning; and one of them saw the water. The chief of the people (to whom they came) was sitting indoors. He was sitting sideways. "Halloo, cousin!" said the earth-chief. "Let us gamble (for the fire and water)!" The sky-chief acted as if he did not hear. The earth-chief sat down opposite him. After a short time the sky-chief looked up and said, "You belong to a different tribe, so in what way are you my cousin? You must tell a story." But the earth-chief answered, "You are older than I," and he went out. After a while he came back and said, "Halloo, cousin! Look! this here is your Indian cradle.¹ Your Indian cradle¹ is new, while mine is old. And this here is your shinny-club,² while that there is my shinny-club.² This is your ball,² and that one is my ball.² Your ball² is new, but mine is old. Is it not so?" Then he put all these things before him. The sky-chief looked at them, and said, "Indeed, it is so, O cousin! Sit down here, we will gamble."

They began to play. The earth-chief thought to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at the player who puts his hand behind his back? Suppose I put a piece of abalone shell into my eye? I will sleep in the inside part of my eye." Then he said to his followers, "You shall support me when I put my hands behind my back;" and what he demanded was done.

Then he pointed his finger at him (the sky-chief) when he put his hand behind his back. Two men were supporting him. Thus things happened. Maggots began to eat up his (the sky-chief's) anus, his face, his nose, his ears. Soon the maggots ate him up; but he did not notice it. He kept on sitting there. Two men were still supporting him from the back. He had an abalone shell in his eye, and was sleeping in that inside part. Now it seemed as if the sky-chief were looking at it. To his surprise, he saw an abalone shell in the other man's eye. By this time only bones had remained of him, for

¹ "Cradle" or "bed" is a piece of canvas (in former days tanned hide) spread on the ground and stretched by means of pegs or nails, before which the player participating in the so-called "game of guessing" was squatting, while mixing the sticks in his hands, which were held behind his back. Upon receiving the guessing-signal from a player of the opposite side, the sticks were thrown on the "cradle," usually one by one, while the marked stick was laid bare.

² The informant was mistaken in the use of these terms. "Club" and "ball" are used in a game of shinny, while the game played by the two chiefs was the favorite game of "guessing."

the maggots had eaten up almost half of his body. The earth-chief was sitting there for a while, and began to think, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that I ought to point at him with some very terrible thing." The sky-chief still did not look at the maggots. Only his bones, joined together, were sitting there. Still he did not look.

Now the earth-chief said to his people, "Don't forget to seize the fire as soon as we win the game.—And you take hold of the water." One of his men said, "I will run away with the water, and you ought to run with the fire." The earth-chief said to the head man of the sky-people, "Now it is your turn to put your hands behind your back." All the time he was thinking to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that nothing terrifies him. It will be very good if I point at him with a snake."

In the mean time the fire kept on burning. He then pointed at him with a snake. But he (the sky-chief) was on the lookout. The snake coiled around his thigh. Still he did not mind it. It crawled up to his waist and threatened to go into his mouth, all the while sticking out its tongue. Soon it seemed as if it were about to enter his nose. The sky-chief became afraid when he saw this. He shook off the snake and ran away. People were shouting at him.

The earth people quickly seized the fire. A very poor man ran away with the fire, while a little man kicked the water. They were running homewards. The man put the fire into his ear while running. As soon as the water was spilled, it began to rain. The fire was thrown into some willow-brush, and soon began to blaze. Thus they returned. From that time on, people have had fire; and from that time on, it has rained. Thus only the story is known. This is the end of it.

SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG



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INTRODUCTION

In 1884 J. Owen Dorsey spent a month at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, collecting short vocabularies of the Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua, as well as of other languages. Prior to Dorsey's investigations the linguistic position of Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua was a debated question. Some investigators believed that these two dialects belonged to the Yakonan family; while others, notably Latham and Gatschet, held them to form a distinct stock, although they observed marked agreement with some features of the Yakonan. After a superficial investigation, lasting less than a month, Dorsey came to the conclusion that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua were dialects belonging to the Yakonan stock. This assertion was repeated by J. W. Powell in his "Indian Linguistic Families" (*Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 134), and was held to be correct by all subsequent students of American Indian languages. This view, however, is not in harmony with my own investigations. A closer study of Alsea (one of the Yakonan dialects) on the one hand, and of Lower Umpqua on the other, proves conclusively that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua form a distinct family, which I propose to call the Siuslawan linguistic stock.¹ The term "Siuslaw" was given preference over "Umpqua" or "Lower Umpqua," in order to avoid the ambiguity of meaning which might arise from the fact that we have become accustomed to call the Athapascan dialect, spoken on the upper course of the Umpqua river, the "Upper Umpqua."

The material on which the following sketch is based was collected, under the joint auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology and of Columbia University, on the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the months of March, April, and May, 1911.

My principal informant was Louisa Smith, a Lower Umpqua Indian over 70 years of age. Her advanced years, her absolute lack of knowledge of the English language, her ill health, and, above all, the fact that prior to my arrival on the reservation she had

¹It is not at all impossible that this stock, the Yakonan, Kusan, and perhaps the Kalapuyan, may eventually prove to be genetically related. Their affinities are so remote, however, that I prefer to take a conservative position, and to treat them for the time being as independent stocks.

not used her native tongue for a considerable period, rendered her a poor, though willing informant. In the course of this investigation it was therefore necessary to employ such additional informants and interpreters as were available. By far the most important of these was William Smith, an Alsea Indian and the husband of Louisa, who had spent his childhood among the Siuslaw Indians, from whom he had gained a fairly good knowledge of their language. But he, too, was far from being an ideal informant. His command of English was imperfect, his degree of intelligence rather limited, his pronunciation of Lower Umpqua was affected by Alsea phonetics, and he was only too often unable to keep apart the Siuslaw, Lower Umpqua, and Alsea forms of a given word. However, in spite of these deficiencies, his services proved highly valuable, because, having previously assisted me in my work on the Alsea language, he knew more or less what was wanted of him. My other informants were Spencer Scott, a son of Louisa; Louis Smith, a full-blooded Lower Umpqua Indian; and Hank Johnson, the son of a Lower Umpqua father and of an Alsea mother. The three last mentioned were, comparatively speaking, young men, whose knowledge of Lower Umpqua was imperfect and rather vague. They were employed solely for the purpose of settling questions that pertained to phonetics, and of disentangling the frequent difficulties that were involved in the collection and translation of texts; and if I add that throughout the progress of this work, Louisa Smith was suffering from a severe ear-ache (which at times rendered her absolutely deaf), that William Smith had to undergo frequent surgical operations because of a poisoned finger, and that my other informants could give me only part of their time, I shall have mentioned all the difficulties under which the following material was collected. Should this sketch, therefore, be found deficient in completeness of treatment and clearness of interpretation, it will have to be accounted for by the extraordinary circumstances under which the work was conducted.

But if the actual work involved in this investigation was rather trying and tiresome, there were other features connected with it that rendered it pleasant and enjoyable. These features consist of the many courtesies and helpful assistance received from the inhabitants of Siletz; and it is a great source of pleasure to me to record my deep gratitude to these kind friends. My greatest obligations are due to

Superintendent and Mrs. Knott C. Egbert, to the former for his untiring efforts to assist me, both officially and personally, in whatever way he could, and to the latter for the motherly care with which she attended to my personal wants throughout my stay at the reservation. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. Maximilian F. Clausius, the physician of the Siletz agency, for the numerous tokens of friendship received at his hand.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

September, 1911.

SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Siuslawan stock embraces two closely related dialects—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw—that were spoken by the people living on the lower courses of the Umpqua and Siuslaw rivers, in the southern part of Oregon. Their northern neighbors were the Alsea Indians¹ (whom they called *Han̄'s h̄ltc*²), on the east they came in contact with the Kalapuya (chiefly the Yonkalla tribe, known to them as the *Qa'xqax*), and on the south they were contiguous to the Coos (*Qū'yax*). The territory of the Lower Umpqua was bounded on the north by Five Mile lake, on the south by Ten Mile lake, while on the east they claimed the whole region adjoining the Umpqua river as far as Scottsburg. The possessions of the Siuslaw Indians extended as far south as Five Mile lake, on the north they bordered on the Yahach river, and eastwards they extended as far as Mapleton. Thus it may safely be assumed that these two dialects were spoken in the western parts of what are known today as Lane and Douglas counties. No information pertaining to the previous strength of these two tribes could be obtained. Their numbers have been so greatly reduced, that, besides the four individuals who served as my informants, and the two or three Siuslaw Indians said to be living near Florence, Lane county, there are no other members living; and since these people no longer converse in their native tongue, the Siuslaw family may be looked upon as an extinct linguistic stock.

¹ One of the two members of the Yakonan family.

² For explanation of alphabet see pp. 443, 444.

The Lower Umpqua call themselves *Qū'itc*, and refer to their language as *Qū'itcaw wa'as*. These terms are of native origin, and are formed from the stem *qū'i* or *qō'i* SOUTH. The Alsea called them *Tkul-ma'k'*, and they were known to the Coos as *Bīldjī'yex*, i. e. NORTHERN Indians. The Siuslaw refer to themselves as *Cā'yuc̄la*, and were called *Cā'yūcle* by the Coos and *Qwas* or *Kwas* by the Alsea Indians. The etymology of these names could not be ascertained.

Judging from the scanty notes on Siuslaw obtained by Dorsey and myself, the differences between this dialect and Lower Umpqua were very slight and of a purely phonetic and lexicographic character. No distinct morphological formations were found. The chief phonetic feature that seems to separate these two dialects is the change of a Lower Umpqua *n* into *l* in Siuslaw.

Lower Umpqua	Siuslaw
<i>pā'nū</i>	<i>pāl'ū</i> well, spring 76.12
<i>qanī'nal</i> 19.6	<i>qalī'nal</i> knife 50.19
<i>qa'nnî</i>	<i>qa'lnî</i> (D.) ¹ face
<i>tsnā'wî</i>	<i>tsla'we</i> (D.) bone
<i>lkwa'nuq^u</i>	<i>lkwa'luk^u</i> (D.) hat

The lexicographical differences cover a limited number of stems and words, of which only a few examples may be quoted here.

Lower Umpqua	Siuslaw
<i>lā'n-</i> 23.7	<i>lōc̄n-</i> to call by name
<i>xīp-</i>	<i>yīq'a^u-</i> to split (pitch wood)
<i>lī'ū-</i> 8.3	<i>xumc-</i> to come, to approach 23.2
<i>t'āmc</i> 40.19	<i>t'ī'lmîs</i> (D.) child
<i>xwā'ka</i> 29.5	<i>gamî' Lîs</i> (D.) head
<i>lī't'a^î</i> 34.23	<i>wîts!ū'we</i> (D.) food
<i>k!wî'yōs²</i>	<i>cqa'xtc³</i> dog
<i>kō'tan⁴</i> 34.10	<i>ta^wwex</i> (D.) ⁵ horse

Texts of myths and tales in the Lower Umpqua dialect were collected by the author, and were published by Columbia University.⁶ All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

¹ Words marked (D.) are quoted from Dorsey's manuscripts in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

² Coos *kwi'yos*.

³ Apparently related to Alsea *tcqēnx*.

⁴ Chinook jargon.

⁵ Related to Alsea *tawā'yū*.

⁶ Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 4.

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-17)

§ 2. Vowels

The vowels have short and long quantities. Resonance vowels, marked here by superior vowels, are employed often, as is also the obscure vowel *ɛ*, which seems to be related to short *a*. In some instances, due to contact phenomena, the obscure vowel partakes of the quality of a short *o*, and is represented here by *o*. The open *e* vowel appears to be lacking, while the long *ē* frequently glides from *ē* to *ī* and resembles a long *ī*. Significant pitch appears in a few cases (see p. 447).

The *aⁱ*- and *a^u* diphthongs occur in two distinct forms, one with the initial element short or long (*aⁱ*, *a^u*, *āⁱ*, *ā^u*), and the other with the first element short and the second long (*a^{ī}* and *a^ū*). The latter two forms are closely related to the long *ī* and *ū* with which they constantly interchange. This interchange usually takes place after *a*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *x*, and *l*, although numerous instances will be found where the substitution of *a^{ī}* and *a^ū* for *ī* and *ū* respectively has taken place after vowels and consonants other than those enumerated, or where the interchange does not occur at all.

Examples of interchange between *ī* and *a^{ī}*:

inq!a'ī 30.23

mīla'ītīn

sī'naxīt 46.18

tī'k^ɛnax here thou 56.19

hate^{ī}xam he was asked 66.16

tsī'k!yan hī'sītī ha^{ī} I am very

glad 25.8

inq!a'a^{ī} river 30.20

gamīla'a^{ī}tīn my mother 100.12

cī'naxa^{ī}t he thinks 90.15

ta^{ī}k^ɛns here we two (incl.)
56.6

skwaha^{ī}xam it is placed (in)

ta^{ī}k^ɛns aya'qa^{ī}tī sī'xa^{ī} here
we two (incl.) shall leave
our canoe 56.5

Examples of interchange between *ū* and *a^ū*:

waa'ūn 7.4

waxa'yūtsme he gave him
his . . . 76.9

k!īmūL' Lūn

h^{ī}yatsī'tsūn he put it on 11.8

pīlq^utsū'nī made of raccoon
(hides) 70.23, 24

kā'tūtūn I tire him out

yāk!isk!īnū' L'aya' on a small
place 38.19

waa'a^ūn he says to him 20.7

tkwīha'ha^ūtssme he buried his . . .
40.22

k!īma^ūL' Lūn I am hitting him

āqa'qa^ūn he took it off 13.1

hamxa^ūnī made of tied (grass)
8.6

kā'la^ūtīn I am tired

mīk!a^ū' L'aya' in a bad place
12.10; 13.1

The Siuslaw¹ system of vowels and diphthongs may be represented as follows:

Vowels						Semi-vowels		Diphthongs				
<i>E, o</i>												
<i>a</i>	<i>(e)</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>aⁱ</i>	<i>a^u</i>	<i>aⁱ a^u</i>	<i>uⁱ</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ū</i>				<i>āⁱ</i>	<i>ā^u</i>		<i>ūⁱ</i>

The unlauted *ä* occurs rarely, and is pronounced like *ä* in German *wählen*; *î* is pronounced like the Slavic short *y*-vowel; and *û* indicates very short quantity.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonantic system deviates in a great many respects from those of the neighboring tribes. Its chief characteristics are the total absence of the anterior palatal series (*g*, *k*, *k'*, *w*); the absence of all sonants excepting *d*; the presence of a palatal lateral (*l'*); and, above all, the occurrence of a double series of glottalized explosives differing in the quality and amount of stress employed in their production. The real explosives are followed in this sketch by the sign of exclamation (!), while the glottalized stops of ordinary strength will be found accompanied by the apostrophe ('). The latter seem to be confined to the consonants of the dental series and to *k*. The surds *t* and *k* occur also as aspirated consonants.

The following table illustrates the Siuslaw consonantic system:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Aspirated	Spirant	Nasal
Velar.....	—	<i>q</i>	<i>q'</i>	—	<i>ø</i>	—
Palatal.....	—	<i>k(w)</i>	<i>k'!(w)</i>	<i>k^s</i>	—	—
Alveolar.....	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'!, t'</i>	<i>t^s</i>	<i>s, c</i>	<i>n</i>
Affricative.....	—	<i>ts, tc</i>	<i>ts'!, tc'</i>	—	—	—
			<i>ts', tc'</i>			
Labial.....	—	<i>p</i>	<i>p'!(?)</i>	—	—	<i>m</i>
Lateral.....	—	<i>L</i>	<i>L'</i>		<i>l, l', l'</i>	—
Glottal stop.....	<i>ε</i>					
Aspiration.....	<i>ε</i>					
		<i>y</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>h^u</i>	

The palatal *l'* is pronounced like *l* in the English word *lure*. The glottal stop occurs seldom, and seems to be associated with the explosive character of the consonants following it, although I did not succeed in verifying this connection definitely. The aspiration corre-

¹ Whenever the term "Siuslaw" is used, it is to be understood as referring to the whole group, and not to the dialect only.

sponds to the character of the vowels and consonants that precede or follow it: that is to say, after palatal vowels it is of a palatal character; while before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, and before velar consonants, it becomes guttural. When followed by a vowel, it is changed into an *h*.

tū'tc- to spear 62.2

qaqū'n- to hear 30.18

sī' to grow (intr.) 98.10

gnū' to find

wa'tūx again shall . . . 11.2

tuhatca'yūn he spears it

qa'q^uhantūn he heard it 36.23

sīhī'tcīn xīntyax I began to grow
up 100.17

gnū'hūn (they two) found it 56.9

waha'hūn hīyatsī'tsūn again he put
it on 12.1

In some instances the aspiration results from the dropping of a *t* before a following *n* (see §§ 16, 58, 59).

§ 4. Sound Groupings

Clusters of two consonants are admissible, except *w* + any consonant other than *n*. Whenever a *w* is followed by a consonant other than *n*, it changes into a voiceless *w*, represented here by ^{hu}. Clusters of three or more consonants may occur medially or finally, provided a nasal or lateral forms the initial sound of such groupings.

When, owing to grammatical processes, three consonants that can not form a cluster come into contact, an obscure or weak vowel (mostly *e*, *a*, or *i*) is inserted between two of the three consonants, thus facilitating the pronunciation of the cluster.

A similar insertion takes place in initial clusters beginning with *m* or *n*, and between two consonants belonging to the same series. The latter rule applies to clusters in initial, medial, and final position.

Examples of clusters consisting of *w* + consonant:

a'tcnaw- to trade mutually +

-tūx + -ts

lōlnaw- to hit mutually + *-em*

+ *-tcī*

a'tcna'^{hut}ūxts you two will
trade mutually

lōlna'^{hu}matcī you hit one an-
other!

xnī'^wna he does 11.11

Examples of avoidance of clusters in initial position:

m- (prefix of relationship)

+ *ta* father

m- (prefix of relationship)

+ *ta* mother

mīta father 54.22

mīta mother 54.23

Examples of avoidance of clusters in medial position:

<i>wînx-</i> (to be afraid) + <i>-nawa^ux</i>	<i>wînx^əana'wa^ux</i> they two were afraid of each other 86.1,2
<i>qātx-</i> (to cry) + <i>-tūx</i>	<i>qā'tx^atūx</i> he will cry

Examples of avoidance of clusters in final position:

<i>qatcîñî'tx</i> (to keep on going) + <i>-n</i>	<i>qatcîñî'txan</i> I keep on going
<i>qaⁱx</i> (night) + <i>-nə</i>	<i>qa^ux^əna</i> (at) night thou . . . 70.18
<i>taⁱk</i> (here) + <i>-ns</i>	<i>taⁱk^əns</i> here we two (incl.) 56.6
<i>haⁱq</i> (ashore) + <i>-nəxan</i>	<i>haⁱq^ənəxan</i> ashore we (excl.) 88.13
<i>hacⁱa'yūn</i> (he asked him) + <i>-tci</i>	<i>hacⁱa'yūnatci</i> ye ask her 74.10
<i>tciñ-</i> (to come back) + <i>-nə</i>	<i>tci'nəna</i> they came back 72.23

Examples of avoidance of clusters of consonants belonging to the same series:

<i>kumî'ntc</i> (not) + <i>-tc</i>	<i>kumî'ntc^ətc</i> not his 92.15
<i>ants</i> (that one) + <i>cā'ya</i>	<i>ants^ə cā'ya</i> that penis . . .
<i>pūlā'wax</i> (he intends to hunt) + <i>-xūn</i>	<i>pūlā'wax^əxūn</i> we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22
<i>tīt!</i> (to eat) + <i>-tūx</i>	<i>tīt!ⁱtūx</i> (you) will eat 50.2
<i>tciñt</i> (how much) + <i>təx</i>	<i>tciñt^ə təx</i> suppose 38.20,21
<i>s^əaⁱt</i> (such) + <i>L!ⁱaⁱ</i>	<i>s^əaⁱt^ə L!ⁱaⁱ</i> such a place 15.1

Examples of clusters permissible in medial or final position:

Final	Medial
<i>tsîng!ⁱt</i> poor 16.10	<i>tsî'ng!ⁱtanə</i> you are poor
<i>lakwa'ūltx</i> (their) . . . was taken away 50.22	<i>lakwa'ūltxan</i> my . . . was taken
<i>lokwi'xamltx</i> his . . . was taken away from him 54.14	<i>lakwi'xamltxə^u</i> their two . . . were taken away from them

The only consonantic cluster that does not seem to be permissible is the grouping of *nəx+k*. Whenever these three consonants would appear together in the above-named order, the *x* is always changed into *a*.

<i>tsⁱya'L!ⁱnəx</i> (you will be shot) + <i>k^unà</i>	<i>tsⁱya'L!ⁱna k^unà</i> you might get shot
<i>k^uwā'ⁱnînx</i> (they will be beaten) + <i>k^unà</i>	<i>k^uwā'ⁱnîna k^unà</i> they may be beaten

An exception to this rule is found in the following sentence:

t'kwa'yūnanx k'u t'v'aⁱ you may get (some) salmon 48.18

In like manner the combination $nx + \bar{u}$ is changed into $a^{\bar{u}}$ (see § 132).

yaqu'yūnanx (thou art seen)
+ $-\bar{u}$ ($-a^{\bar{u}}$)

yaqu'yū'nana^u thou art seen
here

§ 5. Accent

Siuslaw exhibits a stress accent, represented here by the acute mark ('); and a pitch accent, designated by the mark (̄). Only a limited number of enclitic and proclitic particles show no accent whatsoever. The pitch accent occurs mostly in monosyllabic words that have a short vowel, and lends to the syllable a sharp, abrupt intonation. Both accents are freely shifted from one syllable to another. It seems, however, to be a fixed rule that in the past tense the accent is placed on the first syllable, and that the locative case-endings and the adverbial suffixes must be accented.

ha'qa'q he goes ashore 58.17

ha'qīqyax (having) come a-shore 56.13

qa'xī'x it gets dark 64.19

qa'xīxyax it became dark 34.4

t'watcī'tcūna^ux they two are spearing it 56.15, 16

t'wa'tcītcyaxa^un I have been spearing it 66.17

ts!aⁿ pitch 26.6

ts!īlna' (locative case) 94.18

tī't!aⁱ food 34.23

tīt!aya' (locative case) 13.7

lqa^u'tū log 32.21

lqatūwīyū's (locative case) 88.16

pk'ī'tī lake 62.18

pk'ītīyū's (locative case) 34.11

sī'xaⁱ canoe 56.5

sēxa^u'tc into the canoe 34.5

qa'xūn above, up 34.21

qaxūntcī'tc upwards

s^aa'tsa thus 8.7

s^aatsī'tc in that manner 8.1

ya^ak!ī'sk'īn very small 36.23

yāk!īsk'īnū' in a very small . . . 38.19

§ 6. Phonetic Laws

In both dialects a number of phonetic laws are found which affect both vowels and consonants. All phonetic processes are due either to contact phenomena or to the effects of accent. They may be summarized as follows:

VOCALIC PROCESSES:

- (1) Diphthongization of \bar{i} and \bar{u} .
- (2) Consonantization of i - and u -.

- (3) Contraction.
- (4) Vocalic hiatus.
- (5) Vocalic harmony.
- (6) Effects of accent.

CONSONANTIC PROCESSES:

- (1) Consonantic metathesis.
- (2) Consonantic euphony.
- (3) Simplification of double consonants.
- (4) Modifications of *t* and *k*.
- (5) Minor consonantic changes.

§§ 7-12. Vocalic Processes

§ 7. *Diphthongization of ī and ū*

This is by far the most important phonetic change, owing to the fact that it gives rise to a double form of stems that contain these vowels, and because it is employed in certain grammatical processes (see §§ 111, 112). The principle may be described as follows: For the purpose of expressing (in nouns) the discriminative case and (in verbs) intensity or duration of action, long *ī* and *ū* are changed into *ya* and *wa* respectively.

Examples of diphthongization of *ī*:

<i>hīna'yūn</i> he brings him 23.2	<i>h'ya'nyūtsanx</i> 'I'll take thee along 58.6
<i>hītsi'xam</i> it is put on 11.8	<i>h'yatsi'tsūn</i> he is putting it on 11.8
<i>īlqa'</i> he digs 84.2	<i>a'ntsux ya'lqa'n</i> those two (who) are digging (a hole) 84.5
<i>cītx-</i> to flop	<i>c'yatx</i> it flops around 36.23
<i>ya'q^uhītūnx</i> thou shalt see 36.25	<i>yoq^wya'wax</i> he intended to see 70.8
<i>u^lēnx k/i'nk'īt</i> they went to look for 60.5	<i>k/i'nk'ya'wax</i> (I) intend to go and look for 60.5
<i>Qa'a'tēix</i> along the North Fork 32.19	<i>qa'wūnyax</i> along the sky 32.19

Examples of diphthongization of *ū*:

<i>qū'nī'xamīmē</i> it was poured into his . . . 29.2	<i>qwa'nyūx</i> pour it into his . . . 29.2
<i>L!xū'xū'n</i> he knows it 40.16	<i>kum'i'ntē^wax tē'q L!x^wwax^w</i> not they two anything knew it 54.16

lakū'kūn he takes it
tū'tea'yūn he spears it 64.12

u'la^u *tkūma'yūn* they two
made a dam 48.8

ū'ttī snow 76.10

pekū'ya xāl'a^u *L'a^{ai}* people
make shinny-sticks 78.5

lakwa'kū^un he took it 64.10

t'watē'tcūna^u they two are
spearing it 56.15, 16

u'ns tkwa'mīsūn we two (incl.)
will keep on making dams
48.14

wāt it snows

a'ntsux pākwa'wax those two
(who) are about to play . . .
shinny 78.10, 11

Owing to the interchange between *ī* and *aⁱ* and *ū* and *a^ū* (see § 2), these diphthongs are subject to the same amplification.

hī'q'aⁱt he started 22.6
meq'aⁱtx they dance 72.13

qā'tkēn tē aⁱqa'qa^ūts (from)
here he left me 60.4

ka^ūsī's he keeps on following
92.7

hī'q'ya'a^u it will be started 32.1
meq'ya'wax (I) intend to dance
72.12

ta^ū'kēns aya'qyūn here we two
(incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17

k'was'yū'tsana^ū you will follow
me 92.3

The change of *ī* into *ya* often takes place in the third person singular, which ends in *-ī* (see p. 468).

Lī'wat'īn I come frequently

cī'nxyat'īn I am thinking

ha'kwat'īn I fall frequently

xī'l'xcīn I work

peī'tcīn I (am) ahead

ya'q^uhīn I look

sī'nāīn I want

Lī'wat'ī 68.5, (*Lī'wat'ya*) he
came frequently

(*cī'n'xyat'ī*), *cī'n'xyat'ya* 17.6
he is thinking

(*ha'kwat'ī*), *ha'kwat'ya* 90.12 it
falls continually

xī'l'xcī 50.9, (*xī'l'xcya*) he was
working

peī'tcya he was first 48.11

ya'q^uya he looked 70.16

sī'n'xya he desires

§ 8. Consonantization of *i-* and *u-*

The *i-* and *u-* elements of the diphthongs are changed into the semi-vocalic consonants *y* and *w* whenever they are followed by vowels of different qualities. This law affects also the simple short or long *i-* and *u-* vowels.

Consonantization of *i*-:

pîtea' (he goes over) + *-a^{ux}*
tî't!a' (food) + *-a*

kû' (not) + *-a^{ux}*
qnûhû' - (he finds) + *-a'*
teemû'nî (male) + *-a*

xîl'xci- (to work) + *-a'*
t!î (bear) + *-ûnî*
sî'nxi- (to desire) + *-ûn*

pîtea'ya^{ux} they two go over 88.15
yâ'xatc'ist^{en}x *tî't!aya'* for food
 you will always try to look 13.7
kû'ya^{ux} not they two . . . 98.11
qnûhû'yûn (they) found it 60.7
îa'kukya^x *teemû'nya* she took a
 mortal man 60.23

xîl'xciya' (they two) worked 48.10
t!îyû'nî made of bear (hides) 70.24
sî'n'xyûn I want it 15.8

Consonantization of *u*-:

lîya'a^u (fire) + *-a* + *-tc*

wîlû- (to affirm) + *-axam*
xa'û (he died) + *-îl*
xâ'ts!û (two) + *-a^{ux}*

ha'qmas *lîya'watc* alongside of the
 fire 25.4, 5

wîlwa'xam he was assured 30.11
kumî'ntc *xa'wîl* not he dies 15.8
xâ'ts!ûwa^{ux} two of them 40.18

A peculiar case of consonantization seems to have taken place in the objective case *tcî'wa* 32.20, formed from the noun *tcî* WATER 36.20.

§ 9. *Contraction*

Contraction of two or three vowels following in immediate succession does not seem to be of regular occurrence, and there are no fixed rules governing this process. The following usages may, however, be stated to prevail:

(1) Short or long *i* or *u* following a vowel of different quality form diphthongs.

$$\begin{aligned} a^i &< a + i & u^i &< u + i \\ a^u &< a + u \end{aligned}$$

The combination *i* + *u*, however, does not form a diphthong (see § 10).

temû' - (to assemble) + *-îtc*

qa'ntcya (from where) + *-îtc*
qatcû- (to drink) + *-îtxa^{ûn}*

temû'ⁱtc *xînt* (they) assembled
 30.15, 16

qantcyaⁱtc from where
qatcû'ⁱtxa^{ûn} (they) drink (from) it
 76.12

(2) A short vowel preceding another short vowel or a diphthong is contracted with the following vowel into a short or long vowel or into a diphthong.

<i>a'tsa</i> (thus) + <i>-a^ux</i>	<i>a'tsa^ux</i> thus they two . . .
<i>waana'wa</i> (to talk to each other) + <i>-a^ux</i>	<i>waana'wa^ux</i> they two talk to each other 10.4
<i>s^xâ</i> (this) + <i>-aⁱxa^ux</i>	<i>s^xaⁱ'xa^ux</i> on this they two . . . 88.18
<i>xã'ts!ũ</i> (two) + <i>-a^ux</i>	<i>xã'ts!ũx</i> they two . . .
<i>yałqa'a^u</i> (a hole) + <i>-ũn</i>	<i>ya'łqa^un</i> (they) dig holes 84.5
<i>a^wtcisî</i> (camas) + <i>-a^ux</i>	<i>a^wtcisã^ux yuwa'</i> camas they two dig 96.18

(3) The obscure vowel *e* is contracted with all vowels preceding it into a vowel of a clear quality.

<i>haũ-</i> (to quit) + <i>-em</i>	<i>ha'ũm</i> quit!
<i>nâ</i> (I) + <i>-emł</i>	<i>nam^xł</i> of me 20.6
<i>s^xaⁱ'na</i> (him) + <i>-emł</i>	<i>s^xaⁱ'na'mł</i> of him

An exception is

<i>wa-</i> (to speak) + <i>-em</i>	<i>wa'am</i> speak!
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(4) Two long vowels of similar qualities immediately following each other are contracted into one long vowel.

<i>peku-</i> (to play shinny) + <i>-ũs</i>	<i>pekũ^us</i> (locative case) 78.18
--	--

A peculiar case of contraction has apparently taken place in the genitive case *łq!ānũ'ⁱmł* OF HIDES 102.1, composed of *łq!ā'nũ* HIDE, and *-emł*, the genitive case-ending (see § 87).

Another process of contraction takes place whenever a personal pronoun (see § 24) is added to the suffix *-yaxs*, which expresses the past durative tense (see p. 526). In such cases the suffix *-yaxs* is invariably contracted into *-ĩxs*. Attention may be called to the fact that in this case we are dealing with a process that is of a character opposite to the diphthongization of *-i*, which has been discussed in § 7.

<i>a^us-</i> to sleep 24.1	<i>a^wsĩxsĩn</i> I have been sleeping, instead of <i>a^wsyaxsĩn</i>
<i>qatcũ-</i> to drink 76.13	<i>qa'towaⁱxĩn</i> I have been drinking, instead of <i>qa'tcũyaxsĩn</i>
<i>pekũ'-</i> to play shinny 9.4	<i>pa'kuⁱxsanx</i> you have been playing shinny, instead of <i>pa'kuyaxsanx</i>
<i>łĩt!-</i> to eat 13.10	<i>łĩt!ĩxs</i> he has been eating, instead of <i>łĩt!'yaxs</i>

§ 10. Vocalic Hiatus

In cases where contraction has not taken place, two vowels occurring in immediate succession are separated by means of an inserted *h* or by means of the accent. No definite rules could be found that would show under what circumstances either of these processes may be employed. Separation of two vowels by means of an inserted *h* occurs more regularly than separation by means of accent.

<i>h'q!a</i> (dentalia shells) + <i>-a^unî</i>	<i>h'q!aha^wnî</i> consisting of dentalia shells 70.6
<i>lxa^w</i> (pole) + <i>-îⁿE</i>	<i>lxa^whîⁿE</i> with a spear (in his hand) 64.11
<i>mEk^ttî'</i> (mother-in-law) + <i>-î^tîⁿ</i>	<i>mEk^ttî' hî^tîⁿ</i> my mother-in-law
<i>l'î'î'aⁱ</i> (salmon) + <i>-anx</i>	<i>l'î'aⁱanx xay'aⁱ</i> salmon they catch 82.13, 14
<i>lî'î</i> (he came) + <i>-îⁿ</i>	<i>lîî'îⁿ</i> he arrived 16.3

§ 11. Vocalic Harmony

The tendency towards vocalic euphony is so inconsistent in Siuslaw, that one is almost tempted to deny the presence of such a process. The two examples I have been able to find are extremely unsatisfactory and do not permit the formulation of any clearly defined rules.

<i>ha^wmūt</i> (all) + <i>-Eml</i>	<i>ha^wmūtî'ml</i> of all
<i>qa^wxûⁿ</i> high up, above 34.21	<i>qa^wxûⁿ</i> on top 32.19

§ 12. Effects of Accent

Besides the frequent tendency to lengthen the vowel of the syllable on which it falls, or to lend to it a clear quality, the loss of accent shortens or obscures the quantity of the stem-vowel as soon as it is shifted to one of the suffixed syllables. This law appears with such regular frequency as to make it a characteristic trait of Siuslaw phonology.

While examples covering the whole vocalic system could not be obtained, the following rules seem to prevail:

(1) The *a*-, *i*-, and *u*- vowels of the stem, when they lose their accent, are changed into open *i* (written here *î*) or obscure vowels whenever they precede or follow non-labialized consonants.

(2) These vowels are changed—for the sake of harmonization—into short *u* whenever they appear before or after labialized consonants or *w*.

(3) The unaccented diphthongs lose the second element, especially in cases where the stem-vowel is followed by the accented verbalizing suffixes *-aⁱ* and *-ūⁱ* (see § 75).

Examples showing the change of *a-*, *i-*, and *u-* vowels before or after non-labialized consonants:

mā'tī dam 48.10

ts!aln pitch 26.6

ma^atc it lay 32.22

yax- to see 34.4

tcān (they) came back 7.7

tsīL/i' arrow 50.11

sī'xaⁱ boat 56.5

smūt^t- to end 20.5

hū^un- to be dark 34.8, 9

sūn- to dive 64.21

mīti'yū^u the art of making dams 48.11

meti'twa^u they two always made dams 50.12, 13

ts!īlna'tc with pitch 24.1

mītcū^{wi} many were lying 36.27

metca'wanx they intended to lie down 38.23

yīxa'yūn he saw it 58.13

tcenī'tc xīnt he went back 58.15, 16

tsīL/aⁱ he shot 50.20

tsīL/i'tc by means of an arrow 15.8

sēxa^wtc into (a) boat 34.5

smīt'ūⁱ it ends 14.6

hwīnūⁱ it is dark

sīnūⁱ he dives

Change of *a-*, *i-* (and *u-*) vowels before or after labialized consonants or *w*:

mā'q^uL crow 34.23

ya'wīsūn (you) will pick 36.18

īlqwa'atēm trunk of a tree 92.5, 6

mī'k^utūx he will cut

m^uqwa'LEM of crow 34.21

yūwaⁱ he digs 96.18

īlqūtⁿā'a^ux qaaⁱ into the stem they two went 92.6

m^ukwaⁱ he cuts

Treatment of diphthongs:

xaⁱtc- to roast (meat) 90.8

p^aaⁱLn- to hunt 15.3

a^us- to sleep 23.9

tc!ha^uc- to be glad 23.3

qūⁱtⁱ- to dream 68.21

xatcaⁱ he roasts (meat)

uⁱEnx palnī'tx they are hunting 82.16, 17

asūⁱ he sleeps 70.2

tc!hacūⁱ he is glad

qūtⁱaⁱ he dreams

Shortening of the stem-vowel frequently takes place after the suffixation of an additional syllable, regardless of whether the accent had been shifted or not.

yā'a'xa' much, many 8.5

t!āme infant 40.19

teimta'mî ax 27.10

ya'xtūx (ye two) will multiply 32.6
yexa'it'et'ax xî'ntis they (dual) con-
 tinually multiply 98.12

t!î'met!î'tūx (they) will raise chil-
 dren 32.3

teimtetî mya (locative case) 29.1

In a few instances accent and suffixation have caused the loss or addition of a vowel, and hence that of an extra syllable.

qūtēn'î woman 30.21

mî't!a'sk'în step-father

waa'v'mux^u (they two) talk to
 each other 10.7

qayū'wînts stone

qūtēnā'v (when) he marries 76.8

mî't!a'sk'nî'tîn my step-father 100.5

waa'yemaxust (they two) begin to
 talk to each other 56.4

waa'v'marustx (they) began to talk
 to each other 64.20, 21

qayū'nat'sî'tc upon the rock 62.11

§§ 13-17. Consonantic Processes

§ 13. Consonantic Metathesis

This change affects mostly the subjective suffix for the third person dual *-a^{ux}* (see § 24), and (very seldom) the consonantic combination *n+s* or *n+ts*.

In the first instance *-a^{ux}* is transposed into *-^wax* (contracted sometimes into *-ux*) or whenever it is added to stems or words that precede the verbal expression (see § 26). This transposition never takes place when the pronoun is suffixed to the verb.

tsîm (always) + *-a^{ux}*

penî's (skunk) + *-a^{ux}*

ants (that one) + *-a^{ux}*

s^xatsî'tc (thus) + *-a^{ux}*

uî (and, then) + *-a^{ux}*

an'tsî'tc (this his) + *-a^{ux}*

tsî'm^wax always they two . . .
 50.10

ants penî's^wax those two skunks
 88.6, 7

a'ntsux those two 52.3, 5

s^xatsî't^wax thus they two 50.15, 16

u'î^wax and they two

a'ntsî'tc^u these their two 50.4

This transposition is seldom absent; and parallel forms, like *a'ntsax^u* and *a'ntsux* 50.12, *stî'ma^u* 50.21, and *stî'm^wax* 52.20, are extremely rare. As a matter of fact, the tendency towards the metathesis of *-a^{ux}* is so great that it takes place even in cases where *-a^{ux}* is suffixed to stems ending in a vowel.

*qwoa'txa*¹ (beaver) + *-a^ux*

qwoa'txaⁱwax they two (he and)
beaver 52.4

tsâmî'l'ä (muskrat) + *-a^ux*

tsâmîl'a'wax they two (he and)
muskrat 54.19

The transposition of *n + s* and *ts* actually occurs in a few instances only, although I have no doubt that under more favorable conditions a greater number of cases could have been collected (see also p. 599).

ants . . . *ha'qa^v* . . . when *tsa'na^ü* *îî'ütûx* when it will come
he comes ashore 82.5 (this way) 62.21, 22

. . . *ants* *ikwa'myax* when it *tsa'ntcî* if you . . . 74.8
closed up 78.3

kûⁱ *nàts* if not . . . 29.7

§ 14. Consonantic Euphony

This law requires that the consonants of the *k*-series should correspond to the quality of the vowel preceding or following it. Hence all velar and palatal *k*-sounds following a *u*-vowel become labialized. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not possess anterior palatal sounds, harmonization of consonants does not take place after or before *i*-vowels.

îk'lanûⁱk^u screech owl 86.1

tcu'x^us vulva 90.16

qô'x^um off shore 34.6

cuqwa'an roast 90.12

qô'q^u knee

îkwa'nug^u hat

t'a'ntûq!ⁱwî moccasins

ts!ⁱû'xwî spoon

k!ⁱx^uwînaⁱ ice appears 76.13

cû'kwa sugar¹

§ 15. Simplification of Double Consonants

Double consonants, when not kept apart by means of an inserted weak vowel (see § 4), are usually simplified. This process especially takes place between two *t* and *n* sounds, in which case the repeated consonant is dropped. This phonetic law is of great importance; and it should always be borne in mind, because it affects the subjective suffix for the first person singular *-n*, when following the transitive form in *-ûn*. In such cases the subjective pronoun is invariably dropped; and since the third person singular has no distinct suffix, it becomes at times rather difficult to comprehend by which of these two persons a given action is performed (§§ 24, 28).

¹ English loan-word.

hatca't (tall, long) + *-t'ū*
yîkt (big) + *-t'ū^{wi}*
wân (now) + *-n^{wan}*
sî'n'xyūn (he wants it) + *-n*
anxa'xa^{ūn} (he gives it up) + *-n*
mî'ttôst (he begins to burn) +
ta
yāk!î'te (in pieces) + *-yax* +
-xam

ha'tet'ū^u a long (time) 48.2
yîkt'ū^{wi} large size
wa'n^{wan} now we (excl.) 30.13
sî'n'xyūn I want it 30.4
anxa'xa^{ūn} I give him up 60.11
mî'ttôsta *laa'* his mouth be-
 gins to burn 29.3
yāk!î'tcyaxam into pieces it
 was cut 29.4

Compare, on the other hand,—

î'kwa'yūn (he takes it) + *-n^x*
l!wā'nīsūn (he keeps on tell-
 ing him) + *-n^x*

î'kwa'yūnan^x you get it 48.18
l!wā'nīsūnan^x you keep on
 telling him 17.2

§ 16. Modifications of *t* and *k*

Siuslaw seems to have a tendency to avoid as much as possible the clusters *tn* and *kn*. Since the phonetic character of certain suffixes causes *t* and *n* to come into contact frequently, there are many cases of sound shiftings due to the influence of *n* upon the preceding *t*. Combinations of this kind are the passive suffixes *-ūt_{NE}* and *-īsūt_{NE}* (see §§ 58, 59). In these cases the *t* closure is not formed, but replaced by a free emission of breath, thereby changing these suffixes into *-ū'_{NE}* and *-īsū'_{NE}* respectively. It is not inconceivable that this process may have a dialectic significance, differentiating the Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw dialects, because it was noticed that William Smith (who spoke the latter dialect) never used the forms *-ūt_{NE}* and *-īsūt_{NE}*; while his wife¹ (a Lower Umpqua Indian) invariably hesitated to acknowledge the correctness of the use of *-ū'_{NE}* and *-īsū'_{NE}*. But as I had no other means of verifying this possibility, I thought it advisable to discuss this change as a *consonantic process*. The dialectic function of the process under discussion may be borne out further by the fact that in a good many instances these two suffixes occur in parallel forms.

<i>waa'ⁱ</i> he says 8.9	<i>waa'yūt_{NE}</i> 20.6	<i>waa'yū'_{NE}</i> he is told 72.3
<i>sî'nax̄-</i> to desire 18.5	<i>sî'n'xyūt_{NE}</i> 18.4	<i>sî'n'xyū'_{NE}</i> it is de- sired 20.4

¹ See Introduction.

<i>hac'</i> - to ask 66.16	<i>hac'a'yūt_{NE}</i> 68.3	<i>hac'ayū'ne</i> he is asked 66.23
<i>xn^wn-</i> to do 10.5	<i>xn^wnūt_{NE}</i> 62.9	<i>xn^wnū'ne</i> it is done
<i>waa'</i> he says 8.9	<i>waa'ⁱsūt_{NE}</i> 24.3	<i>waa'ⁱsū'ne</i> he is continually told 23.10
<i>lī'ū-</i> to come 8.3	<i>l'īl'wī'sūt_{NE}</i> 26.2	<i>lī'wīsū'ne</i> he is continually approached 26.6
<i>galx-</i> to count 8.5	<i>qa'l_xūt_{NE}</i> 62.8	<i>qa'l_xīsū'ne</i> (they) are continually counted 62.11
<i>k'aha'</i> he invites	<i>tanx k'aha'yūt_{NE}</i> this one you are invited 24.3	
<i>tū'tca'</i> he spears 62.2	<i>tū'tca'yūt_{NE}</i> it is speared 8.7	
<i>hakwa'</i> he drops	<i>hakwa'yū'ne</i> it is thrown 8.7	
<i>tqūlū'</i> he shouts 92.6	<i>tqūlū'yū'ne</i> he is shouted at 78.3	
<i>haḷī'tx</i> they shout 13.11	<i>lhaḷī'sū'ne</i> he is continually shouted at 14.2	
<i>čīl'x-</i> to move 27.3	<i>čīl'xīsūt_{NE}</i> he is continually shaken 27.2	
<i>hⁱyats-</i> to put on 11.8	<i>hⁱya'tsīsūt_{NE}</i> it is continually put on 11.7	

The verbal suffix *-t* expressing periphrastically the idea TO HAVE, TO BE WITH SOMETHING (see § 76), is very often dropped when followed by the subjective pronouns that begin with *n* (see § 24; see also § 88).

<i>atsī'tcītīn haⁱ</i> thus I think	<i>s^Eatsī'tcīn haⁱ</i> thus I think 21.7
<i>na'm^Elītīn wa'as</i> my language 36.13	<i>na'm^Elīn wa'as</i> my language
<i>L'aⁱṭitanxan</i> our residence 100.3	<i>na'm^Elīn_{xan}</i> our . . . 102.5
	<i>hī'ⁱsīn_{xan} hītsī'ⁱ</i> good (was) our house 100.13

The same tendency of dropping a consonant prevails in clusters consisting of *k* + *n*.

<i>ta^ak</i> (this here) + <i>-n_x</i>	<i>tan_x</i> this one thou 20.6
<i>ta^ak</i> (this here) + <i>-n_{xan}</i>	<i>ta'n_{xan}</i> these ones we . . . 25.3

The dropping of *k* in these instances may also be explained as having resulted from the abbreviation of *ta^ak* into *t_E* (see § 115); the more so, as an analogous case is furnished by the local adverb

stĩmk THERE, which usually loses its *k* before all following subjective suffixes (see § 119).

<i>stĩmk</i> (there) 30.18 + <i>-nə</i>	<i>stĩ'mⁿnə</i> there they . . . 32.3
<i>stĩmkts</i> (there you two) 32.12	<i>stĩmts</i> there you two . . . 32.6
	<i>stĩ'mtcĩ</i> there you (pl.) 32.8

§ 17. Minor Consonantic Changes

In this section those changes affecting the consonants will be discussed, for which not enough examples could be found to permit the formulation of clearly defined rules.

Here belongs in first place the apparent change of a sonant into a fortis in initial reduplication, a process exemplified by only three cases.

<i>lĩ'ũ-</i> to come 9.2	<i>l!ĩl!wĩ'sũtnE</i> he is continually approached 26.2
	<i>l!ĩl!wa'xam</i> he is approached 16.3
<i>tEmũ'-</i> to assemble 7.3	<i>t!Emt!ma'xam</i> people assemble about him (passive) 23.3

Another sporadic change is that of *q* and *q'* into *k* before the suffix ' of place *-a^emũ* (see § 103).

<i>yaq^u'-</i> to look 9.1	<i>yĩkya^emũ</i> a place from where one can see, a vantage point
<i>ma'q!ĩ-</i> to dance 28.7	<i>mEkya^emũ</i> a dance hall

Compare, however, on the other hand,

<i>yaq^u'ya'waxan</i> I intend to look 25.8,9
<i>mĩ'nq!yEm</i> buy a woman!

A third doubtful process consists in the change which the modal adverb *kũⁱ xyal'x* ALMOST, NEARLY (see § 121), undergoes whenever used with the subjective pronouns for the second person singular or third person plural (see § 24). In such cases the form obtained is always *kwĩ'nⁿx yal'x* THOU ALMOST, THEY ALMOST, which may be explained as a result of a simplification from *kũⁱ + -nə + xyal'x* (see § 15).

<i>kũⁱ xyal'x smũ't'a</i> it almost is	<i>kwĩ'nⁿx yal'x kũ'na'wũn</i> you almost beat him
the end 10.9, 11.1	<i>kwĩnə yal'x lĩ'wĩl</i> they had almost arrived 66.25

§ 18. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed in Siuslaw by one of the following four processes:

- (1) Prefixation.
- (2) Suffixation.
- (3) Reduplication.
- (4) Phonetic changes.

Prefixation as a means of expressing grammatical categories is resorted to in only two instances. Almost all grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes. A singular trait of the suffixes in Siuslaw is presented by the fact that the adverbial suffixes are added to the locative form of the noun and must precede the pronominal suffixes. Reduplication is practically confined to the formation of intensive and durative actions; while phonetic changes are employed for the purpose of forming the discriminative case and of expressing duration and intensity of action.

§ 19. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

By far the majority of stems that constitute the Siuslaw vocabulary are neutral, receiving their respective nominal or verbal significance from the functional character of the suffix that is added to them. All stems expressing our adjectival ideas are in reality intransitive verbs.

Of the two prefixes employed as a means of expressing grammatical categories, one indicates relationship, while the other points out the performer of an action.

The suffixes are overwhelmingly verbal in character; that is to say, they indicate ideas of action and kindred conceptions. Hence they are employed for the purpose of expressing activity, causation, reciprocity, the passive voice, the imperative and exhortative modes, etc. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes, as are also the possessive relations that may exist between the object of a sentence and its subject. All temporal ideas are conveyed by means of suffixes, and Siuslaw shows a remarkable development of this category, having distinct suffixes that express inception, termination, frequency, duration, intention of performing an action, as well as the present, future, and past tenses. Other ideas that are expressed by means of verbal suffixes are mainly

modal in character, indicating distribution, negation, location of action, and the attempt to perform a given act.

Nominal suffixes are, comparatively speaking, few in number, and express chiefly adverbial ideas, such as local relationships and instrumentality. They are used, furthermore, for the purpose of forming abstract concepts, diminutive and augmentative nouns, and also express cases of nouns.

Ideas of plurality are hardly developed; for, with the exception of two suffixes that express plurality of the subject of the sentence, Siuslaw has no other grammatical means of indicating plurality of action or of nominal concepts. Distinct verbal and nominal stems for singular and plural subjects or objects, such as are employed in other languages, do not exist. Plurality of subject and object is sometimes indicated by particles.

Reduplication expresses primarily repetition and duration of action; while phonetic changes serve the purpose of denoting the performer and intensity of action.

The grammatical function of particles covers a wide range of ideas, pertaining chiefly to the verb. Some express finality of action, sources of knowledge, emotional states, connection with previously expressed ideas, others have an exhortative and restrictive significance.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,—one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other the exclusive (I AND HE). In like manner the first person plural shows two separate forms,—one expressing the inclusive (I AND YE), and the other the exclusive (I AND THEY).

The demonstrative pronoun, while showing a variety of forms, does not accentuate visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, and nearness or remoteness, in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is poorly developed, exhibiting forms for the cardinals only. Means of forming the other numerals do not exist. They are expressed mostly by the cardinals. The ordinals are sometimes indicated by means of an adverbial suffix.

The syntactic structure of the sentence presents no complications. The different parts of speech may shift their position freely without affecting the meaning of the sentence. Nominal incorporation and

words that are compounds of independent stems do not exist, and words denoting nominal or verbal ideas can be easily recognized through the character of their suffixes.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 20-136)

Prefixes (§§ 20-21)

Siuslaw has only two prefixes,—a fact that stands out most conspicuously when we consider the large number of prefixes that are found in some of the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes. Of these two prefixes, one is employed for the purpose of denoting nouns of relationship, while the other forms the discriminative case of nouns and pronouns.

§ 20. *Prefix of Relationship m-*

This prefix is found in a limited number of terms of relationship. All these terms occur also in Alsea,¹ and it is quite conceivable that they represent loan-words assimilated by means of this prefix. By far the majority of nouns expressing degrees of relationship occur without the prefix *m-*. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit an *m* to appear in initial consonantic clusters, the prefix is often changed into *m̂-* (see § 4).

The following is a complete list of all terms employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of denoting the different degrees of relationship.

English	Siuslaw
Father	<i>m̂t̂à</i> ²
Mother	<i>m̂l̂à</i> ³
Elder brother	<i>m̂āt'ī</i> ⁴
Younger brother	<i>m̂u'šk̂u</i> ⁵
Elder sister	<i>m̂ās'ā</i> ⁶
Younger sister	<i>m̂āctĉī</i> ⁴
Grandfather	<i>l̂āpl, l̂āpl'mā</i> (see § 84)
Grandmother	<i>kamL, kamL'mā</i> (see § 84)
Grandson	<i>l̂īm̂'šk̂'īn</i> (see § 83)
Granddaughter	<i>l̂tekō'n</i>
Paternal uncle, stepfather	<i>m̂āt'ā'šk̂'īn</i> (see § 83)
Maternal uncle	<i>t'ā'āŝts'ī</i> ⁷
Paternal and maternal aunt	<i>kū'ta</i>

¹ See p. 437, note 1.

² Alsea *t̂āsa*.

³ Alsea *l̂āsa*.

⁴ Alsea *ĥāst̂l̂*.

⁵ Alsea *m̂ū'tek̂*.

⁶ Alsea *sâsa*.

⁷ Alsea *t'ā'ātsa*.

Parent-in-law	<i>mEkli'</i> ¹
Son-in-law	<i>mū'n(i)</i> ²
Daughter-in-law	<i>té'mān</i> (?)
Brother-in-law, sister-in-law	<i>tā'maxt</i> ³
Stepmother	<i>mītask'i'l.mā</i> (see §§ 83, 84)
Stepbrother	<i>mū'sku'l.mā</i> (see § 84)
Stepsister	(?)
Nephew (son of brother)	<i>tīp</i>
Nephew (son of sister); stepson	<i>t!ā't</i> ⁴
Niece (daughter of brother)	<i>tī'pān</i> (?) ⁵
Niece (daughter of sister); stepdaughter (?)	<i>tīnt</i> ⁶
Term of relationship, by marriage, after the death of the person that caused this kinship	<i>wayū'sL</i> ⁷

In addition to these terms of kinship, I have obtained a few other stems, whose exact rendering did not seem to be very clear in the minds of my informants. Thus, William Smith maintained that *q'a'si'nti*⁸ denoted ELDER SISTER; while Louisa Smith thought she remembered that *taq'i'wī* signified BROTHER-IN-LAW. Other terms that may belong here are the nouns *temā'nī* (rendered by my interpreter by COUSIN), that seemed to be used in addressing a non-related member of the tribe; *ts'īl.mū't* FRIEND, referring to a person outside the consanguinity and affinity group; *ts'īmqma* PEOPLE, FOLKS; and *tē'q* RELATIVE (see § 123).

§ 21. Discriminative q- (qa-)

This prefix is added to all terms of relationship and to all independent pronouns for the first and second persons, whenever they are the subject of a transitive action or whenever the presence of both a nominal subject and object in one and the same sentence necessitates the discrimination of the subject. The discriminative case of nouns

¹ Alsea *mak-i*.

² Alsea *mūn*.

³ Alsea *temxt* SISTER-IN-LAW.

⁴ Likewise so by Dorsey for "nephew." The use of this term for "stepson" contradicts the term for "stepfather."

⁵ Frequently rendered COUSIN.

⁶ The same contradiction as mentioned in note 4.

⁷ Coos *xa'yuslātc*.

⁸ Alsea *qa'sint*.

other than terms of relationship is formed by means of an internal phonetic change (see § 111). The same case for the independent personal pronouns for the third person will be found discussed in § 113 (pp. 575 *et seq.*). The rules of consonantic clusters change this prefix frequently into *qa-* (see § 4).

<i>mîta</i> father 54.22	<i>qamîta'tc wî'tcîstûn</i> her father sent her 92.20
<i>m^usk^u</i> younger brother 56.6	<i>u^t wân waha' ha^un qa'msk^utc</i> now again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21
<i>mîla</i> mother 54.23	<i>a'^lq qîutci'l'mâ ta'yûn qamîla'-a'^tîn</i> one old woman kept (in her house) my mother 100.12
<i>nà</i> I 21.8	<i>tsî'k!yanx qnà sî'n'xyûts</i> very much thee I like 22.7
<i>na'han</i> I 40.14	<i>L!xû'yûn qna'han</i> I know it 19.9
<i>nîx^ats</i> thou 50.16	<i>hî' sanx mî'nîsûts qnî'x^ats</i> well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3
	<i>u^tînx qnî'x^ats xñî'w nîsûn</i> and you will continually do it 98.10
<i>na^u'xûn</i> we two (excl.) 36.15	<i>qna'xûn L!etû'yûts</i> we two (excl.) hit thee
<i>na'n^axan</i> we (excl.)	<i>qna'n^axan ya'q^uhîsûts</i> we (excl.) will watch thee 72.6
<i>watc</i> who, somebody 10.1	<i>qwât^c L!xû'yûn</i> he who knows it 44.8
	<i>kumî'ntcⁿl qwât^c kû' nîsûts</i> not us (excl.) anybody will ever beat 72.17

Suffixes (§§ 22–105)

§ 22. General Remarks

Besides the few ideas that are conveyed by means of other grammatical processes (such as prefixation, reduplication, etc.), Siuslaw employs suffixation as a means of forming practically all of its morphological and syntactic categories. These suffixes are either simple or they are compounded of two or more distinct formative elements. The compound suffixes usually have the cumulative significance of their separate component parts. In many cases, owing to far-reaching

phonetic changes, the derivation of the compound suffixes can not be given with certainty.

From a functional point of view all suffixes may be divided into a verbal and a non-verbal group; the former used in the formation of verbal ideas, the latter employed for the purpose of conveying grammatical concepts of a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial character. In one or two instances we do find a suffix denoting both verbal and nominal ideas. This is especially true of the suffix $-û^u$, $-û^{wi}$, which may indicate an act performed by several subjects, or else the abstract concept of that action (see §§ 79, 97); and of the auxiliary $-t$, which is also employed in the formation of a number of words denoting adjectival ideas. (See §§ 76, 104.) While it might have been more proper to discuss such suffixes in a separate chapter as "Neutral Suffixes," practical considerations have induced me to treat them in accordance with their functional values, notwithstanding the fact that this treatment entails some repetition.

The majority of Siuslaw stems are neutral, and receive their respective nominal or verbal meaning from the nature of the suffix that is added to them. There are, however, a few stems denoting adverbial ideas that can under no circumstances be amplified by nominal suffixes. Furthermore, it seems to be a general rule that nominalizing suffixes can not be added to a stem that has already been verbalized by some verbal suffix; while numerous instances will be found where a stem originally developed as a verbal idea, and nominalized by means of suffixes, can again be verbalized by adding to the derivative noun an additional verbal suffix.

The following examples will serve to illustrate the three possibilities that prevail in the derivation of verbs and nouns.

(1) NEUTRAL STEMS:

Stem.	Verb	Noun
$tšîL/-$ to shoot 8.6	$tšîL!a^i$ he shoots 10.3	$tšîL!î$ arrow 50.7
$îit/-$ to eat 13.10	$îit!a^i$ he eats 44.19	$îit!a^i$ food 34.23
$hîts-$ to live	$h^i yatsû^{wi}$ they live	$hîtsî^i$ house 25.2
$ûlt-$ to snow	$walt$ it snows	$û!tî$ snow 76.10
$tšwa^i-$ to shine (?)	$tšwaya^i$ $L!a^i a^i$ day breaks 50.3	$tšwayû^{wi}$ day, sun 7.3
$îlq-$ to dig 80.6	$a'ntsux$ $ya'lqa^ûn$ they two dig (the ground) 84.5	$yalqa'a^û$ hole (in the ground) 84.6

(2) ADVERBIAL PARTICLES:

s²a'tsa thus 8.7*yā'tsa s²a'ts²ya* for a long time
he did it thus 11.3; 4*s²atsi'wamyax* thus it was done
32.16*waha'* again 19.5*waha'ha^un qa'msk^utc* again (said
to him) his younger brother
56.21*wa'tūnax m^uqwa'lemtc wa'as*
you will again (talk) Crow's
language 38.8, 9¹

(3) NOUNS:

qī'ūtc female

52.17

*pīctc-?**waa-* to speak 7.1

Noun

qīūtciū'nī woman

30.21

pīctcem summer

46.11

wa'as language

34.21

Verb

qīūtci^a' (when)

he marries 76.8

pīctcīma^a' (when)it gets summer
54.2*s²a'ina'ml^utc wa'as**wa^a'syaxa^un* his
language he
spoke 36.14*Verbal Suffixes (§§ 23-81)*

§ 23. INTRODUCTORY

The study of the verbal suffixes of Siuslaw brings out a strong tendency to phonetic amalgamation between different groups of suffixes, by which the component elements are often obscured. For this reason the question of an ultimate relationship between many of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw can not be ascertained as easily as might seem at first sight, owing chiefly to the fact that in most of the compound suffixes the originally separate elements have undergone considerable phonetic changes and have become to a large extent petrified. However, a careful examination of the phonetic composition of those suffixes that convey kindred psychological and grammatical concepts will show that certain phonetic elements of a given suffix may have served originally to conduce one leading idea, and have amalgamated, in the course of time, with other suffixes, thereby showing a genetic relationship between many of the verbal suffixes.

¹ See also § 135.

Thus, *-ū* may have had primarily a transitive indicative function occurring in the suffixes *-ūn* (see § 28), *-ūts* (see § 29), *-ūx* (see § 30), etc. In like manner, *-ts-* may have been the proto-suffix that indicated pronominal relations between subject and object, being present in suffixes like *-ūts* (see § 29), *-emts* (see § 31), *-ūtsm-* (see § 34), *-ūlts* (see § 36), *-īts* (see § 42), etc.; and *-l-* seems to have been originally a modal suffix, denoting chiefly the possession of the object of the verb by another person or thing, because it is found in suffixes like *-ūl* (see § 35), *-ūlts* (see § 36), *-īl* (see § 45), *-īlts* (see § 46), etc. To all appearances *-ī* must have been an independent suffix implying a command, for it enters into composition with imperative and exhortative suffixes like *-īs* (see § 62), *-īts* (see § 42), *-īmts* (see § 44), *-īl* (see § 45), *-īlts* (see § 46), *-īxmī* (see § 63), *-īnī* (see § 41), etc.; and *-tc* was undoubtedly the general adverbial suffix.

The following table will best illustrate the plausibility of relationships between some of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the probable original suffix, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear today.

* <i>-ū</i> indicative	<i>-ūts</i> direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)
<i>-ūn</i> direct object of third person (see § 28)	<i>-emts</i> indirect object of first and second persons (see § 31)
<i>-ūts</i> direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)	<i>-ūtsm</i> object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)
<i>-ūx</i> indirect object of third person (see § 30)	<i>-ūlts</i> object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
<i>-ūtsm</i> object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)	<i>-īts</i> imperative with direct object of the first person (see § 42)
<i>-ūl</i> object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)	<i>-īmts</i> imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
<i>-ūlts</i> object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)	<i>-īlts</i> imperative with object possessed by a first person (see § 46)
<i>-yūn</i> , <i>-ī^wyūn</i> exhortative (see § 41)	<i>-tsx</i> imperative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 47)
<i>-a^wūn</i> intentional (see § 70)	<i>-ītsmē</i> exhortative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
* <i>-ts</i> pronominal relations between subject and object	* <i>-ī</i> imperative

- ĩ^wyūn*, -*ĩnĩ* exhortative with direct object of the third person (see § 41)
- ĩts* imperative with the direct object of the first person (see § 42)
- ĩmts* imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
- ĩl* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
- ĩts* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
- ĩtsmē* exhortative with possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
- ĩs* imperative for transitive verbs (see § 62)
- ĩxmĩ* intransitive exhortative (see § 63)
- *-*l* possessive interrelations between object and subject
- ũl* object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)
- ũts* object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
- ũltx*, -*xamltx* passive with possessive relations of subject (see § 39)
- ĩl* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
- ĩts* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
- l* (?) exhortative (see § 64)
- *-*tc* adverbial
- tc'* tentative (see § 52)
- tc* local (see § 90)
- ĩtc* modal (see § 94)

In discussing these suffixes it seems convenient to begin with the group that appears in the sentence in terminal position and proceed backwards with our analysis. According to this treatment, we may distinguish—

- (1) Pronominal suffixes.
- (2) Objective forms.
- (3) Modal suffixes.
- (4) Temporal suffixes.
- (5) Verbalizing suffixes.
- (6) Plural formations.
- (7) Irregular suffixes.

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 24-26)

§ 24. The Subjective Pronouns

The pronouns denoting the subjects of an action, transitive and intransitive, as well as pronominal objects, are expressed by means of suffixes that invariably stand in terminal position. The third person singular has no distinct form. The first persons dual and plural have

distinct forms for the inclusive and exclusive. The same pronouns are used for all modes and voices. In the imperative the second person singular is omitted.

The following table will serve to illustrate what may be called the fundamental type of the subjective pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person sing. . . }	- <i>n</i>	- <i>ns</i>	- <i>nĭ</i>
Inclusive du. and pl. }			
2d person	- <i>nx</i>	- <i>ts</i>	- <i>tcĭ</i>
3d person	-	- <i>ax</i>	- <i>nx</i>
Exclusive du. and pl. . .	-	- <i>axĭn</i> , - <i>axĭn</i>	- <i>nxan</i>

It would seem that the exclusive forms are derived from the third persons dual and plural and the first person.

These suffixes appear also in the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The suffix for the first person singular, -*n*, disappears regularly after the transitive -*ĭn* (see § 15), and the confusion that might arise from the fact that the transitive form for the third person singular ends in -*ĭn* also, is avoided by accentuation of the first person singular as the subject of an action by the additional use of the independent pronoun that either precedes or follows the verb.

The second person singular and the third person plural happen to consist of the same phonetic elements, -*nx*. Ambiguity of meaning in both forms is avoided by addition of the independent personal pronouns. The suffix for the third person dual undergoes frequent changes, which have been fully discussed in § 13.

The rules regulating consonantic clusters require the insertion of an obscure (or weak) vowel between stems ending in a consonant and any of the subjective suffixes that begin with a consonant (see § 4).

According to the manner in which the subjective pronouns are added to a given verbal stem, the verbs may be divided into the five following distinct groups:

(1) Verbs that add the pronominal suffixes directly to the stem or that take them after the verbalizing suffixes -*aĭ* and -*ĭi*.

(2) Verbs that end in -*ĭ*.

(3) Certain verbs that end in *x*.

(4) Verbs that express the third person singular by means of stem amplification (see § 112).

(5) Verbs that end in *-a*.

The first group presents no difficulties whatsoever. The subjective pronouns are added directly to the stem or else follow the verbalizing suffixes *-aⁱ* and *-ūⁱ* (see § 75).

A number of verbs seem to end in *-ī*, which undergoes a phonetic change whenever the pronominal suffixes are added to it. Thus, it is shortened when followed by the pronoun for the first person singular, and it undergoes the process of diphthongization (see § 7) whenever a pronoun for any of the other persons is added to it. Whenever the third person singular is to be expressed, the verb appears with *-ī*, which is often diphthongized into *-ya*. Verbs that take the tentative suffix *-te'* (see § 52) and the frequentative *-at!ī* (see § 68) are treated similarly.

A peculiar treatment is accorded to certain verbs that end in *x*. Here belong only such verbs as have been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-ī'ax* (see § 51) and of the temporal suffixes *-awax*, *-tūx*, and *-yax* (see §§ 70, 73, 74). These suffixes do not change their phonetic composition when followed by the pronouns for the first person singular and second persons dual and plural. However, as soon as the subjective pronouns for any of the other persons are added to them, the final *x* disappears. An exception to this rule is offered by the future *-tūx* (see § 73) when followed by the pronoun for the third person dual. In this case the final *x* is always retained. Whether the disappearance of the *x* is due to contraction or to other causes, can not be said with any degree of certainty.

The last two groups comprise verbs the stems of which undergo a process of amplification whenever the third person singular is to be expressed. Verbs belonging to the fourth group show an internal change of the stem, while those of the fifth group add an *a* to the bare stem. A full discussion of the phonetic character of these two processes will be found in § 112, p. 574.

In accordance with these five types of verbs, the following tabular arrangement of the pronominal suffixes may be presented:

		1st type	2d type	3d type	4th type	5th type
1st person	Singular . . .	-n	-in	-xan	-n	-n
	Dual (incl.) . .	-ns	-yans	-ns	-ns	-ns
	Plural (incl.) .	-ni	-yani	-ni	-ni	-ni
2d person	Singular . . .	-nx	-yanx	-nx	-nx	-nx
	Dual	-ts	-yats	-xts	-ts	-ts
	Plural	-tci	-yatci	-xtci	-tci	-tci
3d person	Singular . . .	-, -a ⁱ , -ū ⁱ	-i, -ya	-x	{Amplified stem}	-a
	Dual	-awx	-yawx	-xawx, -awx	-awx	-awx
	Plural	-nx	-yanx	-nx	-nx	-nx
Exclusive	Dual	{-awxūn -axūn}	-yawxūn -yaxūn	-awxūn -axūn	-awxūn -axūn	-awxūn -axūn
	Plural	-nzan	-yanzan	-nzan	-nzan	-nzan

(1) Pronominal suffixes added directly to the stem or following the verbalizing -aⁱ and -ūⁱ:

wīnax- to be afraid 17.6
waa- to speak 7. 1
wīnax- to be afraid 17.6
īna^ww- to be rich 76.3
lgaq- to pass wind 86.7
tsīng!/- to be poor 16.10
ī^t!aⁱ he eats 46.5
tsīng!/- to be poor 16.10

tcīn- to come back
skwaⁱ- to stand 10.9
tqūl- to shout 52.8
smūtⁱ- to end 8.8
qaⁱtcīnt he goes 12.
xīnt- to start 23.1
tsīng!/- to be poor 16.10

yūwaⁱ he gets pitch 96.18

neqūⁱtx- to be cold

wīⁿxīn I was afraid 58.22
waaⁱn I say
wīⁿxīns we two (incl.) are afraid
īna^wwant we (incl.) are rich
lgaⁱqanx thou passest wind 86.14
tsīⁿq!ⁱats you two are poor
ī^t!aⁱyats you two eat
tsīⁿq!ⁱatci you are poor
tsīⁿq! he is poor
tcīn he returned 7.7
skwahaⁱ he stands 14.4
tqūlūⁱ he shouted 92.6
smītⁱūⁱ it ends 14.6
qaⁱtcīnta^wx they two go 23.1
xīⁿntanx they started 88.20
tsīⁿq!ⁱawxūn we two (excl.) are poor
yūwaⁱya^wxūn we two (excl.) will get pitch 94.17, 18
neqūⁱtxanxan we (excl.) are cold 76.20

(2) Pronouns added to verbs that end in *i*:*xī'l'xci-* to work 50.3*xī'l'xciŋ* I work*xī'l'xciyans* we two (incl.) work*xī'l'xciyanl* we (incl.) work*sī'naī-* to desire 18.5*sī'n'ixyanx* (if) you desire 44.6*sī'n'ixyats* you two desire*wī'nkī-* to work 50.6*wī'nkīyatchi* you are working*wī'nkī* he is working*xī'l'xci-* to work 50.3*xī'l'xci* (*xī'l'xciya*) he is working
50.9*xī'l'xciya^ux* they two work*xī'l'xciyanx* they work*xī'l'xciya^uxūn* we two (excl.) are
working*xī'l'xciyanxan* we (excl.) are work-
ing.(3) Pronouns added to certain verbs that end in *x*:*qacⁿ-* to go, to start 8.2*qa'tcⁿtūxan* I shall go 22.2*āq-* to run away 52.10*āqa'waxan* I intend to run away
90.21*lī'ū-* to come 8.3*lī'ūyaxan* I came*āq-* to run away 52.10*ā'qtūns* we two (incl.) shall run
away 92.2*āqa'wans* we two (incl.) intend to
run away 90.23*xwīL/-* to return 12.6*xwī'L/tūnl* we (incl.) shall return
60.9*xwī'L/yanl* we (incl.) have returned*hūtc-* to play 8.8*hū'tctūnl* we (incl.) shall play 7.2*lī'ū-* to come 8.3*līwa'wanx* you intend to come 25.8*taⁱ* it lives 32.21*ta''yanx* thou didst live*mīkū'-* to cut 82.14*mī'k^utūxts* you two will cut 90.5*temū'-* to assemble 7.3*temū'tūxtcⁱ* you shall assemble 30.7*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3*lī'ūtūx* he will come 8.9*āq-* to run away 88.3*āqa'wax* he intends to run away
86.15*taⁱ* it lives 32.21*ta''yax* (if) he lives 44.12*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3*līū'tūxa^ux* they two will come*lī'ūya^ux* they two came*āq-* to run away 88.3*āqa'wa^ux* they two intend to run
away 86.18

āq- to run away 88.3*āqa'wa^uxūn* we two (excl.) intend to run away*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3*lī'ūtūnaxan* we (excl.) will come 30.11*lī'ūyanxan* we (excl.) have come

(4) Amplification of stem:

īlq- to dig 80.6*yałq* (they two) dig 84.7*cītā-* to flop*cīyata* (they) flop (around) 36.23*ha^w-* to be ready 8.10*ha'wa* it is ready 23.10*l!ōn-* to tell 16.9*l!wa^an* he relates 16.6(5) Verbs that end in *-a*:*haū'-* to quit 11.4*ha'wa* it is ready 23.10*wa-* to speak 7.1*waa'* he said 12.10*qa'tcⁱn-* to go 12.1*qa'tc^{ena}* he goes 36.1*wīlw-* to affirm 17.7*wīlwa'* he affirms 58.9

§ 25. The Objective Pronouns

The same forms as those discussed in § 24 are used to express the pronominal objects. In these terms the verbal stem is followed by an objective element, which in most cases is followed first by the pronominal object, then by the pronominal subject. In all cases where this composition would bring two consonants into contact they are separated by a weak vowel (*a* or *i*).

The objective elements here referred to are *-ūn*, which expresses the relation to the third person object, and *-ūts*, which indicates the relation to the first and second persons. These will be treated more fully in §§ 27-29.

In all forms that express a relation of a second person subject or of an exclusive subject to a singular pronominal object, the latter is omitted, and the pronominal subject follows directly the objective element before referred to. Perfect clearness is attained here, since the objective element defines the person of the object. Thus the forms *THOU*, *YE TWO*, *YE*, acting upon either first or second person, can refer only to the first person; *I AND HE*, and *I AND THEY*, only to the second, for otherwise they would be reflexives. In the combination *I-THEE* the subject is omitted. In the combinations *I-HIM*, *I-THEM TWO*, *I-THEM*, the subject pronoun *-n* seems to have been contracted with the *n* of the objective element (see § 15); while in *THEY-ME* the order of subject and object is reversed.

These phenomena may be indicated in the following tabular form:

I. OBJECTIVE FORMS FOLLOWED BY SUBJECT

Third person object				First and second persons objects			
Subjects				Subjects			
Singular		Dual	Plural	Singular		Dual	Plural
Inclusive .	-	- <i>ūnans</i>	- <i>ūnanl</i>	Inclusive .	-	-	-
Exclusive .	-	- <i>ūnawxūn</i>	- <i>ūnanxan</i>	Exclusive .	-	- <i>ūtsawxūn</i>	- <i>ūtsanxan</i>
2d person .	- <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūnats</i>	- <i>ūnatci</i>	2d person .	- <i>ūtsanx</i>	- <i>ūtsats</i>	- <i>ūtsatci</i>
3d person .	- <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūnawx</i>	- <i>ūnanx</i>	3d person .	-	-	-

II. SUBJECT OMITTED

I-THEE—*-ūtsanx*.

III. INVERSION OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

THEY-ME—*-ūtsanxūn*.

IV. SEQUENCE: OBJECT-SUBJECT

All dual and plural objects; all third person subjects (except THEY-ME).

The following table may serve to illustrate more fully the forms that are used in Siuslaw to express relations between subject and object. Suffixes marked with an asterisk (*) are forms reconstructed by analogy.

	SINGULAR			
		I	Thou	He
Singular	Me	-	- <i>ūtsanx</i>	- <i>ūtsin</i>
	Thee	- <i>ūtsanx</i>	-	- <i>ūtsanx</i>
	Him	- <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūn</i>
Dual	Inclusive	-	-	- <i>ūtsans</i>
	Exclusive	-	*- <i>ūtsawxūnanx</i>	- <i>ūtsawxūn</i>
	You	- <i>ūtsatsin</i>	-	- <i>ūtsats</i>
	Them	{ - <i>ūnawxūn</i> - <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūnanxanx</i> - <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūnawx</i> - <i>ūn</i>
Plural	Inclusive	-	-	- <i>ūtsanl</i>
	Exclusive	-	*- <i>ūtsanxanxanx</i>	- <i>ūtsanxan</i>
	You	- <i>ūtsatcin</i>	-	- <i>ūtsatci</i>
	Them	{ - <i>ūnanxūn</i> - <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūnanxanx</i> - <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūnanx</i> - <i>ūn</i>

		DUAL			
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Ye	They
Sin- gular	Me	-	-	- <i>utsats</i>	- <i>utsinawx</i>
	Thee	-	- <i>utsawxún</i>	-	* <i>utsanzawx</i>
	Him	- <i>unans</i>	- <i>unawxún</i>	- <i>unats</i>	- <i>unawx</i>
Dual	Inclusive . .	-	-	-	- <i>utsansawx</i>
	Exclusive . .	-	-	- <i>utsawxúnats</i>	* <i>utsawxúnawx</i>
	You	-	- <i>utsatsawxún</i>	-	* <i>utsatsawx</i>
	Them	{ - <i>unawxans</i> - <i>unans</i>	- <i>unawxawxún</i> - <i>unawxún</i>	- <i>unawxats</i> - <i>unats</i>	- -
Plural	Inclusive . .	-	-	-	* <i>utsanlanx</i>
	Exclusive . .	-	-	- <i>utsanzanats</i>	- <i>utsanzanawx</i>
	You	-	- <i>utsatcyawxún</i>	-	- <i>utsatcyawx</i>
	Them	{ - <i>unanzans</i> - <i>unans</i>	- <i>unanzawxún</i> - <i>unawxún</i>	- <i>unanzats</i> - <i>unats</i>	- <i>unanzawx</i> - <i>unawx</i>
		PLURAL			
		Inclusive	Exclusive	You	They
Sin- gular	Me	-	-	{ - <i>utsatci</i> - <i>utsinaici</i> }	- <i>utsanzín</i>
	Thee	-	- <i>utsanzan</i>	-	* <i>utsanzanz</i>
	Him	- <i>unani</i>	- <i>unanzan</i>	- <i>unatci</i>	- <i>unanz</i>
Dual	Inclusive . .	-	-	-	* <i>utsansanz</i>
	Exclusive . .	-	-	* <i>utsawxúnatci</i>	* <i>utsawxúnanz</i>
	You	-	- <i>utsatsanzan</i>	-	* <i>utsatsanz</i>
	Them	{ - <i>unawxani</i> - <i>unani</i>	- <i>unawxanzan</i> - <i>unanzan</i>	- <i>unawxatci</i> - <i>unatci</i>	- <i>unawxanz</i> - <i>unanz</i>
Plural	Inclusive . .	-	-	-	- <i>utsanlanz</i>
	Exclusive . .	-	-	- <i>utsanzanatci</i>	* <i>utsanzananz</i>
	You	-	- <i>utsatcyanzan</i>	-	- <i>utsatcyanz</i>
	Them	{ - <i>unanzani</i> - <i>unani</i>	- <i>unanzanzan</i> - <i>unanzan</i>	- <i>unanzatci</i> - <i>unatci</i>	- <i>unanzanz</i> - <i>unanz</i>

While all these forms may actually appear suffixed to the verb, there prevails a tendency (discussed on p. 479) to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial terms preceding the verb rather than to the verb itself. This transposition of the suffixes for the subject of the action considerably lessens the syllabic quantity of the whole verbal expression.

The pronoun I-THEE coincides phonetically with the form for THOU-ME; and in order to avoid ambiguity of meaning, the subjects

of these combinations may be indicated by means of the discriminative forms of the independent personal pronouns (see §§ 21, 113).

All forms having a third person as the object do not, as a rule, indicate the number of the subject. This is rather done by means of the numeral *xā'ts/ū* TWO for the dual, and the numeral particle *ha'mūt* ALL for the plural.

The difficulty arising from the fact that the suffix *-ūnanx* may express THOU-HIM, etc., and THEY-HIM, etc., is bridged over by the additional use of the independent pronouns for THOU and THEY (see § 113). This rule applies to all cases, so that it may be stated that, whenever, by some process of contraction, simplification, or abbreviation, two or more suffixes expressing identical relations between subject and object are phonetically alike, their subjects are indicated by the use of the independent pronominal forms. Thus, for instance, the form *-ūtsanx* may express I-THEE, THOU-ME, and HE-THEE. These are usually distinguished by means of the pronouns *qnà* I, *qnāx^ats* THOU, and *s^ads* HE (see § 113), that are placed before or after the verb, denoting that the first, second, or third person respectively is the subject of the action.

The third person singular has no subjective element, owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct form for that pronoun (see § 24).

<i>sî'nxi-</i> to desire 18.5	<i>sî'nⁱxyūtsanx qnà hūtcā'iwax</i> I want thee to have fun 21.6
<i>waa'</i> he says 19.3	<i>s^aatsi'tc^an^x waa'yūts</i> (when) thus thee I tell 36.19
<i>lⁱkwa'</i> he gets, he takes 82.6	<i>s^aa'tsanx tunx lⁱkwa'yūts qnà</i> that's why I (came to) get thee 21.3
<i>hīn-</i> to take along 9.5	<i>hⁱya'nyūtsanx hītsi'stcīn</i> I'll take thee into my house 58.6
<i>tcaq-</i> to spear 68.18	<i>ya^aku'sīn tcāqa'qa^ūn</i> a seal I was spearing 68.8
<i>yaq^u-</i> to look, to watch 9.1	<i>ya'qu'yūtsats qnà</i> I will look at you two
<i>yax-</i> to see 34.4	<i>yⁱxa'yūna^uxīn qnà</i> I see them two
<i>anwⁿ-</i> to do 9.7	<i>s^aa'tsa^uxīn xniyunⁱwyūn</i> thus to them two I will do it 88.17
<i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3	<i>kumⁱntc^atōi nīctōi'tc ta'tōi temū'-ūts</i> not you in vain these you I assembled 30.18, 19

s^əa'tsa thus 8.7

waa'ⁱ he says 8.9

temū' - to assemble 7.3

tgūl' - to shout 52.8

mān- to take care of 38.13

L!wa^an- to tell 16.5

LElū'ⁱ he is hitting

yaq^u' - to look 9.1

waa' - to speak 7.1

hīn- to take along 9.5

L!xū- to know 19.9

yax- to see 20.10

skwa' - to stand 10.9

yax- to see 20.10

LElū'ⁱ he hits

yax- to see 20.10

xīntm- to travel 13.3

kū'n- to beat 78.18

s^əatsa'ūtsatcī thus I (do it) for you
32.14

ha'ⁱmūtⁱn^xan waa'yūn (to) all them
I tell it

temū'ūnanxīn I assemble them

tgūlū'yūtsanx qnī'x^ats thou art
shouting at me

hī'sanx mā'nīsūts qnī'x^ats well
thou shalt always take care of
me 22.2, 3

L!wā'nīsūnanx s^əatsī'tc thou wilt
keep on telling him thus 17.2

lⁱna'tīn^x LElū'yūtsa^uxūn always
thou art hitting us two (excl.)

LElū'yūnanx tū'a^ux xā'ts'ū thou art
hitting those two

ya'q^uhīsūtsanxan hī'sa thou shalt
always watch us (excl.) well
70.14, 15

ya'qu'yūnanx qnī'x^ats thou wilt
look at them

waa'a^utsīn he told me 58.18

atsī'tcīn waa'a^uts thus me he told
58.20

uⁱīn s^əās hī'nīxa^uts qa'ha'ntc and
me he took way off 66.18

L!xū'yūtsanx s^əās thee he knows
tcī'k^ən^x yīxa'yūts mā'q^uL uⁱīn^x
wa'a'īsūts tsīm wherever thee
sees Crow, to thee he will keep
on talking always 38.16, 17

skwaha'ha^un s^əās he set it up

yīxa'yūn he sees it 70.2

LElū'yūtsans s^əās he is hitting us
two (incl.)

yīxa'yūtsa^uxūn he is looking at us
two (excl.)

uⁱla^ux xīntmīsūn he takes them
two along 92.16

kumī'ntc^ənⁱl qwātc kū'nīsūts not
us (incl.) any one will ever beat
72.17

yaq^u- to look 9.1

Lī'ū- to come 9.2

LElū' he hits

wnī^wn- to do 9.7

LElū' he hits

xaū' he died 40.21

LElū' he hits

ya'qu'yūtsanxan s^əəs he looks at us (excl.)

hⁱya'tc^{ən}xan L'ī'L'ūts people us (excl.) came (to see) 100.8

LElū'yūtsatcⁱ he is hitting you
s^əa'sūtsatcⁱ LElū'yūts he is hitting you

LElū'yūnanax s^əəs he is hitting them
s^əəs ha'^ymūt LElū'yūn he hits all

wnī^wnī^wyūns 10.5 (abbreviated from *wnī^wnī^wyūnans*) we two (incl.) will do it

LElū'yūtsa^xūn we two (excl.) are hitting thee

qna'xūn LElū'yūts we two (excl.) are hitting thee

xaū'na^xūn ants mī'k!^a hītc we two (excl.) killed that bad man 96.8.9

qna'^wxūn LElū'yūtsats we two (excl.) are hitting you two

qna'xūn LElū'yūn we two (excl.) are hitting him

LElū'yūna^xūn tū'a^x xā'ts!^ū we two (excl.) are hitting those two

qna'xūn LElū'yūtsatcⁱ we two (excl.) are hitting you two

qna'xūn ^ulxūn LElū'yūn tū'a L'a'^a we two (excl.) are hitting those (many)

LElū'yūtsats qnī'^xats you two are hitting me

LElū'yūnats you two are hitting him

qnī'^xats LElū'yūtsa^xūn you two are hitting us two (excl.)

LElū'yūnats tū'a^x xā'ts!^ū you two are hitting those two

qnī'^xats^{ts} ha'^ymūtⁿxan LElū'yūts you two are hitting us (excl.) all

LElū'yūnats ha'^ymūt you two are hitting (them) all

s^əa's^wax LElū'yūtsin they two are hitting me

ya'x- to see 20.10

qnū'- to find
LElū' he hits

L'xmīya' he kills

k!a'- to invite 16.3

hac'- to ask 66.16

yaq^u'- to look 9.1

sī'naxi- to desire 18.5

Laxū'- to dr^w 60.19

LElū' he hits

anx- to give up 54.12

yaq^u'- to look 9.1

hac'- to ask 66.16

yaq^u'- to look 9.1

waa' he says 19.3

yīxa'yūna^ux they two saw him
62.20, 21

ŋa^ux qnū'hūn they two find it 56.9
s^ua's^wax LElū'yūtsans they two are
hitting us two (incl.)

s^ua's^wax LElū'yūtsanxan they two
are hitting us two (excl.)

tūa's^wax LElū'yūtsatcī those two
are hitting you two

tūa's^wax LElū'yūn ha'mūt those
two are hitting (them) all

L'xmīya'yūnanl we (incl.) will kill
him 28.3

qnānl L'xmīya'yūn tū'anax we (incl.)
will kill those (all)

s^ua'tsanxan k!aha'yūts that's why
we (excl.) invite thee 24.10

a'tsanxan tE hac'a'yūts qnā that's
why we (excl.) ask thee 74.15

qna'n^uxan ya'q^uhīsūts we (excl.)
will continually watch thee 72.6

sī'nīxyūnanxan Lī'ūtūx we (excl.)
want him to come 17.2, 3

yā'a'xa'n^uxan lt'ī'a^ī Laxuyū'yūn lots
we (excl.) salmon dry it

qna'n^uxan LElū'yūtsats we (excl.)
are hitting you two

qna'n^uxan LElū'yūn tū'a^ux xā'ts!ū
we (excl.) are hitting those two

qna'n^uxan LElū'yūtsatcī we (excl.)
are hitting you (pl.)

ha'mūt'n^uxan LElū'yūn qnā we
(excl.) are hitting (them) all

a'nxa^utsatcī you (shall) let me
alone 27.5

yaq^u'yī^wyūtsatcī haya'mūt you all
shall look at me 72.11, 12

hac'a'yūnatcī you (shall) ask her
74.10

ya'q^u'yūtsa^uxūn qnī'ats^utcī you are
looking at us (excl.)

atsī'tc^un^uxan waa'yūts thus they
told me 46.20, 21

sî'naxi- to desire 18.5

L!ama'yanxin sî'n'ayûts (to) kill
me they want 21.9

ts'î'ha'yûn he kills it 46.5, 6

ts'î'ha'yûnanx ants Lî'mna'q they
kill that elk 82.17, 18

L!wa^an- to tell 16.5

tûa's^{en}x L!ôna'yûtsant these told
us (incl.)

§ 26. Position of Pronouns in Verbs Accompanied by Adverbial Forms

As has been stated before (see p. 474), the pronominal suffixes stand in terminal position, and theoretically are added to the verb; but whenever an adjective, an adverb, or a particle precedes the verb, the pronouns are preferably suffixed to these and precede the verbal expression. The verb appears in all such cases in what may be called the fundamental type (see pp. 470, 474).

nî'ctcîm because 18.8

nî'ctcîmîn meq!ya'wax because I
intend to dance 72.12

kumî'ntc not 12.2

kumî'ntc^{en}x plna' not you are sick
86.14

taⁱk here

taⁱk^{ns} aya'qaⁱtî te sî'xaⁱ here we
two (incl.) will leave this (our)
canoe 56.5

sqaⁱk there 14.6

*sqaⁱkts qa'tc^{en}tûx, sqaⁱkts t!îm-
ct!ⁱtûx* there you two shall go,
there you two shall raise chil-
dren 32.5

s^{en}atsî'tc thus 8.1

s^{en}atsî'tc^wx waana'wa thus they
two speak to each other 10.1, 2
ha'nanî hû'tetûx differently we
(incl.) will play 11.2

yā'a'xaⁱ much 8.5

yā'a'xaⁱnwan hūtcū' lots (of games)
we (excl.) play 70.19

tcîk where 34.2

tcî'htcî hūtcū', s^{en}atsa'tcî xni'^wnîs
where (ever) you play, thus you
will keep on doing it 72.20, 21

uⁱt and, then 7.4

uⁱlnx wân tcî'n then they finally
returned 60.10, 11

The same tendency to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial expressions that precede the verb is shown even in cases where a verbal expression is preceded by a nominal subject or object.

hⁱya'tc people 60.25

hⁱya'tc^{en}x hî't!îsûts txû people thee
will eat just 13.10

L!owa'x messenger 7.7

L!owa'x^{en}xan te Lîû' (as) messen-
gers we (excl.) these come 30.6, 7

<i>ilqwa^a'tem</i> root, alder tree	<i>ilqūtmi^a'a^ux qaaⁱ'</i> an alder tree they
92.5, 6	two entered 92.6
<i>ya^e'k^us</i> seal 62.4	<i>yekū^s'n^x tū^tcaⁱ'</i> sea-lions they
	spear 62.2
<i>qaⁱx</i> night 40.14	<i>qaⁱ'xⁿ aⁱl^t dū yaⁱ q^u'hūtūx</i> (at) night
	likewise you will watch 70.18, 19

OBJECTIVE FORMS (§§ 27-48)

§ 27. Introductory

In sentences containing subject and object the interrelation between them is expressed with great definiteness by means of suffixes that precede the subjective and objective pronouns. My original intention was to treat these suffixes as pronominal elements; but the chief objection to such a treatment lies in the fact that the pronouns, subjective and objective, are repeated after them. Hence it was found advisable to treat them as objective elements. In the expression of the relations a distinction is made between third person objects on the one hand, and first and second persons on the other. Furthermore, the indirect object is distinguished from the direct object, and the same classification of persons is found. The possessive relations between the subject and the two objects are also expressed with great clearness; and, finally, a sharp line of demarcation is drawn between the indicative, imperative, and passive modes.

It would seem that the following table represents all the suffixes belonging to this group:

INDICATIVE			IMPERATIVE		PASSIVE
Personal Interrelations					
Object	1st & 2d per.	3d per.	1st per.	3d per.	
Direct . .	-ūts	-ūn	-ūts	-yūn, -īnī -īwyūn	
Indirect . .	-ēmts	-ūx	-īmts	-yūx	-īmē, -ūmē
Possessive Interrelations					
Forms of possession					
Not own . .	-ūlts	-ūl	-ūlts	-ūl	-ūltx
Own inseparably . .	-ūlx, -lx		-ūlsz		
Own separately . .	-ūtsm		-ūlsm		-xamltx

Some of these forms are applicable to the present tense only, showing different suffixes in other tenses. Thus, an entirely divergent treatment is accorded to the suffixes denoting possessive interrelations for the durative, intentional, and past tenses (see § 37).

For the purpose of greater clearness, these forms have been subdivided into the following four groups:

- (1) Indicative forms denoting personal interrelations.
- (2) Indicative forms expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject.
- (3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.
- (4) Imperative forms denoting pronominal and possessive interrelations.

Indicative Suffixes Denoting Personal Interrelations (§§ 28-31)

§ 28. Direct Object of Third Person -ūn (-a¹n)

This suffix transforms nouns into verbs, transitivizes all verbs expressing intransitive actions, and changes a transitive idea into a causative concept. In all these cases the object must be a third person. All stems ending in *i*-diphthongs change the *i* of the diphthong into *y* before adding the transitive suffix (see § 8). This suffix immediately precedes the subjective pronouns, and hence invariably follows the tense signs. For the interchange between -ūn and -a¹n see § 2.

<i>k!w^xwinaⁱ</i> ice appears 76.13	<i>k!w^xwi¹nūn</i> <i>L!a^{ai}</i> ice he made all over 94.2, 3
<i>tek!ā¹kL</i> trap 100.4	<i>tek!ā¹kL!ūn</i> he sets traps
<i>ya¹lqa^aū</i> hole 84.6	<i>a¹ntsux ya¹lqa^ūn</i> those two (who) dig holes 84.5
<i>s^aa¹tsa</i> thus 8.7	<i>s^aa¹tsa¹ūn</i> thus (he does it)
<i>hā¹'sa</i> well 12.2	<i>hā¹'sa¹ūn</i> he cures him
<i>wīn^x</i> he is afraid 17.6	<i>wī¹nxa^ūn</i> she was afraid of him 86.1
<i>ā¹l^x</i> it shook 36.10	<i>ā¹l^xūn</i> she shook him 58.4
<i>ma¹tc-</i> to burn 25.2	<i>ma¹tcū^un</i> <i>līya^awa</i> he made a fire 94.23
<i>xaū¹</i> he died 40.21	<i>xaū¹ūn</i> he killed him 96.13
<i>ma^atc</i> it lay 32.26	<i>qa^ux ma¹tcūⁿ</i> on top (they) put it 80.9

xnī'wne (they two) do 48.12

l!wa^an he tells 16.5

waa' he says 12.10

waa' he said 8.9

ī't!a' he eats 44.19

yāxa' (they) look 66.6

tū'tca' (they) spear 62.2

ta' it sits 32.21

qnūhū' he finds

tqūlū' he shouted 92.6

ya'q^uha't he looked 25.3

ūla^wx wī'tūt they two affirmed

90.6

wa'ayax he spoke

xī'ntmⁱyax he traveled

xī'ntmīs (you) will continu-
ally travel 13.3

wa'a's he says continually 26.8

lī'ū (they) came 9.3

xaū' he died 40.21

yāxa' he sees

hac' to ask 66.16

xnī'wnūn he did it 94.14

ūla^wx l!wa^anūn they two told her
96.10

waa'aⁿ he said to him 20.7

waa'yūn he told him 36.26

ī't!a'yūn he devoured him 15.2

ū' yāxa'yūn and he saw it 58.13

ūlēⁿx tū'tca'yūn they spear (them)
62.5

ta'yūn qamūla'a'tīn my mother
kept her 100.12

tē'q qnūhū'yūn something he finds

tqūlū'yūn he shouts at him

ya'q^uha'tūn (I) look at them 25.5, 6

ū' mā'q^u l wī'tūtūn Crow answered
him 36.6, 7

wa'a'yaxaⁿ he spoke to him 36.11

ū' xī'ntmⁱyaxaⁿ he took (them)
along 92.13

qnī'xtsⁿx xī'ntmīsūn you will
always carry it 14.3

wa'a'sūn (you) keep on telling him
19.5

līū'ūn he got (there) 16.3

xaū'na^wxūn we two (excl.) killed
him 96.8, 9

yāxa'yūna^wx they two see it 62.20,
21

hac'a'yūnatchi you ask her 74.10

§ 29. Direct Object of First and Second Persons -ūts (-a^uts)

This suffix indicates that an action has been performed upon a first or second person as object. The person of the actor is expressed by suffixing to -ūts the corresponding subjective pronouns (see § 24). Its use corresponds to that of -ūn for the third person object.

An explanation for the interchange between -ūts and -a^uts will be found in § 2. This suffix follows all other verbal suffixes excepting, of course, the subjective pronouns. The *ū* unquestionably denotes the indicative mode, and is identical with the *ū* in -ūn, -ūx, -ūlts, -ūl, etc. (see §§ 23, 28, 30, 35, 36).

This suffix has been referred to in § 25, where a tabular presentation of the different combined subject and object pronouns will be found.

sí'naĩ- to desire 18.5

yaqu' - to look 9.1

mān- to take care 38.13

yaqu' - to look 9.1

waa' - to speak 7.1

yāx- to see 13.7

sí'níxyūtsanx qnà hūtea'wax I
want you to have fun 21.6

ya'qu'yūtsats qnà I will look at
you two

hī'sanx mā'nīsūts well thou shalt
always take care of me 22.2

ya'q^uhīsūtsanxan hī'sa thou
shalt always watch us (excl.)
well 70.14, 15

waa'a^utsin he told me 58.18

tcī'k^xnax yīxa'yūts mā'q^uL where-
ever Crow sees thee 38.16, 17

For further examples see § 25.

§ 30. Indirect Object of Third Person -ūx (-a^ux)

Each language has a number of verbal expressions that require the presence of a direct and indirect object. Such verbs are, as a rule, distinguished from other stems by means of some grammatical contrivance. Siuslaw uses for that purpose the suffix -ūx added to the bare stem. This suffix, however, is used only when the third person (singular, dual or plural) is the indirect object of the sentence. As soon as the first or second person becomes the indirect object, another suffix, -*emts*, is used (see § 31).

The pronoun expressing the subject of the action always follows the suffix -ūx.

waxax- reduplicated stem of *wax-* to give 18.5 *u^l waxa'xa^ux ants mī'níxwī* then he
gave him that lightning 38.2 (for
ūx = a^ux see § 2)

hamts- to dip out *s^xās ha'mtsūx* he dipped it out for
him 46.6

híyatsí'ts- reduplicated form *híyatsí'tsūxan* I put it on him
of *hīts-*, *híyats-* to put on,
to wear 11.8

lak^u- to take, to fetch 7.5 *lakwa'kūxan* I took it away from
him

hamx- to tie 8.6. *hamxí'wūx* he tied it on him

§ 31. Indirect Object of First and Second Persons -*emts*

This suffix is used only with verbal stems that require a direct and indirect object. The direct object expressed by this suffix is always the third person, while the indirect object must be either a first or

a second person, regardless of number. The suffix expressing the same idea with the third person as the indirect object has been discussed in § 30. The pronominal suffixes denoting the subject of the action and its relation to the direct object are the same as those used in connection with the suffix *-ūts* (see § 29). The verbal stem to which this suffix is added has frequently terminal reduplication.

hamæ- to tie 8.6

wax- to give 18.2

h̄itsaⁱ he put it on

aⁱq- to leave 56.5

wax- to give 18.2

hamæⁱ'æmtsana I tie it on thee
qnaⁱ'hamts^{en}æ wā'æⁱ'semts to thee

I will keep on giving it 44.15
wāⁱæ'æmtsanaⁱn they gave it to me

h̄itsa'yemtsana *qn̄æ^{ts}* you put it on me

s^{en}a's̄in *h̄i'yats̄i'tsemts* he put it on me

s^{en}a's^{en}æ *h̄itsa'yemts* he put it on thee

aⁱqa'qemts̄in he left it to me
wāⁱæ'æmtsana *tā'la* he gives thee money

Indicative Suffixes Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject (§§ 32-37)

§ 32. *Introductory*

The phenomenon of expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject of a sentence through the medium of distinct suffixes is by no means of uncommon occurrence in the American Indian languages.¹ From a logical point of view such a formation is perfectly justifiable, and may be said to have its origin in the actual difference that exists between the concept of an act performed upon a given object and the conveying of the same act performed upon an object that stands in some relation to the subject of the sentence. Thus the English sentence I WHIP MY HORSE states a fact that is fundamentally different from the sentence I WHIP THE HORSE, in so far as it expresses, besides the act performed by the subject upon the object, also the possessive relation that exists between object and subject. In the Indo-European languages, in which each idea maintains an independent position in a complex of grammatical concepts, such

¹ See, for example, Sioux, Chinook, Kutenai.

relations are indicated by means of independent words, as a rule possessive pronouns; but in Siuslaw these relations are relegated to the verb, and consequently we find them conveyed by means of certain suffixes that are added to stems denoting verbal ideas.

The possessive relations that may exist between object and subject of a sentence are of a threefold nature. The object may form an inseparable part of the subject (I WASH MY FACE); the object may be separably connected with the subject (I LOSE MY KNIFE); or the object may stand in a possessive relation to another object (I LOSE HIS KNIFE). Siuslaw distinguishes clearly between these three types of relationship, and expresses each of them by means of a distinct suffix.

§ 33. *Suffix Indicating that the Object Forms an Inseparable Part of the Subject* -itx (-a'tx), -tx

This suffix indicates that the object of the sentence is inseparably connected with the subject. Hence all stems expressing an action performed by the speaker upon any part of his own body (and even upon his name) occur with these suffixes. Now and then they will be found added to stems denoting actions that do not necessarily involve an integral part of the subject as its recipient. All such formations must be looked upon as ungrammatical; that is to say, as due either to analogy or to an unintentional mistake on the part of the informant.¹

The verbal ideas which are expressed in this manner need not always be transitive in our sense of the word. They may, and as a matter of fact they do, denote conditions and states in which an integral part of the subject may find itself. Such expressions are possible, because to the mind of the Siuslaw they convey transitive ideas. Thus the sentence I AM SORRY expresses, according to our interpretation, an intransitive idea. The Siuslaw treats it as a transitive sentence, and expresses it by saying I MAKE MY MIND SICK. In the same manner Siuslaw conceives of our expressions MY HAIR BURNED, HIS CHILD DIED, IT IS COLD, etc., as transitive sentences, and renders them by (I) BURNED MY HAIR, (HE) CAUSED HIS CHILD TO DIE, THE EARTH MAKES ITS BODY COLD, etc.

No specific reason can be given for the occurrence of the parallel forms -itx and -tx, nor has any distinction been detected in the use of

¹ My informant made such mistakes rather frequently, but corrected them promptly whenever her attention was called to them.

the two forms. It seems, however, that *-tx* tends to appear after other suffixes, while *-ĩtx* is added to bare stems.

This suffix must not be confounded with the frequentative *-ĩtx* (see § 68). *-ĩtx* interchanges frequently with *-a'ĩtx*. For an explanation of this interchange see § 2.

<i>kuts-</i> to paint	<i>kutsa'ĩtxan qa'nnĩ</i> I paint my face
<i>ĩk!-</i> to open (mouth) 28.2	<i>ĩk!a'ĩtx laa'</i> he opened his mouth 96.1
<i>skwa'-</i> to stand 14.4	<i>ha'mũt²nx la'qat skwaha'ĩtx xwāki'</i> they all had feathers on their heads (literally, all they, feathers to stand caused on their heads 10.9
<i>k!u²wĩn-</i> ice 76.11	<i>k!u²wĩna'ĩtx L!a'ai</i> ice appeared (literally, ice made on its body, the earth) 76.10
<i>płn-</i> to be sick 40.21	<i>płna'ĩtx ha³</i> they were sorry (literally, sick they made their minds) 15.4
<i>yā'a'xa⁴</i> much 8.5	<i>yā'xa'ĩtxan ha³</i> I am crafty (literally, much I have in my mind) 20.7
<i>tcanhati-</i> to club	<i>tcanhati'maxutxa^u q^uLĩ'm t ants pen^ũ's</i> they two were clubbing each other's anus, those skunks 86.9
<i>tĩn-</i> to boil, to be ripe 98.7	<i>tĩntx ha³</i> his heart cooked 96.9, 10
<i>hamx-</i> to tie 8.6	<i>ha'm⁴xtxan hĩ'qũ⁴</i> I tie my hair
<i>mĩ'ttcist</i> he commenced to burn 29.3	<i>mĩ'ttcisttx ha'i'mũt hĩ'qũ⁴</i> his hair began to burn (literally, it began to burn on him his all, hair) 29.4
<i>haw-</i> to end, to make 14.6	<i>ha'i'na haũ'tx ha³</i> his mind had become different (literally, different on him it had made itself, his mind) 60.21

In the following examples, terms of relationship are treated as inseparable parts of the subject:

<i>płn-</i> to be sick 40.21	<i>pła²ntx ants t!āmc</i> (he) got sick his boy 40.20
------------------------------	--

sî'naxĩ- to desire 18.5

sî'naxĩta ants t'āmc xwĩ' L'tūxtc he wanted that his child should come back (literally, he wanted his, that child, return shall his) 42.5, 6

waa'- to say 7.1

s^xatsĩ'tc^wax waa'ⁱta ants mĩlā thus their (dual) mother told them (literally, thus their two, told, that mother) 54.23

hant'- to call

ha'nt'ĩta māt'ĩ' he called his elder brother 58.16

xawũ' he died 40.21

tē' q^xnax xawaw'ⁱta (when) their relatives died (literally, relatives they, die theirs) 68.13

waa'- to say 7.1

s^xatsĩ'tc wa'a'ⁱta ants Lxa^u'yax thus he said to that his friend 42.7, 8

§ 34. *Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by the Subject, but Separable from it* -*ũtsm-* (-a^ũtsm-)

This suffix seems to be a compound consisting of two separate suffixes, -*ũts-* and -*m*. While the original function of the second element is unknown, the first component is undoubtedly the suffix expressing the direct object of the first and second persons (see § 29 and also § 23).

It expresses a transitive action whose recipient is possessed by the subject without forming an integral part of it. Terms of relationship, and all concrete nouns, excepting those nominal stems that denote parts of the body, are thus considered; but, owing to frequent errors on the part of the informant, this suffix will be found used also in connection with objects expressing parts of the body.¹ All subjective pronouns are added to this suffix by means of a connecting weak vowel, as a result of the law regulating the use of consonantic clusters (see § 4); and, as the third person singular has no distinct form, this suffix appears in final position as -*ũtsmē*. The *ũ* of this suffix often interchanges with the diphthong *a^ũ* (see § 2). The suffix follows the tense signs, and is frequently added to reduplicated stems.

la'k^u- to take, to get 7.5

lākwa'kũtsmĩn k^xā'nĩ I take my bucket

qnũ'- to find 56.9

qnũ'hũtsmĩn gal'tc I found my knife

L'xma'ⁱ- to kill 15.3

L'xma'ⁱyũtsmanx m^uũ'sk^u you killed your younger brother

¹ See § 33, p. 485.

lak^u- to take 7.5

L!ōw- to send 16.10

waaⁱ he says 8.9

Lī'ū (they) come 9.3

waa- to speak 8.1

mī'ttēst he begins to burn
29.3

wī'l'wē- to work 50.9

lākwa'kūtsmē k^aā'nī she took
her bucket 90.21

L!ōwā'wā^utsmē hītc he sent his
people 30.1, 2

atsī'tc wad'yūtsmē qī'ūtē thus he
said to his wife 48.17

yā'wāⁱ tē kī't!āⁱ Līwī'wūtsmē
lots (of) this (their) food (they)
are bringing 100.9, 10

Līū'ūtsmē hītsī'stc she came to
her (own) house 58.7, 8

wad'a^utsmē ants L!ā^{ai} hītc he said
to his many people 7.1

ūⁱ q!ā'ūⁱ mī'ttēstūtsmē then her
pitch began to burn 90.22

wī'l'wē'yūtsmā^w a'nts^{tc}wāx mā'tī
they two worked at their (dual)
dams 48.10

In the following instances this suffix has been used in connection with nouns that form an integral part of the subject:

t!ēmā^u- to cut

pāw- to close (eyes) 36.16

ya'q^uhāt he looked 58.1

wī'ttēst he begins to send

pīn- to be sick 40.21

mīnā^w- to lighten 38.5

tcī't'ī wind

ūⁱnāx t!ēmā^uyūtsmē hī'qūⁱ then
they cut their hair 68.14

paxā'wūtsmē kōpā he shut his
eyes 36.20

yo'quhātū^w'tsmē kōpā he opened
his eyes (literally, he looked
with his eyes) 36.20

wī'ttēstū'tsmē wā'as he began
sending his message (word)
92.19

pīanyaⁱ'tīstūtsmē hātē he was
sorry (literally, he begins to
make sick, his mind) 40.21

ūⁱ wān mī'nā^wtū'tsmē L!ā^{ai} now
he made lightning (literally,
then finally caused to lighten
her body, the world) 38.6

*tcī't'ā'tūtsmē L!ā^{ai} ants tsxū'n-
pī* Tsxunpī made a wind
(literally, caused to blow his
world, that Tsxunpī) 94.6, 7

§ 35. *Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person Object -ūl (-a^{ūl})*

This suffix expresses an act performed upon an object that forms an integral part of or that is separably connected with another object. Hence it indicates the possessive relation that exists between two objects as seen by the subject of the sentence. The possessor of the object of the action must be the third person, regardless of number. If, however, it is absolutely necessary to indicate the number of the possessor, this is accomplished by means of suffixing to the possessed object the possessive suffixes for the third person singular, dual or plural (see § 88). It is noteworthy that the possessed object appears in the absolutive form, and not with the locative case endings, as might be expected. The pronominal suffixes expressing the subject of the action follow the suffix *-ūl*; and as this suffix ends in a consonant, and some of the subjective pronouns begin with a consonant, the pronouns are frequently preceded by a connecting, weak vowel (see § 4). There exists undoubtedly an etymological connection between the *ū* of this suffix and the *ū* of the direct object of the third person *-ūn* (see §§ 23, 28). For the *ū* of *-ūl* the diphthong *a^ū* is quite frequently substituted. This interchange has been discussed in § 2.

sî'na^ū- to desire 18.5

ham^ū- to tie 8.6

yaw^ū- to see 34.4

hīn^ū- to take along 23.2

ya'q^ū- to see 23.9

yaw^ū- to see 34.4

ya^ak!- small 36.23

haw^ū- to end, to make 14.6

lak^ū- to take 7.5

sî'n^ūxyūln hītsi'ī I like his house

ha'ma^{aū}ln tēil I tie his hands

yīxa'yūlan^ū mītā you see his father

hīna'yūlan^ū L!xmī'tī you took his bow along

ū^l ya'q^ūyūl mī'ck'laⁱ and he saw her vulva (bad thing) 90.10

yāwī'wūla^ū x tēu'w^s he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.15

yāk!ī'tē'tūl xwā'ka she cut his head into pieces 96.11

ha'ī'na haū'ūl haⁱ different she made his mind 58.9

t!ī'yaⁱ lakwa'kūl ants māt!ī' bear had seized that his older brother 58.16

qwa''n- to pour 29.2

ʷl wàn qwa''nūl laaya'te^{xtc} (they two) now pour it into his mouth 96.7

hate'- to ask 66.16

ʷltcā hate'a'yūl haⁱ you ask her (literally, and you ask about her mind [opinion]) 74.8

§ 36. *Suffix Expressing an Object Possessed by a First or Second Person Object -ūlts (-a^{ults})*

This suffix has the same function as *-ūl*, but differs from it in so far as the possessor of the object must be either a first or a second person. The number of the possessor, when required, is indicated by the possessive suffixes added to the possessed object (see § 88). Owing to the variability of the person of the possessor, this suffix conveys, besides the idea of a possessive relation between two objects, also the connection that exists between subject and object. Hence it assumes a function, limited in scope, but similar in character to the suffix for the combined subject and object pronouns. This functional similarity is indicated even in the phonetic composition of the suffix. *-ūlts* is undoubtedly a compound suffix consisting of the previously discussed *-ūl* and of the suffix for the subject and object pronoun *-ūts* (see § 29). It is not inconceivable that the original form may have been *-ūlūts*, contracted later on into *-ūlts*. A comparison of the Siuslaw transitive indicative suffixes shows that the majority of them have the *ū* in common. Hence it may be claimed that the *ū* originally conveyed the idea of a transitive indicative action (see § 23); and as the *ū* was already present in the first element of this suffix (*-ūl*), it may have been omitted as superfluous in the second part.

Owing to this additional function of this suffix as a medium of expressing subject and object pronouns, the subjective pronouns are added to it in a method similar to the one employed in the suffixation of the subjective pronouns to the suffix *-ūts* (see § 25). After certain consonants this suffix is changed into *-a^{ults}* (see § 2).

hīn- to take along 23.2

hīna'yūltsanx L!xmī'tī I take along thy bow

yax- to see 34.4

yīxa'yūltsanx qa'nnī I look at thy face

L!x(ū)- to know 40.16

L!xū'yūltsanx mītā qnā I know thy father

<i>wax-</i> to give 18.2	<i>waxa'yũłtsanx tã'kĩn mĩ'n'xwĩ</i> I will give thee my lightning 38.1, 2
<i>L!xmaĩ-</i> to kill 15.3	<i>L!xmaĩ'yũłtsanx m^uũ'sk^u qnĩx^{ats}</i> you killed my younger brother
<i>tsxan-</i> to comb	<i>tsxana'yũłtsanx hĩ'qũ'</i> you combed my hair
<i>łak^u-</i> to take 7.5	<i>ł'kwa'yũłtsĩn ants qal'tc</i> he took that my knife
<i>L!x(ũ)-</i> to know 40.16	<i>L!xũ'yũłtsĩn mĩtã</i> he knows my father <i>s^{as}as L!xũ'yũłtsanx mĩtã</i> he knows thy father <i>s^{as}as yĩxã'yũłtsanx qa'nnĩ</i> he looks at thy face

§ 37. *Suffixes Denoting Possessive Interrelations for Tenses other than the Present -isĩti, -a^wĩti, -yaxa'iti*

When possessive interrelations that occur in tenses other than the present are to be expressed, the Siuslaw language resorts to an interesting form of composition of suffixes. Thus the durative suffix *-ĩs* (see § 69), the intentional (see § 70), and the past *-yax* (see § 74), are combined with the possessive suffix *-ĩti* (see § 88), forming new compound suffixes *-ĩsĩti*, *-a^wĩti*, and *-yaxa'iti*, that indicate semi-reflexive actions performed constantly, or about to be performed, or performed long ago. In these new suffixes no sharp line of demarcation is drawn between objects that are inseparably connected with the subject, and objects that are possessed by the subject.

<i>ya^a'k!-</i> small 36.23	
<i>yãk!ĩs</i> he is constantly (get- ting) small	<i>kwi'tcĩ yã'k!ĩsĩti ha^ĩ</i> don't ye be downhearted! (literally, not you small always make your mind) 66.5
<i>haw-</i> to finish 14.6	
<i>ha^wwĩs</i> he makes continually	<i>u^{en}x kumĩ'ntc ats'itc ha^wwĩsĩti</i> <i>ha^ĩ</i> and you don't believe it thus (literally, and you, not thus, make continually your mind) 46.24 <i>qa'xantc ha^wwĩsĩti ha^ĩ</i> downward make continually your hearts 8.10

hīn- to take along 23.2

hī'nīs he always takes along

nīx^ats uł^ɛnə ganī'nal hī'nīsītī you
will take along your knife (liter-
ally, you, and you, knife, take
along will always yours) 50.16,
17

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

xnī'^wnīs (we) always do it
72.15

uł^ɛnł xnī'^wnīsītī still we will keep
on doing our . . . 72.17

hamx- to tie 8.6

hamxā^w- to intend to tie

hamxā'^wītīn hī'qūⁱ I intend tying
my hair

pāx- to shut (eye) 36.16

pāxā^w- to be about to close

pāxā'^wītīn kōpə I intend to close
my eyes

yā'xatc'- to try to look 13.7

yāxatc'a^w- to intend to try to
look

yāxatc'a^w wītīn t'āmc k'ɛ'ɪū I in-
tend to try to look for my boy
tomorrow 60.1, 2

tquya^w- to intend to boil

uł^ɛns tquya'^wītī we will cook (our
camas) 98.3

hamx- to tie 8.6

ha'məyax he tied

ha'məyaxāⁱtī hī'qūⁱ he tied his hair

pāx- to close 36.16

pā'əyax he closed

pā'əyaxāⁱtīn kōpə I closed my eyes

A similar process is resorted to whenever the prohibitive mode (see § 40) of an action denoting that the object is possessed by the subject is to be expressed. In such cases the durative *-īs* (see § 69) is combined with the possessive *-ītī* (see § 88), and the whole verb is preceded by the negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kumī'ntc* NOT (see § 131).

tsəanu- to comb

kūwīnə tsəa'nwīsītī hī'qūⁱ don't
comb thy hair!

lk'a- to open 28.2

kū'its lk'a'ⁱsītī zaa' don't you
(pl.) open your mouths!

hīn- to take along 23.2

kūwīnə hī'nīsītī sī'xaⁱ don't take
thy canoe along!

haw- to finish, to work 14.6

kumī'ntc'tcē qā'xante ha'^wwīsītī
haⁱ don't ye be continually
downhearted (literally, not ye,
downwards, make continually
your, hearts) 8.10

Passive Suffixes Indicating Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations
(§§ 38-39)

§ 38. *Passive Suffixes for Verbs Requiring in the Active a Double Object* -ime, -ūme (-a^ume)

-ime. This suffix invariably follows the verbalizing -i or -aⁱ (see § 75), and seems to express the passive voice of verbs that require in the active the presence of a double (direct and indirect) object, although it will be found suffixed to verbal stems that do not necessarily require such a double object. Whenever the subjective pronouns are added to it, the obscure *E* of this suffix is changed into a weak *a* or *i*. The form -ime occurs in terminal position only. This suffix follows all temporal suffixes.

<i>wax-</i> to give 18.2	<i>waxa'yīmanx qanī'nal</i> it (will) be given to you, (a) big knife 19.6
	<i>hī'q!a waxa'yūsime a'nts^{etc} mītā</i> dentalia shells are usually given to him, to that her father 74.19
<i>hīts-</i> to put on 11.10	<i>hītsa'yīmîn</i> it is put on me
<i>haw-</i> to end, to make, 14.6	<i>taxūnx hī'sa hawa'yīme haⁱ</i> they are just good-minded toward thee (literally, just thee well it is made towards, mind) 21.1

In two instances this suffix has been added to a stem without the aid of the verbalizing -i (-aⁱ).

<i>ha'ūs</i> easy	<i>atsī'tc ha'ūsime</i> thus it was agreed upon (literally, thus it was [made] easy) 24.1
<i>haw-</i> to finish, to end 14.6	<i>ha'ūsime ants ts!aln</i> ready (made for him is) that pitch 26.5, 6

This suffix may be preceded—for the sake of emphasizing its passive function—by the present passive -*xam* (see § 55). In such cases the verbalizing suffix is omitted.

<i>hīts-</i> to put on 11.8	<i>waa' ants hītsi'xamime</i> said that one on whom it was put on 11.10
<i>qū'n-</i> to pour	<i>uⁱ wān qū'nī'xamime</i> and now it was poured down into his . . . 29.2
<i>āq-</i> to take off 13.1	<i>aqā'i'xamime</i> it was taken off him

-ūmE has the same function as *-īmE*, and is used in connection with similar verbal stems. It differs from it only in so far as it is added directly to the stem. An explanation of the parallel occurrence of *-ūme* and *-a^umE* has been given in § 2.

wax- to give 18.2

tE'' qīn waxa^wmE what do you give me (literally, something to me, it is given?) 18.2

qanī'nał waxa^wmana a big knife is given to you 21.4

pī'ū- to be noisy 36.24

waⁱ yā^a'xaⁱ tE'q uł pī'ūmE they made noise with everything (literally, although many things [they have], still it is made noise with) 29.1

§ 39. *Passive Suffixes Denoting Possessive Relations of the Subject -ūłtx, -xamłtx*

These suffixes express, besides the passive voice, also the fact that the recipient of the action is either possessed or forms an integral part of a given object.

-ūłtx seems to be composed of the suffix *-ūł*, which indicates that the object forms an integral part of or is possessed by another object (see § 35), and of the suffix *-tx*, denoting that the object is an integral part of the subject (see § 33). If this is the origin of the compound suffix, the amalgamation of these two independent suffixes into one new formative element that expresses the passive voice, and at the same time contains the idea of a possessive relation between object (grammatical subject) and object, presents a problem that must remain unexplained. The person of the possessed subject is indicated by the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24). The stem to which this suffix is added occurs frequently in an amplified form (see § 112). Stems ending in *i* (short or long) change it into *y* before adding the passive suffix (see § 8).

łak^w- to take, to get 7.5

kumī'ntc^wax łakwa'ūłtx ants qī'ūtc
not their (dual) were taken,
those wives 50.22

łakwa'ūłtxa^wax ta'tc^wax qī'ūtc taken
away were these their (dual)
wives 52.3, 4

<i>tū'</i> - (also <i>t!ū'</i>) to buy 74.8	<i>kum!ntc^{en}x taw t!ūha'ūltxanx</i> <i>t!āmc</i> not for nothing will they buy your child (literally, not [of] thee just bought [will be] thy child) 74.5
<i>xāL!</i> - to make 50.8	<i>sīnⁱxyū^u xāL!a'ūltx</i> they try to find some remedy (literally, they desire [that] made [cured] be his mind) 15.5 <i>hūya'ūltx haⁱ</i> his mind will be made different 19.2
<i>sī'nxī-</i> to desire 18.5	<i>sī'nⁱxyūltxanx t!āmc</i> thy child is desired (asked for) 74.4
<i>tsī'nxī-</i> to scorch	<i>u^la^wx tsīna'xⁱyūltx q^uLī'mt</i> and their (dual) anus [will] be scorched 88.7
<i>hac'</i> - to ask 66.16	<i>ha'tc'yaxa^ultx haⁱ ants qūtcū'nî</i> (when) asked was her opinion, that woman 74.16 (-a ^u ltx = -ūltx see § 2)

In many instances this suffix is preceded by the verbalizing -aⁱ (see §§ 75, 8).

<i>skwaha'</i> he stands 14.4	<i>u^l skwaha'yūltx tegyū^u</i> then is stood up its (of the house) frame 80.7
<i>tkwī'</i> - to bury 80.10	<i>tkwīha'yūltx gaw^untī'yūwītc ants</i> <i>hītsī'ⁱ</i> dirt is put on both sides (of) that house 80.10, 11
<i>hac'</i> - to ask 66.16	. . . <i>ants hac'a'yūltx haⁱ</i> (when of) that one is asked his opinion 74.4, 5
<i>waa'</i> he says 8.9	<i>waa'yūltxan mītà</i> my father is spoken to

-*xamttx* is undoubtedly composed of the suffix for the present passive -*xam* (see § 55), of the abbreviated -*ūl* (see § 35), and of the suffix -*tx* (see § 33). When it is remembered that this suffix can be added only to verbs that require a double object, the amalgamation of these three independent formative elements into one suffix for the purpose of expressing the passive voice of an act whose recipient (grammatical subject) stands in some possessive relation to one of

the three persons (speaker, person spoken to, or person spoken of), becomes at once apparent.

The use of this suffix may be illustrated by an example. The verb TO PUT ON requires a double object, because it implies the idea TO PUT SOMETHING ON SOMEBODY, or *vice versa*. Hence Siuslaw renders the English sentence HIS HAT WAS PUT ON (really, HIS HAT WAS PUT ON HIM) by a complex consisting of the verbal stem and the compound suffix *-xamltx*. In this suffix the first element, *-xam*, indicates that the action is passive (performed by somebody upon the recipient); the second element, *-l-*, denotes that the direct object (in this case the noun HAT) is possessed by the recipient of the action; while the last element, *-tx* (which when used alone indicates that the object forms an integral part of the subject), serves to bring out the idea that the action is performed upon the indirect object (ON HIM) which (in this case) can no be separated from the (logical) subject (HIS HAT).

The persons that are implied in the possessive relations as indicated by this suffix are expressed by means of the subjective pronouns added to it (see § 24). Since the first element of this compound suffix is the present passive *-xam*, the manner in which it is added to the verbal stem is similar to that employed in the suffixation of *-xam* (see § 55).

āq- to take off 13.1

hīts- to put on 11.8

t!Emx^u- to cut off

lak^u- to take (away) 7.5

aqā'xamltxan lkwa'nug^u taken off
(me) is my hat

hīts'xamltxan lkwa'nug^u put on
(me) is my hat

t!Emxwa'xamltxanx tēL cut off
(thee) was thy hand

*s^əatsē'tc^wax waa'xam a'ntsux lo-
kw'xamltx qī'ūtc* thus were told
those two from whom the wives
were taken away (literally, thus
they two were told, those two
[of] whom taken away were
[those their dual] wives) 54.14

Imperative Forms Denoting Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations (§§ 40-48)

§ 40. Introductory

In the following sections there will be discussed suffixes that express not only the imperative mode, but also the exhortative.

Besides separate suffixes indicating the imperative of intransitive and transitive verbs (see §§ 61, 62), Siuslaw shows distinct suffixes that express the pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object.

Another interesting feature that may be noted in connection with the formation of the imperative mode is the presence of a distinct negative form of the imperative or prohibitive mode, and the manner in which it is expressed. Generally speaking, the durative suffix *-īs* (see § 69), used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see § 24), and in addition to the particle of negation (see § 131), expresses the prohibitive mode. This idiomatic expression may be justified by the fact that a prohibitive command addressed to the second person has much in common with the negative form of a durative action performed by the same person.

Owing to the fact that the imperative suffixes express other categories than a command, the prohibitive form of the imperative referring to such categories is expressed by adding to the durative *-īs* the respective suffixes that denote the non-imperative idea (see §§ 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37). Examples of the prohibitive mode and a detailed description of its formation will be found in §§ 60–62, 42–46.

§ 41. *Exhortative Suffixes Expressing the Direct Object of the Third Person -yūn, -īʷyūn, -inī*

These three suffixes express an admonition to perform an action having a third (not mentioned) person as its object. The difference between *-yūn* and *-īʷyūn* could not be traced to any particular cause, owing chiefly to the fact that the latter form occurs very seldom. The informant always rendered the first two suffixes by a transitive future, and they seem to have been employed quite extensively in this secondary function.

-yūn is suffixed to verbs expressing transitive ideas only, and the stem to which it is added always occurs in an amplified form (see §§ 7, 112).

aʲq- to leave 56.6

taʲʷkʷns ayaʲqyūn tɛ ɫʲɪʲaʲ here we
two (incl.) will leave this salmon
(literally, let us two leave)

ɫʲōx- to send 16.10

ɫʲōwaʲxyūn hɪtc I will send these
people (literally, let me send)
30.19

<i>anx-</i> to give up 60.11	<i>kumî'ntcînl ana'xyûn</i> not we (incl.) will give it up (literally, don't let us two) 16.8
<i>L!xmaî'-</i> to kill 15.3	<i>L!xmîya'yûnanî</i> we (incl.) will kill him (literally, let us kill him) 28.3
<i>î't!-</i> to eat 15.2	<i>kumî'ntc î't!îyun</i> not he will eat it (literally, don't let him eat it) 34.22
<i>hamx-</i> to tie 8.6	<i>hama'xyûn</i> he will tie it (literally, let him tie it)

-î'wyûn exercises apparently the same function as the first suffix, but does not necessarily require amplification of the stem to which it is added.

<i>xnî'wî-</i> to do 11.11	<i>xnî'wî'wyûns</i> we two (incl.) will do it (literally, let us two do it) 10.5 <i>xnîyunî'wyûn</i> I will do it (literally, let me do it)
<i>qatcî'n-</i> to go 12.1	<i>qatcî'nî'wyûn</i> I will make him go (literally, let me make him go)
<i>kwa^{hu}n-</i> to bend down 13.5	<i>kû'nî'wyûn</i> I will bend it down

In an analogous manner Siuslaw seems to have formed an exhortative suffix expressing the direct object of the first person. This is done by substituting *-ts* (see § 23) for the *-n*. As but few examples of this formation were obtained, a full discussion is impossible. The examples follow.

<i>yaq^u'-</i> to look, to see 25.3	<i>yaq^u'yî'wûtsatcî</i> ye look at me 72.11, 12
<i>L!xû-</i> to know 40.7	<i>L!xûwa'xûyûtsa'tcî</i> ye shall know me 30.17
<i>ka^ûs-</i> to follow 92.7	<i>k'wasî'yû'tsana^û</i> you shall follow me 92.3
<i>hî'n-</i> to take along 9.5	<i>hî'ya'nyûtsanx</i> I will take you along 58.6

-î'nî is suffixed to transitive verbs, and is always used in connection with the exhortative particle *qaî* (see § 129). The subjective pronouns for the first and third persons as the performers of the action are always added to the particle (see § 26). This suffix appears frequently as *-aî'nî* (see § 2).

<i>lak^u</i> - to take, to seize 7.5	<i>qaⁱla^{ux} lakwī'nī</i> let them two take (them)! 52.12, 13
<i>waa'</i> - to speak 7.1	<i>qaⁱl waaⁱnī</i> let him speak to him!
<i>tqūl</i> - to shout 52.8	<i>qaⁱl^{ens} tqūlī'nī</i> let us two (incl.) shout at him!
<i>hīts</i> - to put on 11.8	<i>qaⁱl^{ens} hⁱyatsī'nī</i> let them put it on!
<i>tū'n</i> - to invite 16.2	<i>qaⁱl^{ens} tū'nī'nī</i> let us (incl.) invite

§ 42. Imperative Suffix Expressing the Direct Object of the First Person -its (-aⁱts)

This suffix is added directly to the stem, and commands the person addressed (subject) to perform an act upon an object which must be one of the first persons. The *-ts* of this suffix is undoubtedly identical with the *-ts* found in all suffixes that express first and second persons objects (see §§ 23, 29, 34, 36). The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix can be only those indicating the second persons as the subject and the first persons as the object of the action (see table, pp. 473, 474). In this connection the following peculiarities may be noted:

- (1) The singular subject is not expressed, being understood in the command.
- (2) Dual and plural objects are not expressed in the suffixes, but are indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns for the first persons.
- (3) For a singular object the subjective pronoun for the first singular (-*n*) is added to the imperative suffix.
- (4) For dual and plural subjects the subjective pronouns for these persons are added to the imperative *-īts*.

The following table will best serve to illustrate these four rules:

	Thou	Ye	You
Me	<i>-ītsin</i>	<i>-ītsats</i>	<i>-ītsatcl</i>
Us two (exclusive) . .	<i>-ītsauzān</i>	<i>-ītsats</i>	<i>-ītsatcl</i>
Us (exclusive) . . .	<i>-ītsanzan</i>	<i>-ītsats</i>	<i>-ītsatcl</i>

The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see §§ 4, 24).

This imperative suffix occurs often as *-aⁱts* (see § 2).

waa'- to speak 7.1

hīn- to take along 23.2

L!wan- to tell 7.3

yaq^u- to look 23.9

aⁱq- to leave 56.5

wa'aⁱtsīn tā'kīn wa'as speak to me
(with) this my language! 36.10

hī'nītsīn take me along!

L!wā'nītsīn tell me!

L!wā'nītsanxan tell us (excl.)!

ya'quhītsats tē nà look ye at me!

aⁱ'qaⁱtsatcī you leave me!

The prohibitive form is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* with the objective form *-ūts* and by placing the particle of negation *kūⁱ*, *kumī'ntc*, before the verbal expression (see §§ 69, 29, 60). The pronominal suffixes are those used to express the second person as the subject, and the first person as the object, of an action (see § 24 and table, pp. 473, 474).

hīn- to take along 23.2

qn^u- to find 34.12

kwīnā hī'nīsūts don't take me
along!

kwī'nāxan hī'nīsūts don't take us
(excl.) along!

kwīnā qnū''wīsūts don't find me!

§ 43. Imperative Suffix Indicating the Indirect Object of the Third Person *-yūx*

This suffix is etymologically related to the suffix *-ūx* discussed in § 30. It is added to verbs requiring the presence of a direct and indirect object, and it expresses a command that involves the third person (singular, dual and plural) as the recipient of the action.

wax- to give 18.2

qū'n- to pour 29.2

hīts- to put on 11.8

hamāx- to tie 8.6

wa'xyūx give it to him!

wa'xyūxanāx give it to them!

qwa'ⁱnyūx Laaya'tc pour it down
into his mouth! 29.2

hⁱya'tsyūx put it on him!

ha'māxyūx tie it on him!

The prohibitive mode is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūx* (see § 30) and by placing the particle *kūⁱ* or *kumī'ntc* (see § 131), before the verbal expression.

wax- to give 18.2

hīts- to put on 11.8

qū'n- to pour 29.2

kwīnā wa'xaⁱsūx don't give it to
him!

kwīnā hⁱya'tsīsūx don't put it on
him!

kumī'ntc^{en}x qwa'ⁱnīsūx don't pour
it (into his mouth)!

§ 44. *Imperative Suffix Denoting the Indirect Object of the First Person -imts*

This suffix expresses a command to perform an act the indirect recipient of which is the first person. It is etymologically related to the imperative suffix *-ĩts* (see § 42) and to the objective form *-emts* (see § 31), being composed of the initial element of the former suffix and of the whole of the latter formation (see § 23). The method of adding the pronominal forms to this suffix is identical with the method discussed on pp. 472-475.

wax- to give 18.2

hĩts- to put on 11.8

hamx- to tie 8.6

wā'wĩmĩtsĩn give it to me!

wā'wĩmĩtsanxan give it to us!

h'ya'tsĩmĩtsĩn put it on me!

ha'mā'ĩmĩtsatc̃i you (pl.) tie it on me!

The suffixed particle *-ū* (see § 132) is frequently added to this combined suffix. In such cases it denotes an act performed near the speaker.

xwĩL!- to return 12.6

hamx- to tie 8.6

xwĩL!ĩ'mĩtsĩnū give it back to me!

hamx'ĩ'mĩtsĩnū tie it on me!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-ĩs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-emts* (see § 31 and also § 40).

wax- to give 18.2

hĩts- to put on 11.8

kwĩnx wa'xā'ĩsemts don't give it to me!

kwĩnx h'ya'tsĩsemts nātc don't put it on me!

§ 45. *Imperative Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person -iĩ.*

This suffix indicates that the possessor of the recipient of the action is the third person singular. Duality and plurality of the possessor is expressed by suffixing the subjective pronouns for the third persons dual and plural (see § 24) to the possessed object (see § 35). This suffix is added directly to the stem, and is related (phonetically and etymologically) to the suffix *-ūĩ*, indicating that the object is possessed by a third person object (see §§ 23, 35). Duality and plurality of the subject of the action are expressed by adding the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tc̃i* (see § 24) to the suffix *-ĩĩ*; and as these pronouns begin with

a consonant, they are merged with the imperative suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

yū^{wi}L!- to break 94.4
tsxanu- to comb
hīn- to take along 23.2
lān- to call 23.7

hamx- to tie 8.6

t!E'mxū- to cut 48.12

yū'L.īl gal'tc break his knife!
tsxa'nwīl hī'qūⁱ comb his hair!
hī'nīl L!xmī'ti take along his bow!
lā'nīl lī'ntc^{wax} call their (dual)
 names!
ha'mxīl tē'l Ltc'nax tie their hands!
hamxī'lats tēL you two tie his
 hands!
t!Emxū'latcī xwā'ka you cut (off)
 his head!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūl* (see § 35) and by placing the negation *kūⁱ*, *kumī'ntc* NOT before the verb (see § 40).

yū^{wi}L!- to break 94.4

hamx- to tie 8.6

tsxanu- to comb

kwīnax yū'L.īsūl gal'tc don't break
 his knife!
kumī'ntc'nax ha'mxīsūl tēL don't
 tie his hands!
kwīnax tsxa'nwīsūl hī'qūⁱ don't
 comb his hair!

§ 46. Imperative Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a First Person -īlts

It expresses a command to perform an action, whose recipient is either possessed or forms an integral part of the first person. It is related to the imperative *-īts* (see § 42) and to the suffix *-ūlts* discussed in § 36. The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix for the purpose of indicating the number of subject and possessor are identical with those discussed on pp. 472-475.

xāL!- to make 50.8
xamL- to wash
hīn- to take along 23.2

hamx- to tie 8.6

xā'L.īltsīn gal'tc fix my knife!
xā'mLīltsīn qa'nnī wash my face!
hī'nīltsatcī sī'xaⁱ you take my canoe
 along!
ha'mxīltsanxan tēL tie our (excl.)
 hands!

The prohibitive form is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūlts* (see § 36). The negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kumī'ntc* NOT must precede the verb, while the pronouns expressing

the person spoken to may be suffixed either to the negation or to the combined suffix (see §§ 40, 26).

<i>tsxanu-</i> to comb	<i>kwīnə tsxə'nvīsūlts hī'qūⁱ</i> don't comb my hair!
<i>hamə-</i> to tie 8.6	<i>kumī'ntc^{ets} ha'māīsūlts tcīL</i> don't you two tie my hands!
<i>hīn-</i> to take along 23.2	<i>kwī'tcī hī'nīsūlts L!xmī'tī</i> don't you take along my bow!

§ 47. *Imperative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations between Object and Subject -tsx*

In the imperative the suffix *-tsx* is used for expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject in both cases, when the object forms an integral part of the subject and when it is only separably connected with it. Considering that actions involved in such a command presuppose the presence of a pronominal subject and object, it is not improbable that the suffix *-tsx* may be related to the suffixes *-ūts* and *-ītx* (see §§ 23, 29, 33). For subjects other than the second person singular, the different subjective pronouns are added to *-tsx* (see §§ 24, 4).

<i>hī'n^{ek}/y</i> to rain 78.1	<i>hī'n^{ek}/ītsx L!a'^{ai}</i> cause (thy) rain to come down! 76.18
<i>tsxanu-</i> to comb	<i>tsxə'nutsx hī'qūⁱ</i> comb thy hair!
<i>īk!a'a-</i> to open 28.2	<i>īk!a'atsx Laa'</i> open thy mouth!
<i>īak^u-</i> to take 7.5	<i>īa'kutsx k^əā'nī</i> get thy basket!
<i>L!ōx-</i> to send 16.10	<i>L!ōxtsx hītc</i> send thy man!
<i>pāx-</i> to close 36.16	<i>pāxtsx kōpə</i> shut thy eyes!
<i>mīnə^u-</i> to lighten 38.5	<i>mī'nə^utsx L!a'^{ai}</i> make lightning! 38.5
<i>aⁱtc-</i> to trade 36.4	<i>aⁱtcna^{hu}tsxans</i> let us two (incl). trade!
<i>īak^u-</i> to get 7.5	<i>īa'kutsxats qī'ūtc</i> you two take your wives! 52.17
<i>hī'n^{ek}/y-</i> to rain 78.1	<i>hī'n^{ek}/ītsxats L!a'^{ai}</i> you two cause your rain to descend 76.19
	<i>hīn^{ek}/ī'tsxatcī L!a'^{ai}</i> you fellows make rain!

For the formation of the prohibitive mode see § 37.

§ 48. *Exhortative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject* -*itsmE* (-*a¹tsmE*)

This suffix may be called the imperativized form of the suffix -*ūtsm* denoting that the object is separably connected with the subject (see §§ 23, 34). It expresses, however, possessive relations between subject and object regardless of the kind of possession, and is used only in connection with the particle *qaⁱl* (see § 129). By its means Siuslaw expresses a desire addressed to the first and third persons that a certain act be performed upon an object that either forms an integral part of or else is separably connected with the third person. All subjective pronouns are added to the particle *qaⁱl* (see §§ 24, 26). Siuslaw has no distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possessive relations with the first or second persons as the possessor, or relations between subject and object. For the interchange between -*ītsmE* and -*aⁱtsmE* see § 2.

pāw- to close 36.16

qaⁱl paxaⁱ'tsmE kōpə let him shut his eyes!

xāL/- to build 50.8

qaⁱ'l^{ns} xāL /'i' tsmE hītsⁱ'i let us two (incl.) fix his house!

xamL- to wash

qaⁱ'lnə xamLⁱ' tsmE qa'nⁿə let them wash their faces!

hīts- to put on 11.8

qaⁱ'la^w hⁱyatsⁱ' tsmE lkwanu'q^u let them two put on their (dual) hats!

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 49-64)

§ 49. *Introductory*

In the succeeding chapters will be discussed, besides the suffixes that indicate the passive voice and the imperative and exhortative modes, also the formative elements expressing such concepts as reciprocity, distribution, and tentative and negative actions. A separate section might have been devoted here to a discussion of the formative elements -*ū* and -*ī*, the former expressing the indicative and the latter indicating the imperative mode. Since, however, these two elements never occur alone, and since they have been fully discussed in connection with other suffixes (see §§ 23, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48), it has been thought advisable to call attention here to their modal functions, but not to treat them separately.

§ 50. Reciprocal *-naw(a)*, *-mux^u-*

-naw(a) precedes all other suffixes, and is followed by the subjective pronouns. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit clusters of *w* + any consonant (excepting *n*), the *w* of this suffix changes into a voiceless *w* (written here ^{hu}) before all consonants except *n* (see § 4). For that reason the reciprocal *-naw(a)*, when followed by the present *-t* (see § 72), the future *-tūw* (see § 73), or by the imperative *-em* (see § 61), is heard as *-na^{hut}t*, *-na^{hut}tūw*, and *-na^{hum}m* respectively.

The stem to which this suffix is added is not infrequently followed by the reflexive particle *ts'îms* (see § 123). The full form *-nawa* is added when the suffix stands in final position; that is to say, when it expresses the subjective pronoun for the third person singular (see § 24).

lōl- to hit

lōlna'wans we two (incl.) hit each other

lōlna'wa^uxūn ts'îms we two (excl.) hit each other

lōlna'wats ts'îms you two hit each other

wînx- to be afraid 17.6

wînxna'wa^ux they two were afraid of each other 86.1, 2

waa'- to speak 7.1

waana'wa^ux they two talk to each other 10.4

s^əatsi'te^wax waana'wa thus they two speak to each other 10.1, 2

waana'wisa^ux ants m^aā'ti they two keep on talking to each other, those chiefs 78.8, 9

sî'naĩ- to desire 18.5

a'tsanl kumî'ntc mî'k!a'na sîn'x-na'wîs thus we (incl.) won't try to abuse one another (literally, thus we not badly will desire [to abuse] one another continually) 78.12, 13

wînx- to fear 17.6

wînxna'wanxan ts'îms we (excl.) are afraid of one another.

tqūl- to shout 52.8

tqūlna'wanx they shout at one another.

aⁱtc- to trade 36.4

aⁱtcna'^{hut}tūx^əns we two (incl.) will trade 36.7

ʷla^ux aⁱtcna'ha^ut then they two traded 36.7

lōl- to hit*lōlna^{hu}tūaxts* you two will hit each other*tqūl-* to shout 52.8*lōlna^{hu}mats* you two hit each other!
tqūlna^{hu}tūnxa we (excl.) will shout at one another*yaq^u-* to look 23.9*yaq^uhēna^{hu}matē* look you at one another!*waa'-* to speak 7.1*waana^{hu}txanx* *wa'as* they speak one another's language

In two instances this suffix is followed by the verbalizing *-aⁱ* implying the commencement of a reciprocal action. For an explanation of this inchoative idea see § 75.

waa'- to speak 7.1*atsi'tc^wax waanawaⁱ* thus they two (begin to) talk to each other 78.13*kū'n-* to beat 72.17*uⁿax wān kū'na'waⁱ* now they (begin to) beat one another 80.1.

In a few instances this suffix is used to express distribution of action.

t!E'maxū^u- to cut 48.12*u^l t!Emax^una'wū^un* he cut it into pieces (literally, he cut it here and there) 52.23, 24*lqu'nvē* knot*lqunwēna^{hu}tūn yā^a'waⁱ* he made lots of knots (literally, he made many knots here and there)*sū'qu-* to join 80.9*sūq^una^{hu}tūn* he joined it together*lāpq-* (?) 80.15*lāpqana^{hu}tūn* he put them side by side*āq-* to take off 13.1*āqna^{hu}tūn* he took it apart.

-mux^u has the same function as the preceding *-naw(a)*, but is employed less often, and seems to be confined to a limited number of stems. This suffix is frequently affected by the shifting of the accent (see § 12).

waaⁱ' he says 8.9*waaⁱ'muxwa^ux* they two talk to each other 10.6*s^watsi'tca^ux waaⁱ'mux^u* thus they two talk to each other 10.6, 7*atsi'tc^wax waa'yemawust* thus they began to talk to each other 56.4*waa'yemaw^usta^ux* they two began to talk to each other 48.13

tcanhātī- to club

tcanhātī'maxtā^ux q^ulī'mt ants
penī's they two were clubbing
 each other's anus, those skunks
 86.9

kīma^uL! - to hit

kīma^uL!muawana they hit one
 another

§ 51. Distributive -*īt'ax*

This suffix expresses the distributive of intransitive verbs. Owing to the fact that most nouns, even without the aid of any specific device, may have the function of intransitive verbs, this suffix will be found added to nouns, especially to terms of relationship. The initial *ī* is frequently changed into *a^ī* (see § 2).

The form -*īt'ax* followed by certain subjective pronouns is subject to a peculiar law of contraction (see § 24).

k!īn- to hear 70.5

k!īnā'īt'axtc wa'as wā'ts!ū īnq!a'-
a^ī two rivers will have one
 language (literally, hear mutu-
 ally their language [the people
 of] two rivers) 32.6, 7

sūqu- to join

sū'qū'īt'ax ants hītsī'ī wāL!ī'yūsne
 adjoining these houses are built
 80.9, 10.

Lāpq- (?)

āqā'tc L!aya' wī cīn^ax hītsī'ī wā-
L!a'yū'ne Lā'pqa'īt'ax on one
 place three houses are built side
 by side 80.14, 15

nīctc- to fight

nī'ctcat'a^ux sī'nīxyūn (to) fight
 mutually they two want (with
 them) 52.2

m^uū'sk^u younger brother 56.6

mā'skwīt'a^ux wā'ts!ūwa^ux younger
 brothers mutually they two
 (were) 40.18

nī'ctcat'a^ux, mā'skwīt'a^ux = nī'ct-
cat'axa^ux, mā'skwīt'axa^ux (see
 § 24)

mīctcī'ī younger sister 40.2

mā'ctcīt'anxan (= *mā'ctcīt'axan-*
xan) sisters mutually we (excl.)
 are

§ 52. Tentative *-tc'*

This suffix indicates an attempt on the part of the subject to perform a certain action, and may best be rendered by TO ATTEMPT, TO TRY . . . The native Siuslaw, unable to express its exact meaning, rendered it by various phrases, chiefly by sentences like TO DO SOMETHING SLOWLY, TO "KIND OF" . . ., etc. Verbal stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between its final sound and the suffix (see § 4). In terminal position this suffix appears as *-tc'ya* (see § 24).

yax- to see 34.4

stī'm^{en}x yāxatc'a'wax there they intend to try to look 60.7

yā'xatc'ist^{en}x līt!aya' you (will) try to begin to look for food 13.7

yāxatc'a'wītīn t!āmc I intend trying to look for my boy 60.1, 2

lxat- to run 12.3

lxatātāt'ist k!ēxū'tc l!aya'tc he begins to attempt to run everywhere 13.8, 9

kū'n- to beat 72.17

ʷl s^{en}a tsī'k!ya kū'nū'tswa that one very (hard) tries to beat (them) 78.18

t!ūha'- to sell, to buy 74.5

t!ūhatc'ī'ntxax (they two) try to sell their (dual) many (hides)

līt!- to eat 13.10

līt!atc'īn I eat slowly

mīx- to swim

mī'xatc'ya he is "kind of" swimming

§ 53. Negative *-īl* (*-a'īl*)

This suffix expresses negation of action, and is used with intransitive verbs only. Negation of transitive verbs by means of a special suffix is not exhibited. The verbal stem to which this suffix is added must be preceded by the negative particles *kūⁱ*, *kum'īntc* NOT (see § 131). An explanation of the parallel occurrence of *-īl* and *-a'īl* is given in § 2.

a^{us}- to sleep 23.9

kum'īntc^{en}xan a'w'sīl not we (excl.) sleep 70.19

xīntm- to travel 12.10

kum'īntc nī'k!a xī'ntmīl not alone he traveled 94.11

cī'naxī- to think

kum'īntc nīctc'ī'tc cī'naxīl not (of) anything he was thinking 60.20, 21

cī'l'x- to move, to shake 27.2

kūⁱ cī'l'xīl not he moved 27.2, 3

<i>wilw-</i> to affirm, to answer 17.7	<i>kūⁱ yā'tsa wī'lwīl</i> not (for) a long time he answered 74.4
<i>taⁱ-</i> to live 32.21	<i>sqū'ma^ul kumî'ntc ta'īl īnq!^aītc</i> pelican did not live in the bay 44.1
<i>sīnq!/-</i> to be hungry 44.11	<i>ū^ln kumî'ntc sī'nq!^aīl</i> I (am) not hungry 44.15, 16
<i>xaū-</i> to die 40.21	<i>kumî'ntc xa'wīl</i> he does not die 15.8

Modal Elements of the Passive Voice (§§ 54-59)

§ 54. *Introductory*

Siuslaw employs a great number of suffixes for the purpose of expressing the passive voice. Many of these suffixes express, besides the passive idea, some other grammatical category, and according to this secondary function they may be divided into the following classes:

- (1) Pure passive suffixes.
- (2) Suffixes conveying the passive voice and temporal categories.
- (3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.

The suffixes of the last category have been fully discussed in §§ 38 and 39.

§ 55. *Present Passive -xam*

It expresses the present tense of the passive voice, and may be added directly to the stem or may be preceded by the verbalizing suffix *-aⁱ* (*-ī*) (see §§ 75, 2). In the latter case it conveys an inchoative passive idea. In narratives this suffix assumes the function of an historic present. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between their final sound and the suffix (see § 4).

<i>L!^owa'x-</i> to send 7.7	<i>ū^l wān L!^oxa'xam</i> then finally he was sent 16.10
<i>qaa-</i> to enter 44.4	<i>saxa^wītc qaa'xam</i> into a canoe it was put in 34.5
<i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>waa'xam s^ʔatsī'ītc</i> he was told thus 8.1
<i>wilw-</i> to affirm 17.7	<i>wilwa'xam</i> he was answered "yes" 30.11
<i>skwa'-</i> to stand 10.9	<i>skwaha'xam ants xa'ītca'a^ū</i> placed was that roast (in the fire) 90.9
<i>hate'-</i> to ask 66.16	<i>ū^l hate'ī'xam</i> he was asked 66.16
<i>lak^u-</i> to get, to take 7.5	<i>tēīmīca'mî lokwī'xam</i> an ax was seized 27.10

In two instances the verbal stem, to which this suffix is added, has been reduplicated (see § 107).

lī'ū he comes 9.3

ʷl wàn l'īl'wa'xam finally he was approached 16.3

temū- to assemble 7.3

t!emt'ma'xam wàn they come to see him now (literally, he is assembled about, now) 23.3, 4

For forms in *-xamlta*, expressing passives with indirect object, the grammatical subject being the property of the indirect object, see § 39.

§ 56. *Future Passives in -atam, -i (-a^l), -aaⁿ*

These suffixes indicate the future tense of the passive voice. No explanation for the occurrence of the variety of forms can be given. Similarly, all attempts to correlate these different suffixes with certain stems have been without results.

-atam is added directly to stems. Stems ending in *a*-vowels contract this vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Final *i* and *ū* of the stem are diphthongized into *ya* and *wa* respectively before the addition of the suffix (see § 7).

temū- to assemble 7.3

nīctēl'tētoī te tem^uwa'tam . . .
why these you, will be assembled 30.17

qn^u- to find 34.12

qn^uwa'tamîn I will be found

s^ēa'tsa thus 8.7

s^ēatsa'tamîn thus it will (be done) to me

k!a'- to invite 16.3

k!aha'tamanx you will be invited

waa'- to speak 7.1

waa'tam he will be told

hīn- to take along 23.2

hīna'tam it will be taken along

By adding to *-atam* the objective form *-ūn* (see § 28) a compound suffix *-atamūn* is obtained which exercises the function of a causative passive for the future tense. No examples of this formation have been found in the texts.

hīn- to take along 23.2

hīna'tamūn he will cause him to be taken along

skwa'- to stand 10.9

skwaha'tamūn I will cause him to be placed

skwaha'tamūn = skwaha'tamūnîn
(see § 15)

tū'n- to invite 16.2

tū'na'tamūn I will cause him to
be invited .

-ī (-aⁱ). This suffix must not be confounded with the nominalizing suffix of identical phonetic value. The stem to which it is added invariably undergoes a phonetic change, which may be called stem-amplification (see § 112). An explanation for the parallel occurrence of *-ī* and *-aⁱ* is found in § 2.

hīn- to take along 23.2

hīya'nīn I shall be taken along

kū'n- to beat 72.17

kūwa'nīn I shall be beaten

lōl- to hit

lōwa'līn you will get hit

hakw- to fall 8.7

lōwa' tē'wate hakwa'aⁱ they two
into the water will be thrown
88.7, 8

ana'w- to give up 16.8

nīctē k^u a'naxaⁱ suppose he be
given up 64.26

L!xūx^u- reduplicated form of

L!xūwa'xwīn I shall be known

L!xū- to know 40.16

-aa^u occurs more frequently than the two previously discussed suffixes, and is added to the bare stem. Stems ending in *a* contract their final vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Sometimes, but not as a rule, the stem is amplified before adding the future passive *-aa^u*. This suffix usually requires the accent.

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

yā'aⁱ xaⁱ hūtaⁱ xnī^wna'a^u much
playing will be done 9.6, 7

L!xmaī'- to kill 15.3

līn kumī'nte sī' nīxyūn L!xmay'a^u
I not want it (that) he shall be
killed 15.8, 16.2

tū'n- to invite

s'a'tsa tū'na'a^u thus he will be
invited 16.2

ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7

atsī'te waa'xam meq!ē'ina'a^u thus
it was said, "A dance will be
arranged for him" 19.1, 2

L!ōw- to send 16.10

ē' nīxyat!ya ants hīte L!ōxa'a^u was
thinking that man (who) was
going to be sent 19.8, 9

xaū- to die 40.21

sī' nīxyū'ne xawa'a^u it was desired
(that) he be killed 24.1

hīn- to take along 9.5

wān hīna'a^u now he will be taken
along 25.1

tū'tc- to spear 62.2

lak^u- to get 7.5

towatca'a^u it will be speared 62.3
kum'i'ntc^{en}x *twū lakwa'a^u*, *tūha'-*
a^unax yā'a^a not for nothing they
 will get you, they will buy you
 big (literally, not you just taken
 will be, bought you will be
 much) 74.16, 17

§ 57. Past Passive -xamyax

This suffix is (loosely) composed of the present passive *-xam* (see § 55) and of the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74).

qnū'- to find 56.9

lak^u- to seize 7.5

s^ea'tsa thus 11.10

hīq!- to start 15.1

xaū' he died 40.21

īmnā'q qn^u'wa'xamyax elk was
 found 34.12, 13

ants hītc lōkwī'xamyax that man
 (who) was seized 60.12

s^eatsī'xamyax thus it was (done)
 32.16

s^ea'tsa hīq!a'xamyax thus it was
 started 32.16

xa^uwī'xamyax he was killed 29.6

That the composition of this suffix is felt to be rather loose may be best inferred from the fact that the sign of the past (*-yax*) may precede the passive suffix *-xam*, as is shown in the following instances:

ā'naxi- to think 60.21

hūⁱ- (?) to lose

yāk!ī'tc- in pieces 96.11

tc!ha^uc- to be glad 27.1

ā'nīxyaxam s^eatsī'tc it was thought
 thus 27.6

hūⁱ'yaxan (I) got lost 68.2

yāk!ītcya'xam xwā'kate into pieces
 was (cut) his head 29.4, 5

tc!ha^ucya'xam wān gladness was
 felt now 23.3

In all these instances the suffix *-yaxam* has resulted from an original *-yaxxam* (see § 15).

§ 58. Passive Verbs in -ūtn- (-a^ūtn-), -ū'ne (-a^ū'ne)

These suffixes are extensively employed in the formation of the passive voice; alone they do not express any particular tense. They may be added either directly to the stem, or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75). The subjective suffixes are added to these suffixes by means of a weak vowel (see § 4); but since the third person singular has no distinct form, and as clusters of

consonants in final position are inadmissible, the form of this suffix in terminal position is always $-ūtnE$ ($-a^{ū}tnE$).

The form $-ū'nE$ has resulted from the change of the t of $-ūtn$ to a weak aspiration (see § 16). The interchange between $ū$ and $a^{ū}$ has been discussed in § 2.

$qaLx$ - to count 8.5

$xnī^wn$ - to do 10.5

waa - to speak 7.1

$gacū'ix$ he drinks

$lhaḥ'ix$ - to shout continually
11.10

waa' he says 8.9

$tū'tca'$ he spears 62.2

$xāL/a'$ he makes 50.8

$xnī^wn$ - to do 10.5

$mīttc$ - to burn 26.9

waa' he says 8.9

$xāL/a'$ he makes 50.8

k/a' - to invite 16.3

$sī'naī$ - to desire 18.5

$L/ōnītx$ - to tell continually

$ū' qa' LxūtnE$ then it was counted

$s^a'tsa xnī^wnūtnE$ thus it was done
62.9

$kumī'ntc nīctc'ic wa'a' a^{ū}tnE$ nothing was said 18.3

$pā'l'ū gacū'ix a^{ū}tnE$ (from the) well it is drunk 76.12

$lhaḥ'ix a^{ū}tnE$ he is continually shouted at

$atsī'tc'īn waa'yūtnE$ thus I am told
20.6

$tū'tca'yūtnE$ it is speared 8.7

$tsī'L/ī L/a'a' ū' xāL/a'yūtnE$ many arrows are made 78.6

$s^a'tsa xnī^wnū'nE$ thus it is done
74.2

$ma'ttcū'nE ants hītsī'i$ a fire was built (in) that house 25.2

$s^atsī'tc waa'yū'nE ants hītc$ thus was told that man 30.2, 3

$k'ix tē'q xāL/a'yū'nE$ everything is made 78.5, 6

$k'aha'yū'nīn$ I am invited 17.9

$k'aha'yū'nanx$ thou art invited
16.3

$k'aha'yū'natcī$ you are invited
30.10

$sī'nīxyū'nanx Lī'ūtūx$ you are wanted (to) come 19.7, 8

$atsī'tc L/ōnī'txa^{ū'nE}$ thus it is frequently said 16.9

When preceded by the sign of the past tense, $-yax$ (see § 74), these suffixes denote the passive voice of the past tense.

hac' - to ask 66.16

$atsī'tc waa' ants ha'tc'yaxa^{ū'tnE}$
thus said that one (who) was asked 66.24, 25

haw- to finish 14.6

. . . *ants h̄tsi' i ha^uwaⁱ styaxa^ūtn_E*
(when) that house began to be
finished

§ 59. *Durative Passives in -isūtn- (-isū'n_E), -ūsn-*

-isūtn- (-isū'n_E). This suffix is composed of the durative *-īs* (see § 69) and of the passive *-ūtn-* (see § 58). It denotes a passive action of long duration. Owing to its durative character, the verbal stem to which this suffix is added is frequently amplified (see § 112) or duplicated (see § 107). *-isūtn-* interchanges constantly with *-aⁱsūtn-* (see §§ 2, 69). The subjective pronouns are added by means of a weak vowel. In final position it occurs as *-isūtn_E*, because a final cluster of *t+n* is inadmissible (see § 4). The change of the *t* to a weak aspiration in *-isū'n_E* has been fully discussed in § 16 (see also § 58).

lān- to call by name

lā'nīsūtn_E ants h̄tc he is constantly
called, that man 23.7

cīl'w- to shake 27.3

cī'l'wīsūtn_E he is constantly shaken
27.2

waa'- to speak 7.1

atsī'tc wa'aⁱsū'n_E thus he is always
told 24.2

h̄ts- to put on 11.8

h̄'ya'tsīsūtn_E it is frequently put
on 11.7

Lī'ū (they) come 9.3

L'īL'wī'sūtn_E he is being ap-
proached 26.2

yaq^u'- to look 23.9

ya'q^uhīsū'n_E he is continually
watched 26.1

qalx- to count 8.5

qa'lxīsū'n_E it is being counted
62.11

waa'- to speak 7.1

atsī'tc waaⁱsū'n_E thus he is being
told 23.10

hāl- to shout 13.11

thālī'sū'n_E he is continually
shouted at 14.2

L'xū- to know 40.16

kūⁱ L'xū'xū'sū'n_E tcaītcē'tc ants
xīnt not it was known where
that one went 64.15, 16

-ūsn- is a combined suffix. Its first element is undoubtedly the durative *-ūs* (see § 69); while the second component seems to represent an abbreviated form of the passive suffix *-ūtn-*, discussed in § 58. It indicates a passive action of long duration or frequent occurrence, and may best be rendered by IT WOULD . . .

This suffix is always added to the verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-aⁱ* (changed into *-ī*; see § 75). Both *-ī* and *-aⁱ* are subject to consonantization before the initial vowel of the passive suffix, so that this suffix invariably occurs as *-īyūs_n-* or *-ayūs_n-* (see § 8). In a few instances it appears as *-ēⁱyūs_n-* (see § 2). The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added to this suffix by means of a weak vowel; and as a third person singular has no special form, and since a terminal cluster of *s + n* is inadmissible, these suffixes in terminal position always appear as *-ūs_nE*, *-īyūs_nE* or *-ayūs_nE* (see § 4).

<i>tqūl-</i> to shout 52.8	<i>tqūlī'yūs_nE</i> ants <i>tōixnī'n_E</i> he is always shouted at, that raccoon 76.16, 17
<i>hał-</i> to shout 13.11	<i>łhałī'yūs_nE</i> he would be shouted at 70.22
<i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>atsī'tc</i> <i>waa'yūs_nE</i> thus he would be told 24.7
<i>lān-</i> to call 23.7	<i>lānat'ī'yūs_nE</i> he is continually called 76.17, 18
<i>tū'-</i> to buy 74.17	<i>tūha'yūs_nE</i> she would be bought 74.18, 19
<i>xnī^wn-</i> to do 10.15	<i>s^aa'tsa</i> <i>xnī^wnī'yūs_nE</i> thus it would be done 76.5
<i>īłq-</i> to dig 84.2	<i>īłqēⁱyūs_nE</i> ants <i>L!a'aⁱ</i> dug would be the ground 80.6
<i>xālL!-</i> to make 50.8	<i>xālL!ī'yūs_nE</i> ants <i>hītsīⁱ</i> made is that house 80.13

In one instance this suffix has been added to a verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-ūⁱ* (see § 75).

<i>tčīn^u-</i> to pack	<i>tčīn^wū'yūs_nE</i> <i>uł</i> <i>qatcⁿnī'yūs_nE</i> they pack it and go (literally, it is packed and carried off) 100.20
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In another instance the suffix appears as *-wūs_nE*.

<i>Lī'ū</i> (they) come 9.3	<i>L!mī'kcū</i> <i>Līwī'wūs_nE</i> flounder is brought continually 100.10
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This occurrence of the *w* before *-ūs_nE* may be explained as due to retrogressive assimilation; that is to say, the original *y* has been changed into *w* to agree in character with the *w* of the stem *Līwaⁱ* HE COMES.

Modal Elements of the Imperative and Exhortative Modes (§§ 60-64)

§ 60. *Introductory*

Attention has been called in § 40 to the variety of suffixes that are employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the imperative mode. By far the majority of these suffixes indicate, besides the imperative idea, also pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object. These have been treated as primarily objective forms, and have been fully discussed in §§ 40-48. In the following sections only such suffixes will be discussed the primary functions of which are those of an imperative mode.

Siuslaw makes a clear distinction between a true imperative, a prohibitive, and an exhortative mode, and expresses these three varieties by means of distinct formative elements.

The difference between the ideas expressed by the imperative and exhortative is one of degree rather than of contents. The imperative expresses a command more or less peremptory; while the exhortative conveys an admonition, a wish. Furthermore, the exhortative rarely applies to the second person as the subject of the action. All exhortative expressions are preceded by the particle *qa'tl* (see § 129) and are rendered by LET ME, HIM . . . , PERMIT ME TO . . . , MAY I . . . , etc

§ 61. *Imperative Suffix for Intransitive Verbs -em*

This suffix is added to intransitive verbs only, regardless of whether they express a real active idea or a mere condition. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem; and when added to stems that end in a vowel, the obscure *e* of the suffix is contracted with the vowel of the stem. In such contractions the quality and quantity of the stem-vowel usually predominate (see § 9). The second person singular is not expressed. The imperative for the second persons dual and plural is obtained by suffixing to *-em* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tc'i* respectively (see § 24). These pronouns are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

l̥it/- to eat 13.10

kw̥is- to wake up 40.9

waa'- to speak 7.1

gateⁿ- to go 8.2

ma'q/ĩ- to dance 28.7

l̥it'/em eat! 40.26

kw̥i'sem wake up! 58.5

wa'am speak!

qa'tcnenem go!

maq'iyem dance!

haw- to quit, to end 14.6*qatc^{en}-* to go 8.2*tgūl-* to shout 52.8*qātē-* to cry 58.15*waⁱn-* to climb up 12.4*ha'ūm* quit!*qa'ten^{em}ats* you two go!*tgū'lemats* you two shout!*qā'tē^{em}atcⁱ* you cry!*wa'tn^{em}atcⁱ* you climb up!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix *-em* is replaced by the durative *-īs* (see § 69). The whole phrase is preceded by the particle of negation *kūⁱ*, *kumⁱ'ntc* NOT (see § 131), to which are added the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 24, 26).

xⁱntm- to travel 12.10*a^us-* to sleep 24.1*qaⁱha'ntc* far 10.3*waa'-* to speak 7.1*qatc^{en}-* to go 8.2*ma'q/ī-* to dance 28.7*kwⁱ'nā xⁱ'ntm^{īs}* don't travel!*kwⁱnā a^u's^{īs}* don't sleep! 23.9*kwⁱnā qaⁱha'ntc^{īs}* don't (go) far away! 56.21*kwⁱnā s^ēatsⁱ'tc wa'aⁱs* don't thus say! 50.1*kūⁱ'ts qa'tc^{en}n^{īs}* don't you two go! 54.23, 56.1*kumⁱ'ntc^ētcⁱ ma'q/īs* don't ye dance!

By suffixing to the imperative the subjective pronouns for the first persons dual and plural (see § 24), an exhortative mode for these persons is obtained.

tca'xum go!*tⁱ't!^{em}* eat! 40.26*na'^{tem}* start!*tca'xumans* let us two (incl.) go! 58.5*tⁱ't!^{emans}* let us two (incl.) eat!*tⁱ't!^{emant}* let us (incl.) eat!*na'^{temant}* let us (incl.) start!

§ 62. Imperative Suffix for Transitive Verbs *-īs* (*-aⁱs*)

This suffix expresses an imperative transitive idea. It must not be confused with the durative suffix *-īs* (see § 69), the phonetic resemblance between these two suffixes being purely accidental. It must be borne in mind that the durative *-īs* indicates an intransitive action, and is made transitive by the addition of the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28).

The student is easily apt to confuse these two suffixes, because in the prohibitive mode the transitivized durative *-īsūn* (see p. 518) is used; but this use is perfectly logical, since a transitive prohibitive is intimately connected with the idea of a (negated) action of long duration performed by a second person as subject.

The following table may best serve to distinguish at a glance between the different suffixes in *-īs* that occur in Siuslaw:

Not related	<i>-īs</i> transitive imperative	<i>-īs</i> intransitive durative
Related	<i>-īsūn</i> transitive prohibitive	<i>-īsūn</i> transitive durative

The imperative for the second persons dual and plural is not often expressed by suffixing to *-īs* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tōi* respectively (see § 24), because the subjective pronouns are usually suffixed to attributes and particles that precede the verbal term (see § 26). The interchange between *-ī* and *-aⁱ* has been discussed in § 2.

waa'- to talk 7.1

L!wan- to tell 7.3

tū'tc- to spear 62.2

hīn- to take along 9.5

skwa'- to stand 10.9

hamæ- to tie 8.6

qatc^{en}- to go 8.2

īit!- to eat 13.10

wa'aⁱs talk to him! 76.18

L!wā'nīs tell him! 30.13

hī'satcī *L!wā'nīs* well you tell (them)! 30.3

tōwa'tcīs spear it! 64.2

hī'nīs take it along!

skwa'haⁱs set it up!

ha'mæīs tie it!

qa'tc^{en}īsats you two make him go!

īi't!īsatcī you eat it!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix is replaced by the transitive form of the durative *-īsūn* (see § 69). The verb is preceded by the negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kumī'ntc*, used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 131, 40).

L!wan- to tell 7.3

qatc^{en}- to go 8.2

hīn- to take along 9.5

kwī'næ *L!wā'nīsūn* don't you tell him! 17.1, 2

kwī'næ *qa'tc^{en}īsūn* don't you make him go!

kumī'ntcī'næ *hī'nīsūn* don't you take it along!

The exhortative for the first persons is formed by adding to *-īs* the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24).

lak^u- to take 7.5

haw- to quit, to stop 14.6

la'kwīsans let us two (incl.) take it!

ha'wīsant let us (incl.) stop it!

§ 63. Intransitive Exhortative *-ixmī* (*-aⁱxmī*)

This suffix expresses an admonition, addressed to a first or third person, to perform an action that has no object. The verb must be preceded by the exhortative particle *qaⁱl* (see § 129), and the subjective

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pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to this particle and never to the exhortative suffix (see § 26).

The reasons for the interchange between $-i\acute{x}m\hat{i}$ and $-a^i\acute{x}m\hat{i}$ are discussed in § 2.

qatc^{en}- to go 8.2

a^{us}- to sleep 23.9

waa'- to speak 7.1

ma'q'!ⁱ to dance 28.7

hał- to shout 13.11

qatcū- to drink 76.12

tīt!- to eat 13.10

qa'ł qatc^{en}!ⁱ x^mī let him go!

qa'łn a^{us}!ⁱ x^mī let me sleep!

qa'!ⁱ t^{ens} waa'!ⁱ x^mī let us two (incl.) speak!

qa'!ⁱ t^{en} xan maq'!ⁱ x^mī let us (excl.) dance!

qa'!ⁱ t^{en}ł hał!ⁱ x^mī let us (incl.) shout!

qa'!ⁱ t^{en} x qatcū!ⁱ x^mī let them drink!

qa'ł tīt!ⁱ x^mī let him eat!

In one single instance the exhortative for a second person (singular) occurs. The suffix is followed by the future passive $-i$ (see § 56), and the exhortative particle is missing.

maltc- to burn 25.2

māltcⁱ x^mīnā you may get burned
(literally, to burn [exhortative,
future passive] thou) 26.9

§ 64. Exhortative -i

This suffix admonishes the speaker to perform an act, the object of which must be one of the second persons, and may best be rendered into English by LET ME, THEE The object of the action is expressed by adding the subjective pronouns to this suffix (see § 24) by means of a weak a -vowel (see § 4). Singular subjects are not expressed phonetically; duality or plurality of subject is indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The particle k^u (see § 127) frequently follows these exhortative forms, and, when preceding a form with the second person singular as the object ($-lanā$), it changes the final x into a (see § 4).

L!wān- to tell 17.1

Lōł- to hit

hac'ⁱ- to ask 66.16

L!wān- to tell 17.1

L!wā'nlanā let me tell thee!

Lōł'e'latš let me hit you two!

ha'te'latcⁱ let me ask you!

L!wā'nlanak^u let me tell thee!

< *L!wā'nlanā k^u*

For other devices employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the exhortative mode, see § 129.

TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 65-74)

§ 65. Introductory

Siuslaw shows a rich development of the category of time, and employs a variety of suffixes for the purpose of denoting the different tenses of actions and conditions. The simple form of the verb has an indefinite character and is used to denote past and present occurrences, but otherwise the temporal classification is strictly adhered to.

All temporal suffixes may be divided into semi-temporal and true temporal suffixes. Primarily, each of these suffixes expresses the tense of an intransitive action only; but by suffixing to the tense sign transitive suffixes, such as *-ūn*, *-ūts*, etc., the same idea of time for transitive occurrences is obtained. The only exceptions are found in the intentional and future tenses, which show two separate forms—one for intransitive verbs and the other for transitive actions (see §§ 41, 70, 73).

Semi-temporal Suffixes (§§ 66-70)

§ 66. *Inchoative* -st

This suffix denotes the commencement of an action, and assumes in some instances a transitional significance. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between the final consonant and the initial element of the suffix (see § 4). When it is desired to express the inchoative tense of a transitive action, the transitive *-ūn* or any of the other transitive forms is added to the suffix (see §§ 27 *et seq.*).

qwaɣtc- to go towards 62.8.

małtē- to burn 25.2

ɫ!xatātē- to attempt to run

qa'n^u- to be tired

qātx- to cry 58.15

wāłtc- to send

matc- to lie 38.21

ʷl qwa'xtēst tē'watc and she began to go towards the water 90.22

m'łtēst he began to burn 29.3

ɫxatātēst k!ēxū'tc ɫ!aya'tc he begins to attempt to run in all directions 13.8, 9

qa'nūst a'nts^{tc} m^usk^u he began to get tired, his younger brother 58.11

ʷla^ux stīm qa'txast and they two there began to cry 58.17

gamāta'tc w'łtēstūn her father (discriminative) began to send her 92.20

s^{tc}atsē'tc m'łtēstūn . . . thus he began to fell . . . 94.7, 8

ha'nînt!- to believe 78.1, 2 *u't wân ha'nⁿnî't!îstûn* and finally
she began to believe him 46.3

In a few instances this suffix will be found added to a stem after the same has been verbalized by means of the suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75).

xîntm- to travel about 12.10 *k!ēxwū'tc L!aya'tc u^ēnæ xî'ntmaⁱst*
everywhere they began to travel
about 72.20

s^haⁱtū'nî pēlū'tc xî'ntmaⁱstûn the
big one first he began to take
along 92.18

wusî- to be sleepy *wusya'aⁱst ants mî'k!a hîtc* began
to feel sleepy that bad man 26.
1, 2

wusya'aⁱstîm I begin to feel sleepy
26.8

îit!- to eat 13.10 *wā'nwîts ît!î'stûn* already he (had)
commenced to devour him 94.19
(î = *aⁱ* see § 2)

It sometimes follows the other true temporal suffixes, lending to the inchoative action a definite tense.

planyaⁱt- to be sorry (present tense) *planyaⁱ'tîstûtsmē ha'tc* he began
to feel sorry for his (boy) 40.21

malte- to burn 25.2 *u't malteî'üst* he will begin to build a
fire 90.6

In a number of cases this suffix expresses an adjectival idea.

pîn- to be sick 40.21 *ants pînast* he (who) begins to get
sick, he (who) is sick: hence the
sick (man) 86.15

yî'q!^au- to split *yî'q!^aust q!^aîl* pitch (that) begins
to split, split pitch

haw- to finish 14.6 *hā^uwaⁱ'st* finished
tîmaⁱ'st any kind of a place (*sic*)
66.6

§ 67. Terminative *-îxaⁱ* (*-aⁱxaⁱ*)

This suffix expresses termination of an action. The stem to which it is suffixed must be preceded by some form of the verb *haū-* TO END, TO FINISH. For the interchange between *-îxaⁱ* and *-aⁱxaⁱ* see § 2.

pîtc- to go over 88.15*qātx-* to cry 58.15*walt-* to snow*hał-* to shout 13.11*hamx-* to tie 8.6*łn-* to call*waa'-* to talk 7.1*haũ'ũn pîtcā'xa'ĩ* I quit going over
(logs)*haũ'ũn qatxā'xa'ĩ* I quit crying
haũ'tx waltĩ'xa'ĩ it stopped snow-
ing*haũ'txan hala'ĩ'xa'ĩ* I stopped shout-
ing*haũ'łn hamax'xa'ĩ* I quit tying
his . . .*haũ'łn łna'ĩ'xa'ĩ łĩntc* I quit calling
his name*haũ'łn waa'ĩ'xa'ĩ* I quit talking to
him

It seems that the terminative suffix is frequently subject to the law of vocalic harmony, in spite of the fact that Siuslaw makes but little attempt at the harmonization of its vowels (see § 11). I have found a few examples showing that the initial vowel of the suffix has been assimilated to the quality of the vowel of the stem. Whether this rule applies to all cases could not be determined with any degree of certainty.

xũn- to snore 27.9*hũn-* it gets dark 34.8*temũ'-* to assemble 7.3*haũ'txan xũnũ'ĩ'xa'ĩ* (and not *xũna'ĩ'-*
xa'ĩ) I quit snoring*haũ'tx hũnũ'ĩ'xa'ĩ* *L!a'ai* (and not *hũ-*
na'ĩ'xa'ĩ) it stopped getting dark*haũ'tx temā'ya'w'xa'ĩ* *hĩtũ'tc* (and
not *temā'ũya'ĩ'xa'ĩ*) he quit as-
sembling (the) people

§ 68. *Frequentatives* -at!i, -itx (-a!tx)

-at!ĩ denotes frequency of action, and may best be rendered by FREQUENTLY, ALWAYS. In the first person singular the final long vowel of this suffix is shortened (see § 24). In terminal position the suffix **-at!ĩ** is often changed into **-at!ya** (see §§ 7, 24).

č'ĩ nāĩ- to think 60.21*hakw-* to fall 8.7*qatcⁿ-* to go 8.2*nakwaⁱ-* to be poor*č'ĩ n'ĩxyat!ya* he is always thinking
12.4*ha'kwat!ya* it always falls down
90.12*qa'tc'ĩnat!ya* he frequently goes
14.5*nākwā'yatyanxan* we (excl.) are
always poor 76.19

lī'ū- to come 9.2*taⁱ-* to live 16.2*qaa'-* to enter 34.5*nī'ctcīm sqā'k lī'wat/ī* because there he came frequently 68.4, 5*pī'tsīs ta'yat/ī* in the ocean he always lived 44.18*nīctcī'tcanx tanx kūⁱ qaa't/ī īn-q/a'aⁱtc* why do you, this one, not frequently come into the river? 44.3, 4In one instance this suffix occurs as *-t/ī*.*k/ap-* low tide 36.18*tē k/apāⁱt/ī īnq/a'aⁱ* (so that) always dry (may be) this river 38.2

When frequency of action in transitive verbs is to be expressed, the transitive suffixes are added to the frequentative *-at/ī*. This suffix amalgamates with the transitive *-ūn* into *-at/yūn* (see § 8).

čī'ncē- to think 60.21*čī'l'x-* to shake 27.2*planyaⁱ'* he is sorry*čīn'xyat/yūn mīta'īn* I am always thinking of my father*čī'l'xyat/yūn qnā* I always shake it
tsī'k!ya planyaⁱt/yūn haⁱtc (everybody) is very sorry for him, (everybody) hates him 19.2, 3
(*< planyaⁱya't/yūn*).*taⁱ-* to sit to live 16.2*ants t/ī't/yūn* (*< taya't/yūn*) that (on which) he was sitting 94.6

-ītx has the same function as *-at/ī*, and was invariably rendered by CONSTANTLY, ALWAYS. It is usually preceded or followed by the temporal adverb *lnāt* ALWAYS (see § 120). The phonetic resemblance between this suffix and the objective *-ītx* (see § 33) I believe to be purely accidental. This suffix occurs often as *-aⁱtx* (see § 2).

qatcⁿ- to go 8.2*p^aaⁱ'ln-* to hunt 15.3*ma'q/ī-* to dance 28.7*yā^a'xax L/ōnaⁱ' a'ntsux qatcⁿī'tx*
much they two talk, those two (who) keep on going 56.7*tsī'mqmatc^ulnⁿx paLnī'tx* some of them are constantly hunting 82.16, 17*mēq/aⁱ'tx* he always dances 86.2

xīl'xē- to work 48.10

sī'nā- to desire 18.5

tāqn- to be full 60.19

yāxum- to watch

qatcⁿ- to go 8.2

xī'l'xēt^ux a'ntsīt^u mā'tī they
two were constantly fixing those
their (dual) dams 50.3, 4

sī'nātx tēt^c mīctēⁱ he always
wants that her younger sister
92.13, 14

tagan'it^c hītū'st^c it is always full
of people 70.3, 4

yāxumī'txan^ux they two were
constantly watching him 94.1

qatcānīt^uxāⁿ lnāt I always make
him go

In a few instances, especially when following other suffixes, the frequentative *-īt^c* seems to lose its initial *ī*.

hawāⁱ it ends 14.6

t!ūhātē'īn- to try to sell sev-
erally (?)

yūL!- to break

hawāⁱst^c ants līyā'wa he begins
to finish (kindling) that fire
(*hawāⁱst^c < hawāⁱst + -it^c*, see
§ 15) 90.7, 8

yaxāⁱtxā^ux tā'tē^ux lq!ā'nū ūlā^ux
t!ūhātē'īntxā^ux (when) they
begin to multiply (have much)
these their (dual) hides, then
they two constantly tried to sell
them 100.19

yū^{wi}L!a't^c qā^uxūnū it constantly
broke on the top 94.4

These three examples may also be explained as demonstrating the application of the pronominal suffix *-īt^c* (see § 33).

§ 69. *Duratives* -īs (-āⁱs), -ūs

Duration of action is expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix *-s*, which, however, never occurs alone. It invariably enters into composition with other suffixes, such as the suffix for the past tense, for the passive voice, etc., or it is preceded by either *ī* or *ū*. It is not inconceivable that this durative *-s* may be related to the auxiliary *-s* (see § 76). The difference between *-īs* and *-ūs* seems to be of a true temporal nature.

-īs (-āⁱs) denotes duration, continuation of action of a clearly marked future significance, and, owing to this future character, it is employed extensively in the formation of the imperative mode (see § 69

§§ 60, 62). Transitive verbs add *-ūn* or its equivalents (see § 28) to the durative *-īs*. For the interchange between *-īs* and *-aⁱs* see § 2.

xīnt- to travel 23.1

taⁱ- to live, to stay 16.2

ma'q'ī- to dance 28.7

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

waa'- to speak 7. 1

skwa'- to stand 10.9

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

waa'- to speak 7. 1

tkūm- to make a dam 48.8

qalx- to count 62.8

tcī'wans xī'ntīs to the water we two (incl.) will keep on traveling 92.9

stīm ta'īs there he kept on staying 70.12

waⁱ yā'tsa ūln mā'q'īs even for a long time I still keep on dancing 72.10

s^aa'tsanl xnī^wnīs thus we (incl.) will do every time 72.14, 15

atsī'tc wa'aⁱs ants hītc thus kept on saying the man 25.9

skwa'haⁱs ants hītc continually standing is that man 64.11

qnī'xts^{en}x xnī^wnīsūn you will continually do it 70.11, 12

atsī'tc wa'aⁱsūn thus he kept on saying to him 64.14

ūns tkwa'mīsūn and we two (incl.) still will keep on making dams 48.14

qa'lxēsūn ants tsayū^{wi} (they) keep on counting those days 8.5

-ūs is suffixed mostly to stems that have been verbalized by means of the suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75), and expresses a continuative action performed in the present tense. It applies to transitive verbs having a third person object. Examples for similar forms with a second person object were not obtained.

ūqaⁱ' he digs 84. 2

L!xmay- to kill 16.1

ūtī!- to eat 13.10

tkūm- to make a dam 48.8

īī'ū (they) come 9.3

ha^wwaⁱnaⁱ- to finish

a'ntsux ūqa'yūs ants L!a^{aⁱ} those two (who) continually dig that ground

ūl s^aās L!xmaī'yūs ūl hīt'ī'yūs and he would kill and devour him 15.3, 4

tcī'k^wax tkwamī'yūs L!a^{aⁱ} where-ever they two were making dams 52.24

ūla^ux hīt'ī' aⁱ L!īL!wī'yūs to them two salmon continually came 98.16

ha^waⁱnī'yūs a^ux wān they two finish it finally 84.6, 7

yax- to see 20.10

qn^u'w to find 34.12

yāxī'ūs'in tē sī'xaⁱ (whenever) I
saw that canoe (coming) 100.8, 9
u^tēnx qnū'wī'wūs yā'a'xaⁱ hītcū'wī
they would find lots of people
(*qnū'wī'wūs < qnūwī'yūs*) 66.22

By suffixing the durative *-s* to the sign for the past tense, *-yax* (see § 74) a compound suffix *-yaxs* is obtained which denotes an action of long duration performed in the past. This suffix is often contracted into *-īxs* (see § 9).

a^us- to sleep 24.1

qatc^{uw}- to drink 76.11

hīt'- to eat 13.10

pekū'^u- to play shinny 9.4

a^u'syaxsīn, a^u'sīxsīn I had been
sleeping

qa'tcwa'īxs, qa'tcwayaxs he had been
drinking

hī't'!yaxsīn I have been eating

pā'kū'īxsīn, pā'kū'yaxsīn I have
been playing shinny

§ 70. *Intentionals* -*awax*, -*a^wūn*

-*awax*. This suffix indicates intention to perform a certain action. Hence it was usually rendered by I (THOU) . . . AM ABOUT TO, I (THOU) . . . AM GOING TO, I (THOU) . . . WILL, I (THOU) . . . WANT TO. It is used with intransitive verbs only; and it is contracted with the subjective pronouns, for persons other than the first person singular and the second dual and plural, into *-awanx*, *-awans*, *-awa^ux*, *-awant*, *-awanxan*, and *-awanx* (see § 24).

āq- to run away 52.10

lī'ū (they) come 9.3

yaq^u- to look 23.9

qaqū'n- to listen

hūto- to play, to have fun 7.2

pīūl- to hunt

mīk^u- to cut 90.5

āqa'waxan I intend to run away
90.21

ants ptna'st u^t cī'n'īxyat!ya āqa'wax
that sick (man) always thought
of running away 86.15

līwa'wanx you intend to come 25.8

yoq^u'ya'wax he intended to see 70.8

yaq^u'ya'wanxan we (excl.) are go-
ing to see

qaqū'na'wax l!a'^{ai} they were go-
ing to listen 30.18

hū'tcawans we two (incl.) are go-
ing to play 10.5

pīūla'wax^uxūn we two (excl.) in-
tend to go hunting 54.22

mīkwa'waxts you two will cut

xaⁱtc- to roast 90.9*lī'ū* (they) come 9.3*temū'-* to assemble 7.3*ma^atc* it lay 32.22*ʷla^ux xaⁱtc'a^uwa^ux* and they two finally intend roasting 90.8*līwa'want wàn* we (incl.) are about to arrive now 66.1*temū'a^uwaxtcⁱ* you will assemble*metca'wanx* they intended to lie down 38.23

-a^wūn. This suffix expresses the same idea as *-awax*, from which it differs in so far only as it implies a transitive action that has a third person as its object. It is probable that by some process of contraction this suffix represents an abbreviation from an original *-awaxaⁿ* or *-awaxūn*.

hīn- to take along 9.5*waa'-* to speak 7.1*lak^u-* to take, to get 7.5*temū'-* to assemble 7.3*yaq^u-* to look 23.9*hīna'^wūn ants plna'st* she intends taking along that sick (man) 88.1, 2*ʷl waa'^wūn ants hītc L!^aaⁱ* and he was about to talk to these people
yā^w'xaⁱ t!āmc lakwa'^wūn many children he wants to have (to get)*temū'a^u'wūn ants L!^aaⁱ hītc* many people are about to assemble 30.8*sqā'tma^ux yoq^u'ya'^wūn* from there they two intended to watch 62.18, 19

True Temporal Suffixes (§§ 71-74)

§ 71. *Introductory*

Siuslaw distinguishes between three true temporal categories, namely, present, future, and past. Excepting for the first of these, which is used to denote present and past, this differentiation is clearly marked and strictly adhered to.

§ 72. *Present -t*

It denotes an action performed at the present time. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the vowel before adding the suffix *-t*; stems ending in a *t* insert an obscure (or weak) vowel between their final consonant and the suffix (see § 4). Transitive present actions are expressed by adding to the *-t* the transitive suffixes *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29).

<i>wīlw-</i> to affirm 30.11	<i>ʷlaʷx wān wī'lūt</i> they two finally affirmed 90.6
<i>hīq!-</i> to start 15.1	<i>sʷatsī'te waa' ʷl hī'q!a'īt</i> thus he talks and starts (off) 22.5, 6
<i>sī'nxī-</i> to desire 11.7	<i>sī'nxīt tāqa'ī'na</i> he wants something 18.5
<i>wa'sLSī-</i> to be angry	<i>wa'sLSīt ants tsīmī'l'ā</i> was angry that muskrat 52.17
<i>tca'xu-</i> to turn back 58.5	<i>ʷl tca'xa'ūt</i> he turns back 16.5
<i>qatcʷn-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qa'tc'īnt</i> he goes 12.9
	<i>qa'tc'īntaʷx</i> they two are going 23.1
<i>xaln-</i> to climb up 62.7	<i>txū xa't'īnt</i> he just climbs up 12.4
<i>qa'ha'ntc</i> way off 10.3	<i>qa'ha'ntctantl wān</i> we (incl.) have come far now 66.3, 4
<i>matc-</i> to burn 25.2	<i>ha'īmūt ma'ttc'īt</i> everything burned (down) 34.18
<i>qaqū'n-</i> to listen 30.18	<i>qa'qʷhantūn pī'ū hītc</i> he heard (make) noise (the) people 36.23, 24
<i>hīt!-</i> to eat 13.10	<i>hīt!ʷtūn</i> he ate him (up) 94.19
<i>yaqʷ-</i> to see 23.9	<i>yo'qʷha'ītūn ants īnq!a'a'ī</i> he looked at that river 36.21, 22
<i>wīlw-</i> to affirm, to agree 30.11	<i>ʷl mā'qʷL wī'lūtūn</i> then Crow agreed to it 36.6, 7

§ 73. Future -tūx

This suffix is added to intransitive stems only, and it denotes an action that is to take place in the future. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the same before adding this suffix. When added to stems that end in a *t*, an obscure (or weak) vowel is inserted between the final *t* of the stem and the initial consonant of the ending (see § 4).

Whenever -*tūx* is to be followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual and plural, and the third person plural, it is contracted with them into -*tūnx*, -*tūns*, -*taʷxūn* (?), -*tūnl*, -*tūnxan*, and -*tūnx* respectively (see § 24). The transitive future is rendered by means of the suffixes -*yūn*, -*īʷyūn* (see § 41).

<i>qatcʷn-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qa'tc ntūxan</i> I will go 22.2
	<i>qa'tc'ntūnx</i> thou shalt go 22.2
<i>L!wān-</i> to tell, to relate 17.1	<i>L!wā'ntūnx</i> thou shalt tell 30.12
	<i>L!wa'ntūxtcī</i> you will tell 7.3

<i>smūt'</i> - to end 9.1	<i>smū't'sttūx</i> it will end 20.5
<i>lī'ū-</i> to come 9.2, 3	<i>lī'ūtūx</i> he will come 9.2
	<i>lī'ūtūnxa</i> we (excl.) will come 30.11
<i>qwasttc-</i> to go down to the river 48.18	<i>nī'k!anl qwa'xtc'^ttūx</i> alone we (incl.) will go down 62.14
<i>hūtc-</i> to play 7.2	<i>hū'tctūns</i> we shall play 10.6
	<i>hū'tctūnl</i> we (incl.) shall play 7.2
<i>āq-</i> to run away 52.10	<i>ā'qtūns</i> we two (incl.) will run away 92.2
<i>sīng!-</i> to be hungry 44.11	<i>sī'ng!ta'^xxūn</i> we two (excl.) will be hungry
<i>mīk^u-</i> to cut	<i>mī'k^utūxts l'tīaya'</i> you two will cut salmon 90.5
<i>xaū'</i> he died 40.21	<i>xa'ūtūxa'^x</i> they two will die 88.7
<i>xwīL!-</i> to turn back 12.6	<i>xwī'L!tūnl</i> we (incl.) will turn back 60.9
<i>k!īnk'y-</i> to look for 16.1	<i>tqa^wwī'tc'ns k!ī'nl'ītūx</i> upstream we two will look for . . . 56.17

§ 74. *Past -yax*

This suffix expresses an act performed long ago. The idea of a past transitive action is conveyed by suffixing to *-yax* the transitive *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29, 2). It is subject to contraction whenever followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual, third dual, inclusive and exclusive plural, and third plural (see § 24). The contracted forms for these persons are *-yanx*, *-yans*, *-ya^xxūn*, *-ya^xx*, *-yanl*, *-yanxa*, and *-yanx*. This suffix always requires that the accent be placed on the first syllable of the word.

<i>qū'ⁱt'</i> - to dream	<i>hītc qū'ⁱt'yax</i> a person dreamt 68.21
<i>tkūm-</i> to close 48.8	<i>ants tkwa'myax</i> (when) it closed 78.3
<i>līha-</i> to pass by 80.12	<i>Qa'a' cīx lī'hayax</i> along North Fork it passed by 32.19
<i>ta'ⁱ-</i> to live 16.2	<i>mstyōstk^us ta'ⁱyax L'aya'</i> in the beginning (they) lived in a place 82.11, 12
<i>xīnt-</i> to start 20.3	<i>ūln sīhī'tc xī'ntyax</i> (when) I began to grow up (literally, then I [into] growing started) 100.18
<i>lī'ū</i> (they) come 9.3	<i>lī'ūyans</i> we two (incl.) came

hūtc- to play 7.2*lī'ū* (they) came 9.3
xīntm- to travel 12.10*sī'nxī-* to desire 18.5*hīn-* to take along 9.5*waa'-* to speak 7.1*L!wān-* to relate 17.1*hū'teyans* (when) we two (incl.)
play 78.9*hū'teyanl* (when) we (incl.) play
78.13*lī'ūyanxan* we (excl.) came
u!xī'ntmⁱyaxa^ūn and he took (them)
along 92.13*tēina'ta^u sī'nīxyaxa^ūn* whoever de-
sired it 11.6, 7*qaⁱha'ntc hī'nyaxa^ūn ya^ēk^{us}* way
off took him seal 68.17, 18*s^ēatsītc wa^{a'}yaxa^ūn* thus he told
him 36.11*s^ēatsī'tc L!wa^{a'}nyaxa^ūn* thus he re-
lated to him 38.8

The past suffix is frequently added to a duplicated stem, denoting a past action of long-continued duration (see § 108).

lak^u- to get, to have 7.5*hīq!-* to start 22.6*haⁱq-* shore 44.7*qaⁱx* darkness, night 38.21*tū'tc-* to spear 62.2*lā'k^ukyax hītū'tc tēxmū'nya* she
was taking a male person*s^ēa'tsa hī'q!aq!yax* thus it started
15.1*tēi'wane haⁱqīqyax* from the
water ashore it had come 56.13*qaⁱxīxyax tē L!a^{a'}i* it was getting
dark 34.4*tōwa'tcītcyaxa^ūn tē ya^ēk^{us}* I have
been spearing this seal 66.17

In a few instances it has been found following the present *-t*, although for what purpose could not be ascertained.

hīq!- to start 22.6*hī'q!aⁱt* 22.6*a'ntsux hī'q!aⁱtyax p^ukwaⁱ't*
those two who had started
to play shinny 78.15*t!ī'mct!ⁱ-* to raise
children 30.23*t!ī'mct!īt**u!a^ux wān t!ī'mct!ītyax*
then they two finally
raised children*wīlw-* to affirm
30.11*wī'lūt* 90.6*wī'lūtyaxan* I agreed*qatēⁿ-* to go 8.2*qa'tēⁱnt* 12.1*qa'tēⁱntyaxan* I went away
mī'tēⁱtyaxa^ūn L!ayū'stc I
laid it down on the ground*ma^atc-* to lie 32.22*mē'tēit**xaⁱtc-* to roast 90.8*xaⁱ'tēit**xaⁱ'tēityaxa^ūn* he roasted it

(For the idiomatic use of the past suffix in conditional clauses see § 136.)

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 75-77)

§ 75. Verbalizing *-aⁱ*, *-ūⁱ*

While the majority of Siuslaw stems do not require the addition of a specific verbal suffix in order to convey a general verbal idea, these two suffixes have been found added to a large number of neutral stems, especially in the present tense. They may therefore be explained as verbalizing a neutral stem and as expressing an intransitive action of present occurrence. They are frequently used to denote an action performed by the third person singular, for which person Siuslaw has no distinct suffix (see § 24). There can be no doubt, however, that these suffixes are identical with the Alsea inchoative *-aⁱ*, *-ūⁱ*,¹ and that *-aⁱ* bears some relation to the Coos intransitive *-aaⁱ*.¹ While no difference in the use of these two suffixes could be detected, it was observed that *-ūⁱ* is never added to stems that end in a *q*, *p*, or in *a*.

płn- to be sick 15.4

hūt- to play 7.2

waa'- to speak, to say 7.1

łt!- to eat 13.10

haⁱq- shore 44.7

yax- to see, to look 20.10

skwaⁱ- to stand 10.9

smūtⁱ- to finish, to end 11.1

a^us- to dream, to sleep, 23.9

łxas- to fly, to jump

tqūt- to shout 52.8

sūn- to dive 64.21

płnaⁱ' he was sick 40.21

hūtcaⁱ' 72.6, *hūtēūⁱ'* 23.8 he plays

waaⁱ' he says 8.9

łt!ⁱaⁱ' he eats 46.12

haⁱqaⁱ' he comes ashore 82.5

yāxaⁱ' he looks 66.6

skwahaⁱ' he stands 14.4

smātⁱūⁱ' it ends 14.6

asūⁱ' he dreams 68.22

łxasūⁱ' he jumps

tqūtūⁱ' he shouted 92.6

sīnūⁱ' he dives

That these suffixes are not essentially necessary for the purpose of expressing a verbal idea, but that, like their Alsea equivalents, they may have originally conveyed inchoative ideas, is best shown by the fact that all such verbalized forms are parallel to bare stem-forms. In all such cases the amplified form seems to denote inception and (at times) finality of action.

wàn wılwa' now he affirms 58.9 *wàn wılwaⁱ'* he begins to affirm
17.7

łł tcīn and he came back 7.7 *tcīnaⁱ'* he came back 68.16

¹ See Coos, p. 332.

<i>lī'ū</i> (they) arrive 9.3	<i>tē'nta^u hīte līwa'</i> whatever person came 24.7
<i>xāū'</i> he died 40.21	<i>xawa' hīte</i> (when a) person dies 42.11
<i>atsī'tc</i> <i>L!waⁿ</i> thus he tells 58.22	<i>yā^a'xa^ux L!ōna'</i> much they two begin to talk 56.7
<i>a'ntsⁿx xñi'^wne</i> those (who) do it 78.20	<i>s^a'tsanx xñi'^wna'</i> thus they begin to do (it) 78.19
<i>ta'</i> he is sitting, he lives 16.2	<i>tqa^wwīte taya'</i> upstream (they) commence to live 82.12, 13
<i>kumī'ntc yax</i> not (he) sees 34.4	<i>yīxa' wān</i> (they) commence to look 66.9
<i>u^lnx haū'</i> they quit 11.4	<i>sqa'k wān hawa'</i> here finally it ends 14.6
<i>u^l wān skwaha'</i> now he stands (up) 28.8	<i>skwaha'</i> he stands 14.4
<i>u^l waa'</i> then he says 11.2	<i>waa'</i> he says 8.9
<i>smū't'a</i> it ends 11.1	<i>smīt'ū'i'</i> it ends 14.6

§ 76. Auxiliary -s, -t

These suffixes express our ideas TO HAVE, TO BE WITH. A peculiarity that remains unexplained is the fact that they are always added to the locative noun-forms that end in -a or -ūs (see § 86).

-s is always added to the locative form ending in -a, and never to the -ūs form, which may be due to phonetic causes. The use of this suffix is rather restricted. It is not inconceivable that it may be related to the durative -īs (see § 69).

Absolutive	Locative	Auxiliary
<i>tsī' L!ī</i> arrow 50.14	<i>tsīL!ya'</i> 50.9	<i>na'han u^lñ tsīL!īya's</i> I will have an arrow 50.16
<i>gal'tc</i> knife	<i>gal'tcya'</i>	<i>qa'l'tcya's</i> he has a knife
<i>ikwa'nī</i> pipe	<i>ikwa'nya</i>	<i>ikwa'nyasīn</i> I am with a pipe
<i>lqa'i'ctū</i> log 32.21	<i>lqa't^wwa</i>	<i>lqa't^wwas</i> he has a stick

-t occurs very often, and is added to all forms of the locative case. It can never be confused with the sign of the present tense -t, because it is invariably preceded by the locative forms in -a or -ūs, while the suffix for the present tense follows vowels and consonants other than a or s (see § 72).

Absolutive	Locative	Auxiliary
<i>qīūtē'nyā</i> woman 30.21	<i>qīūtē'nyā</i> 76.7	<i>qīūtē'nyā't</i> he has a wife 48.8
<i>kō'tan</i> horse 34.9	<i>kō'tana'</i>	<i>kumī'ntē kō'tana't</i> not they had horses 100.20, 102.1
<i>t'ix</i> tooth	<i>t'ixa'</i>	<i>t'ixa't cā'ya</i> teeth has (his) penis 90.19
<i>yīktī'l'ma</i> big 40.6	<i>yīktī'l'ma</i>	<i>yīktī'l'mat cā'ya</i> he has a big penis 92.1
<i>tī't!ā'</i> food 34.23	<i>tī't!aya'</i> 13.7	<i>kumī'ntē tī't!aya't</i> (they) had no food 34.10
<i>kī'nū</i> ladder	<i>kī'nwa</i>	<i>kī'nwat ants hītsī'i</i> a ladder has that house 80.12
<i>tē'q</i> something 13.2.	<i>tāqa'na</i> 18.5	<i>ha'ī mūt kumī'ntē tāqa'ī-natī'tē hī'qū'</i> they all had no hair (literally, all not with something is their hair) 68.12
<i>sīxa'ī</i> canoe 56.5	<i>sēxa'ū'</i> 48.18	<i>sēxa'ū'tīn</i> I have a canoe
<i>tē't!ī</i> wind	<i>tē't!yū's</i>	<i>kumī'ntē tē't!yū'st</i> (there) was no wind
<i>mītā</i> father 54.22	<i>mītā'yūs</i>	<i>mītā'yūst</i> he has a father
<i>mīlā</i> mother 54.23	<i>mīlā'yūs</i>	<i>mīlā'yūst</i> he has a mother
<i>lqa'ī'tū</i> log, stick 32.21	<i>lqatūwīyū's</i> 88.16	<i>lqatūwī'yūst</i> he has a stick
<i>hītsī'ī</i> house 25.2	<i>hītsī's</i> 48.7	<i>hītsī'st</i> he has a house
<i>lī'mstī</i> raw	<i>lī'mstī's</i>	<i>tē'k ants lī'mī'stīst</i> L!ā'ā' where (there was) that green place 34.2, 3

§ 77. Suffix Transitive Verbs that Express Natural Phenomena -L'

A suffix with a similar function is, as far as my knowledge goes, to be found in but one other American Indian language; namely, in Alsea. This suffix is added exclusively to stems expressing meteorological phenomena, such as IT SNOWS, IT RAINS, THE WIND BLOWS, NIGHT APPROACHES, etc.; and it signifies that such an occurrence, otherwise impersonal, has become transitivized by receiving the third person singular as the object of the action. Its function may best be compared with our English idiomatic expression RAIN, SNOW OVERTAKES

HIM, NIGHT COMES UPON HIM, etc. By adding to -L! the subjective pronouns for the first and second persons (see § 24), the same expressions with these persons as objects are obtained. This suffix always follows the tense signs, and immediately precedes the pronominal suffixes.

qa'x night, darkness 38.21

tcē't'ī wind

tsxaya' day breaks 50.3

k!ap- low tide 36.18

ū'ltī snow 76.10

hī'n^εkīt it rains

u'xūn stīmk qa'xtūxL! us two
(excl.) there night will overtake
94.18

tcē't'īL! a storm overtook him
tsxaya' L!a'x (when) day came
upon them two 48.9

k!a'ptūxL! low tide will overtake
(them) 36.18

wa'lt^εtūxL!īn snow will overtake
me

hī'n^εk!ītⁱL!anx rain pours down
upon them

It is not inconceivable that this suffix may represent an abbreviation of the stem *L!a'ai* PLACE, WORLD, UNIVERSE (see § 133), which the Siuslaw always employs whenever he wants to express a natural phenomenon.

tsxaya' L!a'ai day breaks 50.3

hī'n^εk!ya L!a'ai it rains 78.1

k!uwīna' L!a'ai (there was) ice all over 76.11

qa'xīxyax tE L!a'ai it got dark 34.4

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-80)

§ 78. Introductory

The idea of plurality in verbal expressions may refer either to the subject or object of the action. In most American Indian languages that have developed such a category, and that indicate it by means of some grammatical device, plurality of subject is exhibited in intransitive verbs, while plurality of object is found in transitive verbs. Such plurality does not necessarily coincide with our definition of this term. It may, and as a matter of fact it does, in the majority of cases, denote what we commonly call distribution or collectivity. Thus the Siuslaw idea of plurality is of a purely collective character, and seems to have been confined to the subject of intransitive verbs only. Even the contrivance so frequently employed by other American Indian languages, of differentiating singularity and plurality of objects by

means of two separate verbal stems—one for singular and the other for plural objects—is not found in Siuslaw.¹ One and the same verbal stem is used in all cases; and when it becomes necessary to indicate that there are more than one recipient of a transitive action, this is accomplished by the use of the numeral particle *yā'a'xa'* (see § 139) or of the stem *L'a'ai* (see § 133), as may be seen from the following examples:

<i>yūwa'yūn ants q'a'ūl</i> he gathered pitch	<i>yūwa'yūn yā'a'xa' ants q'a'ūl</i> (they) gathered lots (of) that pitch 88.5, 6
<i>yā'xa'yūn hītc</i> I saw a person	<i>yā'xa'yūn yā'a'xa' hītc</i> I saw many people
<i>wa'a'at^usmE ants hītc</i> he said to his man	<i>waa'a'at^usmE ants L'a'ai hītc</i> he said to all (of) his people 7.1
<i>L!ōxa'xa'at^usmE hītc</i> he sent his man	<i>L!ōxa'xa'at^usmE hītc L'a'ai</i> he sent many people 30.1, 2

But if Siuslaw does not employ a distinct grammatical process for the purpose of pointing out plurality of objects of transitive actions, it has developed devices to indicate collectivity of subjects of intransitive verbs. For that purpose it uses, besides the numeral particle *yā'a'xa'* (see § 139) and the stem *L'a'ai* (see § 133), two suffixes (*-ū^u* and *-tx*) that are added directly to the verbal stem. These suffixes are always added to verbal stems that denote an intransitive act, and their functions may best be compared to the functions exercised by the French *on* or German *man* in sentences like *on dit* and *man sagt*.

§ 79. Plural *-ū^u*, *-ū^ui*

This suffix expresses an action that is performed collectively by more than one subject. Etymologically it is the same suffix as the verbal abstract of identical phonetic composition (see § 97), and the use of one and the same suffix in two functions apparently so different may be explained as due to the fact that there exists an intimate psychological connection between an abstract verbal idea and the concept of the same act performed in general.² The following example, taken

¹ I have found only one case of such a differentiation. I was told that the stem *qaa-* TO ENTER, TO PUT IN, refers to singular objects, while the stem *Lxaa-* can be used with plural objects only. But as this information was conveyed to me after much deliberation and upon my own suggestion, I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this interpretation. It is rather probable that these two stems are synonyms.

² The same phenomenon occurs in Dakota.

at random, will serve to illustrate the comparison more clearly. The Siuslaw word *xîl·xcû^{wi}* (stem *xîl·xcî-* TO WORK) may have two distinct meanings. When used nominally (as a verbal abstract), it may best be rendered by THE CONCEPT OF WORKING, WORK; when used verbally, it is to be translated by TO WORK IN GENERAL, ALL (MANY) WORK. This psychological connection between such terms as WORK and TO WORK GENERALLY, COLLECTIVELY, may have led to the use of one and the same suffix in a nominal and verbal capacity (see § 22). This suffix is added directly to the verbal stem, and its double form may be due to rapidity of speech rather than to any phonetic causes. It is frequently preceded by the temporal suffixes, especially the present *-t* (see § 72), and it was always rendered by THEY . . . The subject of the action is usually emphasized by the use of the numeral particles *ha^wmūt* ALL, *yā^a'xaⁱ* MANY (see § 124), and of the stem *L!^a'at* (see § 133). The particle either precedes or follows the verb. This suffix requires the accent.

temū[']- to assemble 7.3
hūtc- to play 7.2
pekū[']- to play shinny 9.4

hⁱyats- to live

hał- to shout 13.11

ma'q!ⁱ- to dance 28.7

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

mīk^u- to cut 90.5

qatcⁿ- to go 8.2

tsîL!⁻ to shoot 10.3

ma^atc- to lay 32.22

temū^{'u} they came together 30.16

hūtcū^{'u} *L!^a'ai* they play 8.8

pekū^{'wi} *L!^a'ai* they play shinny
 70.10

yā^a'xaⁱ *hⁱyatsū^{'wi}* lots (of people)
 live

hałū^{'u} *ants hītc* *L!^a'ai* shout collec-
 tively, those people 70.9

meq!^{'yū^{'u}} *L!^a'ai* they dance 28.8

s^a'tsa xnī^wnū^{'u} *ants* *L!^a'ai* thus
 do it collectively, those people
 70.22, 23

qīūtccū^{'nî} *L!^a'ai* *uł* *mīkū^{'u}* *łt'īa^{'a}*
 many women cut salmon 82.14

qatcⁿnatū^{'u} they walk about 34.19

tsîL!^{'atū^{'u}} *yā^a'xaⁱ* *L!^a'ai* they are
 shooting 8.6

yā'q^{'u}yūn *ants* *łt't!^{'aⁱ}* *mītcū^{'wi}*
L!^a'ai he saw that food lying
 (around in great quantities)
 36.26, 27

Owing to the frequent interchange between the *ū*-vowel and the diphthong *a^ū* (see § 2), this suffix occurs often as *-aa^ū*, *-aa^{ūwi}*.

skwa'- to stand 10.9*stīm skwaha^{ū'wi} L!a'ai* there they are standing (collectively) 28.9*h̄q!*- to start 15.1*s^əa'tsa h̄q!ya^{ū'wi} ants L!a'ai* thus they (will) start*s^əa'tsa* thus 11.10*s^əatsa^{ū'wi} t_E h̄tc L!a'ai* thus (they do it) these people*k!i'nk'*- to go and see 16.1*k!i'nk'ya'a^ū n̄'ctca t_E taⁱ* many (were) going to see how this (one was) living§ 80. Plural *-tx*

This suffix exercises the same function as the preceding *-ū^u*, differing from it in so far only as its subjects must be human beings. It is added either to the bare stem or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffixes *-aⁱ*, *-ūⁱ* (see § 75), or it follows any of the temporal suffixes. The function of this suffix as a personal plural is substantiated by the fact that the verb to which it is added must be followed by the collective forms of *h̄tc* PERSON, *h̄tcū^{w'}*, *h̄tcū^{wi}* (see § 97). Whenever this suffix is added to a stem that has been verbalized by means of the suffixes *-aⁱ*, *-ūⁱ*, it coincides in phonetic structure with the temporal and objective form *-itx* (see §§ 33, 68). But the following collective *h̄tcū^u* differentiates these two forms. Stems ending in an alveolar or affricative add this suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4). This suffix is always rendered by THEY, PEOPLE.

temū'- to assemble 7.3*uⁱ wàn temū'tx h̄tcū^u* finally the people assembled 7.6*s^əa'tsa* thus 11.10*tem^uwaⁱ'tx h̄tcū^{wi} sqaⁱk* people assembled there 66.15*h̄ut-* to play 7.2*uⁱ wàn s^əatsa'tx h̄tcū^{wi}* now they (began to do it) thus 7.5, 6*waa'*- to talk 7.1*uⁱ wàn h̄utca'tx h̄tcū^u* now they (commence to) play 9.3*uⁱ wàn waa'tx h̄tcū^u* then finally people said 16.1*gateⁿ-* to go 8.2*atsi'tc waa'mxustx h̄tcū^u* thus they began to talk to each other 64, 20, 21*taⁱ-* to live 16.2*uⁱ wàn qa'tcⁿtx* finally they went 16.2*haⁱmūt tga^witc tayaⁱ'tx h̄tcū^{wi}* all up-stream they lived 82.13

pekū'u- to play shinny 9.4

hał- to shout

pākwa'itx hītcū'u tE L'a'ai these
people play shinny 78.7

hał'itx hītcū'u people shout 13.11

§ 81. IRREGULAR SUFFIXES *-n* (*-īn*), *-myax* (*-m*)

Here belong two suffixes whose exact function and etymology can no longer be analyzed. It is even impossible to tell whether they represent petrified formative elements, or elements of an exceedingly restricted scope, which may be responsible for their sporadic appearance.

The first of these suffixes to be discussed here is the suffix *-n* or *-īn*. It never occurs independently, being always followed by another verbal suffix, such as the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28), the temporal (see §§ 65-74) and the passive suffixes (see §§ 38, 39, 54-59). It seems to be related to the reciprocal *-naw* (*a*), and its function may be characterized as expressing a transitive action involving reciprocity or mutuality.

t!ū'hate'- to try to sell

ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7

mīng!- to buy (in exchange
for a slave) (?)

lī'ū- to come 9.3

t!ūhate'ī'nūn¹ I try to sell it

u^{la}x t!ūhat'cī'ntxa^ux¹ they two
try to sell their (hides) 100.19

maq!ēna'^wūn I will cure him (lit-
erally, dance for him)

meq!ē'na'a^u a dance will be ar-
ranged for him 19.2

s^zā ata's ants ma'q!īnūtne (for)
him only this dance is arranged
28.7

u^l mī'ng!īnū'ne tsax^u she is
bought in exchange for a slave
76.3

Līūna'^wya^ux² (when) they two
come together 46.7

The other irregular suffix is *-m*, which, however, occurs by itself in only one instance. It is usually followed by the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74), and expresses in such cases an action that almost took place. It was invariably rendered by ALMOST, VERY NEAR.

¹ The use of this suffix may be justified here by the fact that the idea TO SELL requires a seller and a buyer.

² The *-n* is used here because the action involves two persons—one that comes, and another that is approached.

<i>xînt</i> he goes, he travels 20.3	<i>pî'tsîs xî'ntma</i> in the ocean he travels (around ?) 44.1, 2
<i>hakw-</i> to fall 8.7	<i>ha'kumyaxan</i> I almost fell down
<i>a^us-</i> to sleep 24.1	<i>a^usmⁱyaxan</i> I very nearly fell asleep
<i>gate^xn-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qa'tenⁱmyaxan</i> I very nearly went
<i>kû'n-</i> to beat 72.17	<i>kû'ⁿnamyaxa^un</i> I almost beat him
<i>qātx-</i> to cry 58.15	<i>qā'tx^emyax</i> he very nearly cried

Nominal Suffixes (§§ 82-105)

§ 82. INTRODUCTORY

The number of nominal suffixes found in Siuslaw is, comparatively speaking, rather small, and the ideas they express do not differ materially from the ideas conveyed by the nominal suffixes of the neighboring languages. There is, however, one striking exception, for among the neighboring languages (Coos and Alsea) Siuslaw alone possesses nominal cases. Another interesting feature of the Siuslaw nominal suffixes is the large number of suffixed formative elements that require the accent, and their phonetic strength (see § 12).

§ 83. DIMINUTIVE *-isk'in*

This suffix conveys our diminutive idea, and may be added to stems that express nominal and adjectival concepts. Under the influence of the consonant preceding it, it may be changed into *-ask'in*.¹ When added to stems that end in a vowel, the vowel of the suffix is contracted with the final vowel of the stem (see § 9). When followed by the augmentative *-îl'mä*, the *-în-* element of this suffix disappears (see § 84). This suffix requires the accent.

<i>t!āmc</i> infant 40.19	<i>t!āmcî'sk'in</i> a little boy 94.16
<i>t^hî'aⁱ</i> fish 56.1	<i>t^hî'sk'in</i> <i>l!a'aⁱ</i> many small fish 46.6, 7
<i>qîūtēū'nî</i> woman 30.21	<i>qîūtēūnî'sk'in</i> a little woman, a girl
<i>mîtà</i> father 54.22	<i>mît!a'sk'nî'tîn</i> my step-father (literally, my little father) 100.3, 4
<i>î'pxan</i> niece (?) 92.17	<i>îpxanî'sk'întc^wax</i> they two (were) his little nieces 92.15, 16
<i>kō'tan</i> horse 34.9	<i>kōtanî'sk'in</i> a small horse, a pony

¹Owing to the fact that most of the texts and examples were obtained from William Smith, an Alsea Indian (see p. 438), whose native tongue has no true alveolar spirants (*s*, *c*), this suffix appears frequently in the texts as *-ck'in*.

l'māk'- short*yāk*- small 29.4*xyal'x* almost, very nearly 11.1*hī'catca* a while*l'māk'ī'sk'īn* very short 50.18*ya^a'k'ī'sk'īn* very small 36.23*xyal'x'ī'sk'īn qa'tc'īnt qa'ha'ntc* he went a little ways (literally, almost, a little, he goes, far) 12.1*hīcatca'sk'īn* a little while 64.8§ 84. AUGMENTATIVE -*īl'mä*

-*īl'mä* expresses the idea of LARGENESS, and, in terms of relationship, that of AGE; and it may be suffixed to stems expressing, besides nominal, also adjectival ideas. When added to stems that end in a lateral, the lateral of the suffix disappears in accordance with the law of simplification of consonants (see § 15). This suffix requires the accent.

qī'ūtc woman 48.17*līpl*- grandfather*kamL* grandmother 96.22*t!āmc* infant 40.19*tex^am* strong 10.1*penī's* skunk 86.1*yīkt* big 48.8*qīūtcī'l'mä* old woman 94.22*līpl'mä* grandfather*waa'ītx ants kamL'matc* she said to that her grandmother 96.21*t!āmcī'l'mä* old infant, hence young (man) 54.22*texmī'l'mä* very strong (man), hence old (man) 40.10*penīsī'l'mä* a large skunk*yīktī'l'ma* very big 40.6

The diminutive suffix is not infrequently added to the augmentative for the purpose of mitigating the impression made by the augmentative, and *vice versa*.

t!āmc infant 40.19*mīlā* mother 54.23*t!āmcī'l'ma'sk'īn* little big infant, hence little boy 94.20*mīlask'ī'l'mä¹* step-mother (literally, little old mother)

CASE-ENDINGS (§§ 85-87)

§ 85. Introductory

Unlike the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes, Siuslaw shows a rich development of nominal cases. Two of these, the genitive or relative case and the locative, are formed by means of separate suffixes, while the discriminative case is formed by means of a vocalic change (see § 111). In addition to these distinct case-endings,

¹ The contraction of *mīlask'ī'l'mä* from *mīlask'īnl'īl'mä* may be explained as due to the assimilation of *n* to *l* following the contraction of the vowels.

there exists a great number of nominalizing suffixes indicating nominal ideas of an absolutive (nominative) form; so that the Siuslaw noun may be said to show four possible cases,—the nominative or absolutive case, the discriminative, the genitive or relative case, and the locative, which has an extended meaning. In discussing these case-endings it will be found preferable to begin with the locative case, because of the important position it occupies in the language.

§ 86. The Locative Case -*a*, -*ūs*

These two suffixes indicated originally local ideas of rest, and, as such, are best rendered by our local adverbs ON, IN, AT, TO, etc. It would seem, however, that this primary function was extended so that these suffixes may also mark the noun as the object of an action, thereby exercising the function of an accusative case-ending. The use of these suffixes for the purpose of expressing objects of action and the adverbial idea of rest may be explained by the intimate psychological connection that exists between these two apparently distinct concepts. The following example will serve to illustrate this connection. The sentence I CUT SALMON may, and as a matter of fact does, denote the idea I CUT ON THE SALMON.

The correctness of this interpretation is furthermore brought out by the fact that the verb, upon which these suffixes are dependent, can under no circumstance appear in transitive form. Should, however, such a verb appear with a transitive suffix, the noun will then occur in the absolutive form; and, since confusion might arise as to the identity of the subject and object of the action, the subject of the action is always discriminated (see §§ 21, 111).

The importance of these two suffixes as formative elements may be deduced from the fact that they enter into the formation of the forms expressing our periphrastic conjugation TO HAVE, TO BE WITH (see § 76) and that the adverbial suffixes (see §§ 90, 91, 93) can be added only to nouns that occur with these locative endings.

-*a* expresses, besides the nominal object of an action, also the local idea of rest. There is a tendency to have the accent fall upon this suffix.

lt'ī'aⁱ fish 56.1

līya'a^ū fire 25.5

ts!āln pitch 26.6

mī'k^utūxts lt'īaya' you two shall
cut salmon 90.5

ha'qmas līya'wa near the fire 26.1

yūwa'ya^uxūn yā'aⁱ xaⁱ ts!īlna' we
two (will) get much pitch
94.17, 18

<i>qūūtē' nî</i> woman 30.21	<i>hītc sī' n'xya qūūtē' nya</i> (a) person wants a woman 76.7
<i>pēkū' u-</i> to play shinny 9.4	<i>pēkū' ya xāl' a' L' a' ai</i> many shinny sticks (they) make 78.5
<i>tcē</i> water 36.20	<i>tcē' wa ma' tc</i> ants . . . in the water lay that . . . 32.22
	<i>tcē' wa u' k' u' wīnā' v</i> on the water ice appeared 76.13
<i>L' a' ai</i> ground, place 7.1	<i>mīk' a' u' L' aya'</i> in a bad place 12.10; 13.1
<i>kō' tan</i> horse 34.9	<i>kumī' ntc kō' tana' t</i> not they had horses 100.20; 102.1
<i>t'ix</i> tooth	<i>t'ix a' t</i> (it) has teeth 90.19
<i>tcē</i> water 36.20	<i>u' la' u' tcē' watc hakwa' a' i</i> they two into the water thrown will be 88.7, 8
	<i>tcē' wanē ha' q' qyax</i> from the water (it) came ashore 56.13
<i>tcēmtē' mī ax</i> 27.10	<i>tcēmtē' myatc xawa' a' u</i> with an ax (he) killed will be 28.1

-ūs. Like the preceding *-a*, it is employed for the purpose of forming the locative case of nouns and of expressing the local idea of rest. It is suffixed to nouns in *-ū* (see § 97) and in *-ī* (see § 98). When added to nouns in *-ī*, the *-ī* of the noun is consonantized, so that the suffix appears to be *-īyūs* (see § 8); while, when suffixed to nouns in *-ū*, the *-ū* of the suffix is contracted with the *ū* of the noun (see § 9).

<i>k' u' wī' nī</i> ice	<i>qa' xa' i' x k' u' wīnīyū' s</i> on top of the ice 76.14, 15
<i>pk' i' tī</i> lake 62.18	<i>tsī' sgan pk' i' tīyū' s tēmū' yax</i> deer at (the) lake assembled 34.11.
<i>tsō' tī</i> sand beach	<i>ta' is tsī' tīyū' s</i> (you) will keep on living on the sand beach 46.15
<i>pēkū' u</i> shinny game	<i>s^a ku' nū' tswa pēkū' u s L' aya'</i> he always beats (people) at shinny 78.18, 19
<i>hūtcū' wī</i> fun 8.5	<i>a' l' tūtūnx hūtcū' w' stc</i> thou also shalt come to the fun 22.8
<i>u' mī</i> thunder	<i>umīyū' stc līū'</i> to thunder (it) came 36.8, 9

A number of nouns undergo unexplained phonetic changes whenever the locative suffix is added, while others employ an abbreviated form of this case-ending. Since no fixed rules can be given that will cover each of these cases, it will be best to tabulate all such nouns, giving their absolutive and locative forms. These nouns are as follows:

Absolutive case	Locative case
<i>mîsî' aⁱ</i> elder sister 90.23	<i>mîsa'yûs</i> 40.12, 13
<i>mîctcî'ⁱ</i> younger sister 40.2	<i>mîctca'yûs</i>
<i>mîtà</i> father 54.22	<i>mîta'yûs</i>
<i>mîlà</i> mother 54.23	<i>mîla'yûs</i>
<i>L'a'^{ai}</i> earth, many 7.1	<i>L'ayû's</i> 76.10
<i>îga'ⁱ tû</i> log 32.21	<i>îgatûwîyû's</i> 88.16
<i>a'^w tcîsî</i> camas 96.20	<i>a'^w tcîyû's</i> 98.11, 12
<i>hîtc</i> person 15.2	<i>hîtû's</i> 66.14
<i>sî'max^u</i> landing-place	<i>sîma'a'^xs</i> 48.21
<i>tsEha'^w ya</i> grass 8.6	<i>tsEha'^w yaⁱs</i>
<i>ya'^w xa</i> fern-root 80.18	<i>ya'^w xa^ss</i>
<i>hîtsî'ⁱ</i> house 25.2	<i>hîtsî's</i> 58.8

In many cases one and the same noun shows in its locative forms both case-endings, as may be seen from the following examples:

<i>L'a'^{ai}</i> ground, many 7.1	<i>L'aya'</i> 13.1 and <i>L'ayû's</i> 76.10
<i>a'^w tcîsî</i> camas 96.20	<i>a'^w tcîsya</i> and <i>a'^w tcîyû's</i> 98.11, 12
<i>hîtc</i> person 7.1	<i>hîtû's</i> 66.14 and <i>hîtû'tc</i> 7.5

A few nouns appear with locative case-endings that seem to bear no relation to the suffixes *-a*, *-ûs*. The following have been found:

Absolutive	Locative
<i>sî'xaⁱ</i> boat 56.5	<i>sExa'^w 1</i> 48.18
	<i>sExa'^w tc qaa'xam</i> into a canoe it was put 34.5
<i>hamî'ⁱ tcî</i> whale 82.5	<i>hamîtcû'</i>
	<i>ha'ⁱ mît hamîtcû'</i> <i>î'kwa'ⁱ</i> all (some) whale got 82.6
<i>îlqwa'a'tem</i> alder tree 92.5, 6	<i>îlqutmî'</i>
	<i>îlqûtmî'a'^u qaa'</i> an alder tree they two entered 92.6
<i>xwâ'ka</i> head 29.5	<i>xwâkî'</i>
	<i>îa'ⁱ qat skwaha'ⁱ tx xwâkî'</i> feathers (they) placed on their heads 10.9
<i>Lxaû'</i> spear 64.7	<i>Lxa'^w hî</i> 64.11

¹ The locative form *sExa'^w* may be explained as a noun with the local suffix of rest used as the object of an action (see § 91).

h̄t̄c person 7.1*mā'q^uL* crow 34.23*qayū'wⁱnts* stone*q^uLl'mt* anus 86.9*ya^ek^us* seal 62.4*Laad'* mouth 28.2*h̄t̄ū'tc**la'k^ut!w̄l h̄t̄ū'tc* a sheriff 7.5*m^uqwa'L* 34.21*qayuna'ts* 62.7*q^uLl'ml't**yEkū's* 62.2*Laaya'* 29.2, 96.7

Nouns that end in the augmentative suffix *-il'mā* (see § 84) change the final *ā* into a clear *a*-vowel whenever the locative is to be expressed.

ȳlkt̄l'l'ma very big 40.6*ȳlkt̄l'l'mat cā'ya* he has a big penis 92.1*q̄ūt̄c̄l'l'mā* old woman 96.15*q̄ūt̄c̄l'l'matc* to the old woman 94.16

In a few instances the locative suffix *-a* has the function of an adverbial suffix of instrumentality.

tc̄im̄tca'm̄l ax 27.10*u^la^u x w̄n̄ tc̄im̄tca'm̄l* they two now an ax take along (literally, with an ax go) 96.10, 11*skwaha^uw̄l L!a^ai ha'ⁱm̄ūt* ants *tc̄im̄tca'm̄l* they are standing, all those who have axes 28.9; 29.1

§ 87. The Relative or Genitive Case *-Em̄l*, *-Em*

These suffixes have the function of the Indo-European genitive case-endings.

-Em̄l is suffixed to the absolutive form of the noun; and when added to nouns that end in a long vowel, its obscure *e* is contracted with the long vowel of the noun and disappears (see § 9). The noun to which this suffix is added is always the object of the action.

l̄t̄'āⁱ salmon 56.1*lq!ā'nū* hide 100.15*t!l̄, t!l̄'yaⁱ* bear 56.11; 58.14*p̄l̄lq^uts* raccoon*txm̄ū'n̄l* man 30.21*l̄t̄'āyE'm̄l txaⁱn^e* salmon's tracks*lq!ā'nū'm̄l¹ ȳl̄x̄ⁱ* many hides (literally, of hides a multitude) 102.1, 2*t!l̄yayE'm̄l txaⁱn^e* bear tracks 56.10*p̄l̄lq^utsE'm̄l lq!ā'nū* raccoon-hide*txm̄ū'nyEm̄l L!xm̄l't̄l* a man's bow

¹ See § 9.

This suffix may be added to pronouns and particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

<i>nà</i> I 21.8	<i>nî'ctcîm^{Enx} na'm^{El} t_E'q</i> because thou (art) of me (a) relative 21.5
<i>ha'mūt</i> all 10.9	<i>ha'mūtū'ml¹ m^aā'tī</i> of all (the) chief

This suffix is also employed in the formation of the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114).

-EM differs from the preceding **-eml** in so far as it can be added only to the locative form of the noun, and that in the few examples that were obtained it denotes the subject of an action.

Absolutive	Objective	Relative
<i>mā'q^u_L</i> crow 34.23	<i>m^uqwa'_L</i>	<i>m^uqwa'_Lem wa'as</i> Crow's language 34.21.
<i>u'mlī</i> thunder	<i>umlī'yūs</i>	<i>umlī'yūsem wa'as</i> Thun- der's language 36.8
<i>hīt_c</i> a person 7.1	<i>hītū't_c</i> 7.5	<i>hītū'tcem L!xmī'tī</i> (an) In- dian's bow
<i>hītsī'ⁱ</i> house 25.2	<i>hītsī's</i> 58.8	<i>hītsī'sem teqyū'^{wi}</i> of house (the) frame

When followed by other suffixes, the obscure *E* of **-em** drops out, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

Absolutive	Objective	Relative
<i>māla</i> mother 54.23	<i>māla'yūs</i>	<i>māla'yūsmītīn mātā</i> of my mother (her) father; my grandfather
<i>māt/i'</i> elder brother 58.11	<i>māt/i'yūs</i>	<i>māt/i'yūsmītīn t/āmc</i> my elder brother's boy

§ 88. THE POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Possessive relations of the noun are expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix **-ī** that is followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24). Possession for the third person singular is expressed by the suffix **-tc** added to the noun without the aid of the sign of possession, **-ī**. Possession for the third persons dual and plural is indicated by adding the subjective pronouns **-a^ux** and **-nx** to the suffix **-tc**. Thus it would seem that Siuslaw employs two distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possession: **-ī** used for the first and second persons, and **-tc** for the third persons.

¹ See § 11.

The possessive suffixes are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix *-t* (see § 76) to the sign of possession; so that Siuslaw may be said to possess two sets of possessive suffixes,—one purely nominal set and one with a verbal significance. In the latter set the suffixes for the third persons are missing.

All possessive suffixes stand in terminal position following even the case-endings and the adverbial suffixes.

The following table will serve to illustrate the formation of the possessive suffixes:

		Nominal	Verbal
Singular	1st person	<i>-in</i>	<i>-it̃n</i>
	2d person	<i>-inx</i>	<i>-it̃inx</i>
	3d person	<i>-tc</i>	—
Dual	Inclusive	<i>-ins</i>	<i>-it̃ins</i>
	Exclusive	<i>-ix̃n</i>	<i>-it̃aux̃n</i>
	2d person	<i>-its</i>	<i>-it̃its</i>
	3d person	<i>-tcwax</i>	—
Plural	Inclusive	<i>-int̃</i>	<i>-it̃int̃</i>
	Exclusive	<i>-inx̃an</i>	<i>-it̃inx̃an</i>
	2d person	<i>-it̃ci</i>	<i>-it̃it̃ci</i>
	3d person	<i>-tc^wnx</i>	—

The pronominal suffix for the exclusive dual *-a^ux̃n*, *-ax̃n*, has been abbreviated here to *-x̃n*. This abbreviation may be the result of contraction. The *i* of the possessive suffixes appears frequently as a diphthong *aⁱ* (see § 2). The possessive suffixes follow all other nominal suffixes.

ts'íl·mū't friend 23.4

mîta father 54.22

hîtsî'ti house 25.2

lîn name 13.10

txa'in^e track, path 56.10

mîsî'aⁱ elder sister 90.23

wa'as language 34.21

ts'íl·mū'tin my friend 36.15

mîta'aⁱlîn . . . *mîta'aⁱtîn* my father . . . my mother (literally, I have a father . . . a mother) 100.1

tca'xumans hîtsî'steîn let us two go back to my house! 58.5

lî'tc^{Et} lî'nînx cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6

ma^atc txa'nî'tcînx it lies in thy path 48.22

mîsî'aⁱtc her elder sister 40.11

s^eatsî'tc wa'astc thus he said (literally, thus his language) 40.26

t!āmc child 40.19

kōpx eye 36.16

tēl hand 50.18

mîta father 54.22

xwā'ka head 29.5

m^aā'tē chief 11.2

xu'nha' a bet 78.15

t!āmcēns tē'ntūx our (dual incl.)
boys will return 42.7

kōpxa'xūn our (dual excl.) eyes

tē'līts your (dual) hands

mîta'tc^wax their (dual) father 52.8

xwā'ka'nē our (incl.) heads

m^aā'tē'nxan our (excl.) chief

m^aā'tē'tōi your chief

xu'nha'tc^enx their bets 70.7

The possessive suffixes may be added to particles and attributive elements that precede the noun. This is due to a tendency inherent in the language to keep the principal parts of speech free from all pronominal elements, and which finds its counterpart in the tendency to add all subjective suffixes to the adverbs that precede the verb instead of to the verbal stem (see § 26).

In many instances the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114) are used in addition to the possessive suffixes. This is done for the sake of emphasis; and in all such cases the suffixes are added to the independent pronouns, and not to the nominal stem.

s^eatsē'tc thus 8.1

nā I 21.8

nēctē'tc how, manner 36.4

hīs good 38.21

s^ea'tsa thus 11.10

s^ea'na he, that one 15.4

nā I 21.8

kīx^s ten 8.1

hīs good 38.21

s^eatsē'tcēn ha' thus I think (literally, thus my mind) 21.7

wa'a's^enx na'm^etētn wa'as you will
continually speak my language
36.13

nēctē'tcēnx ha' how (is) thy mind
40.3

hī'sēnx ha' haū'tūx you will feel
better (literally, good thy heart
will become)

s^ea'tsate nēctēma^emū thus (is) his
custom 38.16

s^ea'na'mtē wa'as wa'^asyaxaⁿ his
language he spoke 36.14

na'm^etēns kō'tan our (incl. dual)
horses

kē'x^estc^wax haū'yax t!āmc they two
had ten children (literally, ten
their two, had become, children)
60.16, 17

hī'sēnē ha' we are glad (literally,
good our [incl.] heart) 72.18

hīs good 38.21*hī'sīnxaŋ hītsī'ī* good (was) our (excl.) house 100.13*nà* I 21.8*na'mētinxaŋ tē'q* our (excl.) relative 102.5*ants* that there 7.1*t'ī'ya'ī lakwa'kū^un a'ntsīn māt'ī'*
(a) bear caught that there my elder brother 58.18

Nominal possessive suffixes are added to verbal stems in many cases when the object stands in some possessive relation to the subject of the sentence (see § 33). Siuslaw uses for that purpose the verbal set of possessive suffixes (see table on p. 546); and, since the pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to particles and attributive elements preceding the verb (see § 26), these suffixes occur mostly in terminal position.

a'iq- to leave*ta'k^{ens} aya'qa'ītī tē sī'xa'ī* here we two (incl.) shall leave our canoe 56.5*haū-* to become*ha'nanx ha'ū'tūxa'ītī ha'ī* different will become thy mind 60.14*yā'a'xa'ī* much 8.5*s^ēa'tsaŋ u'īn yā'a'xa'ītī ha'ī* that's why I (know) much (in) my mind 20.9*hīs* well 38.21*tsī'k'yanxaŋ hī'sītī ha'ī* we (excl.) are very glad 24.5, 6*waa'-* to speak 7.1*atsī'te^{enx} wa'a'īsītī tsī'mqma* thus you shall tell your people 78.10*yā'a'xa'ī* much, many 8.5*u'te^{enx} yā'a'xa'īte hī't/a'ī* they have much food (literally, and they much their food) 80.17*lxū'īs* dry 60.19*lxū'īste^{enx} ants t'ī'ī'a'ī* dry (is) that their salmon 80.17, 18

The possessive suffixes are sometimes added to the verbal stem, especially the suffix for the third person singular.

xwī' L/tūx he will return*sī'nxīt^x ants t'ām^c xwī' L/tūxt^c* he wanted his boy to come back (literally, he desired his, that boy, shall come back, his) 42.5, 6*waa'* he says 8.9*kumī'nt^c wa'a'īte ants qasLī'ū* not she said (to) that her husband*L/xūx^u-* reduplicated form of*kū'ī L/xū'x^ute ha'ī* not he knew his mind 58.4*L/xū-* to know 40.16

The subjective pronouns may at times perform the function of the possessive suffixes. This is especially true in the case of the pronoun for the first person singular when used in connection with a demonstrative pronoun.

tā^ak this here 32.13

t!ī'yaⁱ lakwa'kū^un tā'kîn t!āmc (a)

bear caught this my boy 60.9, 10

wa'aⁱtsîn tā'kîn wa'as speak to me

(with) this my language 36.10

ants that there 7.1

t!ī'yaⁱ lakwa'kū^un a'ntsîn māt!ī'

(a) bear caught that there my

elder brother 58.18

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 89-96)

§ 89. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses all adverbial relations derived from nouns by means of suffixes, that precede even the pronominal suffixes. Of these, the local suffixes indicating motion and rest, and the local suffix expressing the ablative idea FROM, can be added only to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86). It is rather interesting to note that there is no special suffix denoting instrumentality. This idea is either expressed by means of the locative *-a* (see § 86), or it is conveyed through the medium of the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90) and of the local *-ya* (see § 93), or it may be contained in the suffix of modality *-ītc* (see § 94). All these ideas are so closely interwoven with that of instrumentality, that the instrumental use of elements denoting primarily objects, motion, and modality, presents no difficulty whatsoever.

§ 90. Local Suffix Indicating Motion *-tc*

It is added to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86), and may be best rendered by TO, INTO, AT, ON, UPON, TOWARDS.

tcī water 64.24

u^la^ux tcī'wate hakwa'aⁱ and they
two into the water will be
thrown 88.7, 8

hītsī'ⁱ house 25.2

u^lnx wàn tcīⁱn hītsī'ⁱstc they now
returned into the house 60.10,
11

mîsī'aⁱ elder sister 90.23

wīⁱttcîstūn mîsa'yūstc he sent her
to her elder sister 92.20

L!a'ai ground 76.10

sī'xa'i canoe 56.5

pk'ī'tī lake 62.18

qīūtēl'l'mä old woman 94.22

qayū'wints rock

mā'q^uL crow 34.23

k!ix L!a'ai everywhere

L!ayū'stc to the ground 94.8

sēxā'w'tc qaa'xam into a canoe were put 34.5

pk'ītīyū'stc tēmū'yax at the lake (they) came together 34.13, 14

Līū'wa^x qīūtēl'l'ma'tc they two came to an old woman 94.16

xalna'i qayuna'ts'itc (one) climbs up the rock 62.7

Līū' m^uqwa'L'itc he came to Crow 36.3

k!ēxū'tc L!aya'tc waa'ūn everywhere he said . . . 7.2

Local adverbs and stems denoting local phrases are not considered as nouns. Hence they can have no locative forms, and the adverbial suffixes are added directly to such words.

ha'q shore 44.7

lnū outside 38.23

qō'x^um away from shore 34.6

qa'xūn up, above 34.21

qa'ihā'n far 56.8

yīxa' ha'qtc (they) looked ashore 66.6

u^lēnx lnū'tc līha' and they outside went 38.23

qō'x^umtc ha' mūt qwa'xtc'ist out into the water all went 34.15

qa'xūntc hakwa'yū'nē upwards it is thrown 8.7

qa'ha'ntc tsīL!a'ī he shot far 10.3

In like manner the local suffix is added to the independent pronouns; and all such pronouns, when followed by this suffix, have the function of objective pronouns (see § 113).

nā I 21.8

nīx^ats thou

tēmū'tūxtēl nātē you shall come to me 72.11

kumī'ntc hī'sa nī'x^atc not good (it is) on you 12.5

In a few instances the local suffix *-tc* has been found added to the absolutive form of nouns. This ungrammatical suffixation may be due either to imperfect perception on my part, or to errors on the part of the informant. The instances referred to are as follows:

paa'wī sand beach

lk!ī'a'i mouth of the river

paa'wītēīx qatē^xnatū'^u along the sand beach they walked 34.14

Līū'wanx lk!ī'a'itc they came to the mouth of the river 66.11

îng!a'î river, creek 30.23

ʷla^ux *lîw'* *îng!a'îtc* and they two
came to a creek 56.4

In many instances the locative form of a noun or pronoun followed by the local suffix of motion *-tc* indicates the idea of instrumentality.

teî water 64.24

hîtsî'î *tā'qnîs* *teîwa'tc* the house (is)
full of water

hîtc person 7.1

taganî'tx *hîw'ite* it was always full
of people 70.3, 4

teîmtca'mî ax 27.10

teîmtca'myate *xawa'a^u* with an ax
he will be killed 28.1

lî't!a'î food 34.6

tā'qnîs *lî't!aya'tc* *ants* *hîtsî'î* full
with food (was) that house 54.5

ts!a!n pitch 26.6

sî'nîxyū'ne *ts!î!na'tc* *xawa'a^u* it
was desired (that) with pitch
he should be killed 24.1

s^zà that one 10.1

s^za'na'tc *xawa'a^u* with that (thing)
he will be killed 26.6

§ 91. Local Suffix Indicating Rest *-û* (*-a^u*)

This suffix is added to such stems as are not considered nominal, and hence can not express the local idea of rest by means of the locative *-a* or *-ûs* (see § 86). It is consequently suffixed to adjectives—which are really intransitive verbs—and it performs for such terms the additional function of a locative case-ending. The only noun to which this suffix has been found added in its local and objective meaning is the stem *sî'xa'î* CANOE (see § 86). This apparently exceptional use of the local suffix *-û* in connection with a noun may be due to the fact that the informant, unable to recall a single instance of the noun *sî'xa'î* in its proper objective form (*sîxaya'?*), and not conscious of the grammatical processes of her language, has endeavored to form the objective case according to her own idea. The idea implied by this suffix may be rendered by IN, AT, ON. The interchange between *-û* and *-a^u* has been discussed in § 2.

mî'k!a bad 14.7

nî'ctcî *tex* *xî'ntmîs* *hîtc* *mîk!a^u*
L!aya' how (can) always travel
a person in a bad place? 12.10;
13.1

k!îx each, every 24.4

txū'nx *k!îxū'* *L!aya'* *xî'ntmîs* just
you everywhere will continually
travel 13.6, 7

<i>k!ix</i> each, every 24.4	<i>k!ēxū' L!aya' uł s^əaⁱt^ə</i> on each place such (was the world) 14.6; 15.1
<i>s^əaⁱt^ə</i> such, in that manner 15.1	<i>uł^{ən}x sqaⁱk i^t!aⁱ s^əaⁱtū'</i> and they eat on such (a place) 62.5, 6
<i>ya^a'k!i'sk'in</i> very small 36.23	<i>yāk!isk'inū' L!aya' uł tīyū'^{wi}</i> on a very small place they lived 38.19
<i>sī'xaⁱ</i> boat 56.5	<i>lqaⁱ'tū txū ma^ətc ants s^əxa^u'</i> sticks merely were lying in that boat 48.20, 21

Instances where this suffix has the function of a locative case-ending may be given as follows:

<i>k!ix</i> each, every 24.4	<i>k!ē'xū'tc L!aya'tc L!ōxa'xa^utsm^ə</i> to each place he sent his . . . 30.1
<i>mī'k!a</i> bad 14.6	<i>lī'ū mī'k!a^utc L!aya'tc</i> he came to a bad place
<i>sī'xaⁱ</i> canoe 56.5	<i>s^əxa^u'n sī'nⁱxya</i> a canoe I want <i>s^əxa^u'tc qaa'xam</i> into a canoe were put 34.5

§ 92. Local Suffix *-ix* (*-aⁱx*, *-yax*)

This suffix is used chiefly in connection with verbs of motion, and is added to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Its function may best be compared to the function performed by our adverbs ON, OVER, ALONG, when used in connection with verbs of motion. The long *i* of the suffix is often changed into *aⁱ* (see § 2) or diphthongized into *ya* (see § 7).

<i>Qa'aⁱtc</i> a tributary of the Siuslaw river called at present North Fork	<i>Qa'aⁱtcix pēkⁱ'tc līha'yax</i> along North Fork at first it passed 32.19
<i>paa^u'wī</i> sand beach	<i>paa^u'wītēix qatc^{ən}natū'^u</i> along (its) sand beach they walked 34.14
<i>haⁱq</i> shore 44.7	<i>haⁱ'qaⁱxant tca'xwītūx</i> along the shore we will go back 66.12, 13
<i>qa^ux</i> high, up 80.9	<i>qa^uxaⁱ'x k!u^xwīnīyū's</i> on top of the ice 76.14, 15
<i>hīs</i> well, straight 38.21	<i>tcī'watc hī'saⁱx līū'</i> to the water on (a) straight (line) it was coming 32.20
<i>qa^u'xūn</i> sky	<i>qa^u'xūnyax xīnt</i> along the sky it traveled 32.19
<i>tcīk</i> where 34.2	<i>tcī'kyax līhaⁱ' tē hītc</i> whereon climb up people 80.13

In one instance this suffix is added to a demonstrative pronoun.

sʰà that one 10.1

sʰaʷ xaʷx pʰtcaʷ over that one they
two stepped 88.18

§ 93. Local Suffixes *-ya*, *-ne*

-ya is added to those locative forms of the personal pronouns and nouns that end in an alveolar or affricative consonant (*t*, *s*, *tc*) and to adverbs the final consonant of which belongs to the same series.

qʷlĩmt anus 86.9

qʷlĩmĩ'tyate *lĩhaʷ* from his anus
he came out 94.20

pĩ'tsʰs ocean (locative form)
44.1

pĩ'tsʰsya haʷqaʷ from the ocean he
came ashore 82.4

qũ'ĩtc Umpqua river

qũ'ĩtcyaaʷ from the Umpqua river
(they came) 100.15

hĩtsĩ'i house 25.2

hĩtsĩ'sya from the house

nà I 21.8

na'teya from me

haʷq shore 44.7

haʷqaʷteya go away from the fire!
(literally, what is shore like from
it you go away) 26.7

qante where

qa'nteyanx *lũũ'* from where (dost)
thou come 66.16

-ne is suffixed to nouns and to personal pronouns whose locative forms end in a vowel (see § 86), and to such stems as form the locative cases by means of the local suffix of rest *-ũ* (see § 91).

k'ĩx *L!aʷai* every place

k'ẽxũ'ne *L!ayaʷne* from each place,
from everywhere 8.2

tcĩ water 64.24

tcĩ'wane *haʷqʷyax* from the water
he came ashore 56.13

xwã'ka head 29.5

xwãkĩ'ne from the head

sĩ'xaʷ canoe 56.5

sexãʷ'ne from the canoe

These local suffixes are frequently used as implying the idea of instrumentality.

qaʷtc knife

L!xmaĩ'yũn *qaʷl'teya* he killed him
with a knife (literally, from a
knife)

tcĩL hand 50.18

tcĩ'ne *lõlẽ'tũn* with the hand he
struck him

Lxaũ' spear 64.7

Lxaʷ'hĩne *ants* *hĩtc* *skwahaʷ* with
a spear (in his hand) that person
stood up 64.11, 12

§ 94. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Modality *-ĩtc* (*-aĩtc*), *-'na*

-ĩtc. This suffix has both a nominal and a verbal function. As a nominal suffix it signifies LIKE. It is found suffixed to a number of modal adverbs (see § 121), and it invariably requires the accent. The interchange between the long *ĩ* and the diphthong *aĩ* has been discussed in § 2.

<i>ckō'tc</i> hill 46.10	<i>qa'xũtc qa'tc'nt ckō'tc'ĩtc</i> he went up a hill (literally, upwards he goes, hill-like) 12.9
<i>txa'n^e</i> tracks, road 56.10	<i>tcĩk ants ĩqa'ĩ'tũ L^owa'ĩ' txa'nĩ'tc</i> wherever that tree falls across the road (literally, road-like) 84.2, 3
<i>at^aq</i> one 18.7	<i>a'ĩqa'ĩ'tc'ĩn L/xũ'yũn qnà</i> half I know it (literally, one [half] like I know it) 92.12
<i>s^xa'tsa</i> thus 11.10	<i>waa'xam s^xatsĩ'tc</i> he was told thus 8.1
<i>nĩ'tca</i> something, how 16.2	<i>kwĩ'n^x nĩctc'ĩtc L/wā'nĩsũn</i> don't you tell him anything 17.1, 2

My informant frequently rendered this suffix by the phrase WHAT YOU WOULD CALL A . . . , SOME KIND OF . . . , especially in cases where the noun employed did not convey the exact idea that was wanted.

<i>mā'ā'tĩ</i> chief 10.2	<i>mā'ā'tĩtc tē qwo'txa'ĩ</i> beaver (was) (what you would call a) chief 50.6, 7
<i>mā'tĩ'yũ^{wi}</i> chief, general	<i>s^xatsĩ'tc waa' ants mā'tĩ'wĩtc ants s'ĩ'xa'ĩ</i> thus said that (what you would call) captain (of) that boat 64.26; 66.1
<i>ĩna^{u'wi}</i> rich man 86.4	<i>ĩna^{u'}wĩtc ants hĩtc</i> (what you would call a) chief (was) that man 76.3
<i>tēgyũ^u</i> frame 80.7	<i>tēgyũ'wĩtc</i> (what you would call a) frame
<i>ĩk'ĩ'a'ĩ</i> mouth (of river)	<i>ĩk'ĩ'a'ĩwĩtc ants pk'ĩ'ĩ</i> (something like the) mouth (of) that lake

When added to adverbs that convey local ideas, it must be preceded by the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90).

sqaⁱk there 14.6

qanⁱs- down

tqa^uwi'- up-stream 56.8

sqaⁱkⁱtcⁱ'tc *qa'tcⁱntūx* there (they)
will go 30.22

qanⁱstcⁱ'tc *txū* *słōxu'x^u* down sim-
ply he went (slid) 12.6

qa'tc^unt *tqa^uwi^utcⁱ'tc* he went up-
stream 58.12

This modal suffix may also express the idea of instrumentality, as will be seen from the following examples:

tsi' L/i arrow 50.7

tsax^u slave 76.3

kumⁱ'ntc *xa'wīl* *tsi' L/i'tc* not he can
die through (literally, with) an
arrow 15.8

tūha' ha^un *tsaxwⁱ'tc* he bought her
in exchange for a slave

When added to verbal stems, *-i^utc* is almost invariably followed or preceded by the verbs *xⁱnt-* TO GO, TO START, and *hⁱqⁱ'-* TO START, TO BEGIN; and the idea conveyed by such a phrase may best be compared with our English sentences I GO INTO A STATE OF . . ., I START . . . -LY. The Siuslaw informant, unable to express this native phrase in English, usually rendered it by I, THOU, HE ALMOST. . . .

tcⁱiⁿ- to go home, to return 12.10

tēmū'- to assemble 7.3

li'ū- to arrive 9.2

tcax^u- to go back, to return 30.14

xaū' he died 40.21

qātx *tcenⁱ'tc* *xⁱnt* he cried as he
went home (literally, he cries
when homewards he starts)
58.15, 16

tēmūⁱ'tc *xⁱnt* *L/a^{ai}* people came
together (literally, into a state
of coming together go many)
30.15, 16

li^uwi^u'tc^uax *wān* *xⁱnt* they two are
almost home (literally, in the
manner of arriving they two
finally go) 23.1

ki'x^us *tsaxayū^u'wi* *a^untsⁱn* *tcaxwⁱ'tc*
xⁱnt for ten days I was going
back (literally, ten days this I
returningly went) 66.20, 21

xewⁱ'tc^unx *hⁱ'qⁱ'ya* (when) you are
near death (literally, [when] in
the manner of dying you start)
34.25

k!ap- low tide 36.18

ʷl k!apī'tc xīntī't ants tēi and the water began to get low (literally, into a state of low tide went that water) 36.20

sī'- to grow 98.10

sīhī'tcīn xī'ntyax (when) I began to grow up (literally, [when] into a state of growing I went) 100.17

In one instance this suffix occurs as *-a^ūtc*, and is preceded by the stem *qaten-* TO GO.

yax- to see 20.10

ʷl qa'tc^{ent} yexa^ūtc a'ntsⁱtc tēmā'nī he went to see his cousin 40.24

The verbs *xīnt-* and *hīq!-* may be omitted, as is shown in the following example:

tcāq- to spear 68.8

qa'ha'ntc hī'nyaxa^ūn ya^kus tca-qa'ⁱtc the seal took him way off as he speared him (literally, way off took him, seal, spearingly) 68.17, 18

-'na is added to adjectives only, and expresses an idea similar to that of the English suffix *-LY*.

mī'k!a bad 14.7

kwī'nx L/wā'nīsūn mī'k!a'na don't tell it to him badly 17.1, 2

kumī'ntc mī'k!a'na sīn'xna'wīs not badly (we shall) keep on thinking of each other 78.12, 13

t!ī'sa grease

nī'ctcīm t!ī'sa'nānx tīt!a'wax because greasy (things) they are going to eat 82.8

§ 95. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Time *-tita*, *-īta*

These suffixes are added to nouns that indicate division of time, and to verbs expressing celestial phenomena, and they may best be rendered by TOWARDS, WHEN THE TIME OF . . . COMES. Both suffixes require the accent.

pīctcem summer 46.11

pīctcemtita' ʷl^{en}x sqa^kk taya' towards summer (hence, in the spring-time) they there live 62.2, 3

q!Exa^uyū'wî salmon season

qīū'nem winter 80.18, 19

hî'n^εk/ī- to rain 76.18

qa'x night 38.21

nîctcînwa'' spring comes

q!Exa^uyū'wītīta' ũt tqa^u'wītē taya'
when salmon-time comes (they)
up-stream live 82.12, 13

qīū'nēmītīta' towards winter

hîn^εk/īta' in the rainy season

qa'xītīta' towards night-time

nîctcînawītīta' ũla^ux s^εa'tsa xñī'wne
towards spring-time they two
thus do it 98.5

§ 96. Modal Adverbs in -a

This suffix may be called the suffix of modality *par excellence*. By its means all stems expressing adjectival ideas, and all particles, are transformed into adverbs. Many of these stems (amplified by means of the modal suffix -a) do not occur in their original form, being used adverbially only. All such stems are denoted here by an asterisk (*). Whether this suffix may not be ultimately related to the locative -a (see § 86) is a debatable question.

hīs good 38.21

lī'ū near 40.12

yā^a'xaⁱ much, many 8.5

yīkt big, large 48.8

**līm-q-* quick

**ha'in-* different

**nīk!/-* alone

**s^εats-* thus

**tsīk!/-* much, very

kumī'ntc hī'isa nātē not well (it is)
on me 12.2

līū'wa k^unā īnq'a'ītē tē taⁱ near,
perhaps, the creek, these live
66.7, 8

hū'tctūns yā^a'xa we shall play a
great deal 10.6

qanīstcī'tc īlq'a'yūsne yī'kta very
deep it would be dug (liter-
ally, down-like it is dug largely)
84.3, 4

lī'mqan tēl'ntūx right away I shall
return 56.22

ha'ina differently 58.9

nī'k!a alone 94.11

s^εa'tsa thus, in that manner 18.4

tsī'k!ya very, very much 13.9

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 97-105)

§ 97. Nominal -ūu (-aū), -ūwt

This suffix conveys a general nominal idea, changing any neutral stem into a noun, and is employed extensively in the formation of verbal abstract nouns. It is also used to express collectivity of action,

an application that is in perfect harmony with its nominal character, as has been explained in § 78. The forms $-\bar{u}^u$ and $-\bar{u}^{wi}$ may be explained as due to imperfect perception on my part, while the double occurrence of $-\bar{u}^u$ and $-a^{\bar{u}}$ is caused by the phonetic relation that exists between the \bar{u} and the diphthong $a^{\bar{u}}$ (see § 2).

hūtc- to play 7.2
temū'- to gather 7.3

paln- to hunt 82.17

xīl'xci- to work 48.10

sī- to grow 98.10

lxat- to run 12.3

xīntm- to travel 12.10

yalq- to dig 84.5

xa'tc- to roast 90.8

anxī- to sing

hūtcū'wi, *hūtcū'u* fun, 8.5; 16.6

tcīk ants L'a'ai temū'u where (there is) that big assembly 88.3
qwa'tc L'xū'yūn palnū'wi (he) who knows (the art of) hunting 82.18
tsī'k'ya L'xū'yūn xīl'xciyū'u very (well) he knows (the art of) working 52.22, 23

s'a'tsate sī'ya'a such (was) her growth 98.6

lxatū'wi a race 78.18

wī'nxanx tcī'wa xīntmū'wi thou art afraid to go to the ocean (literally, thou fearest to water the journey)

yalqa'a a hole 84.6

xa'tca'a roast 90.9

anxyū'wi a song

This suffix is found in a great number of nouns whose original stems can no longer be analyzed. The following list may be given:

ha'wī'yū shaft
paa'wī sand beach 34.14
pahū'wi codfish
pā'l'ū spring, well 76.12
ma'tcū bed (place of lying?)
ma'tcū chimney, stove (place of burning?)
tegyū'u frame (of a house) 80.7

tūqya'a up the river 32.22
tū'nīxyū pocket
nīctcīma'mū custom, fashion 36.28

cīmī Ltxū upper lip
tsxayū'wi day, sun, weather 8.1

tcīmīlqū'wi ring (*tcīmīlq* finger)
kūtsū'wi saliva
kū'cū hog (from French through medium of the Chinook jargon)

kū'tcīyū sea-otter
kmū'kū pipe-stem
kcīkyū'wi wall
klī'nū ladder, stairway
kwīnī'ntxū throat

k!a'l'apū navel
qasī'ū husband 48.20
qa'wa'a bay, down-stream 80.6
qa'tī'ū bark 90.8
q!Exayū'wī salmon-time 82.12
lna'wī rich man, chief 86.4

lk^wuna'atsū live-coals*lqaⁱ'tū* tree, log 32.21*lq!ⁱā'nū* hide, skin 100.15*līya'a^ā* fire 25.5*lxaū'* pole, spear 64.7*l!ⁱm'!kēū* flounder 100.10

When added to the numeral particle *yā'aⁱxaⁱ* MUCH, MANY, it denotes the idea expressed by a noun of quality. This particle is to all appearances a stem amplified by means of the nominal suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 98); and since two nominal suffixes of a similar function can not be added to one and the same stem, the *-aⁱ* disappears, and the suffix *-a^ā* is added to the bare stem *yāx-*.

yā'aⁱxaⁱ much, many 8.5

tc'!nt^{tc} ya'a^ā xalnaⁱ how many
had climbed up (literally, what
their number climbed up) 62.11

tc'!nt^{tc} ya'a^ā tē'qtc ants qvūtcū'nē
as many relatives as that woman
had (literally, how much their
number [of] her relatives [of]
that woman) 76.1

lxaⁱpⁱstc ya'a^ā five their number
100.15

§ 98. Nominal *-ā* (*-a^ā*)

This suffix is found in a large number of nouns expressing a variety of concepts. It occurs with nouns indicating instrumentality, with verbal abstract nouns, with nouns of relationship, with terms designating animals, with stems expressing natural objects, etc. It is not altogether inconceivable that this nominal formative element may be identical with the verbalizing suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75), even though its nominalizing function can no longer be explained in a majority of cases. In many instances the original stem to which this suffix has been added does not occur in its independent form. The substitution of the diphthong *-aⁱ* for the long *ī* has been discussed in § 2.

pekū'- to play shinny 9.4*tsūL!-* to shoot 8.6*mānx^w-* to lighten 38.5*wī'nkī-* to work 50.6*taⁱ* he sits 16.2*pā'kwī* shinny stick*tsū'L!ⁱ* arrow 50.7*m'!nⁱxwī* lightning 38.2*wī'nakī* work*tī'taⁱ* chair

t̃t'! to eat 13.10*hū'te-* to play 7.2*aswāt't'ī'* blanket*īng!a'aⁱ, īng!a'ī,* river 30.20,
23*umkī'* thunder 36.8*ū'ttī* snow 76.10*hamī'ctcī* whale 82.4*ha'kwī* mussels 82.2*hī'aⁱ* clouds*hītsī'ⁱ* house 25.2*haⁱ* heart, mind 8.9*pk'ī'tī* lake 62.18*mēkkl'* father-in-law*ma'ī* kidney*mā'ā'tī* chief 10.2*mā'tī* dam 48.10*māt'ī'* elder brother 58.11*mīstī'aⁱ* elder sister 90.23*mīctcī'ⁱ* younger sister 40.2*mī'ck'laⁱ* something bad, vulva
26.5*tqā'tī* hook*tqu'nī* smoke*t̃t'!aⁱ* food 34.23*hūtca^v* fun 10.5*sī'xaⁱ* canoe 56.5*tsalī'swalī* beads (?)*tsī'tī'ⁱ* sand beach*tsō'tī* waves, breakers*tsxu'npLī* coyote 88.9*tcī* water 36.20*tcī't!ī* wind*ts!ū'xwī* spoon*kēā'nī* basket 90.21*qa'xī* chicken-hawk*qā'wī* blood*q^unī'tī'ⁱ* perforation in the ear*q^wunaxī'ⁱ* cheek*qwo'txaⁱ* beaver 48.6*q!a'tctī* cedar*t̃t'ī'aⁱ* salmon 56.1*tq!ā'sī* eel*L!a'aⁱ* ground, world, earth, place,
many 7.2*L!ī'ⁱnī* floor*L!xmī'tī* bow

When added to stems that express adjectival ideas, this suffix forms nouns of quality.

hīs good 38.21*yīkt* big 48.8*yāx-* much, many 8.5*hīsī'ⁱ* goodness*hītsī'sēm yīktī'ⁱ* of the house the
large (size)*tq!ānū'īmī yīxī'ⁱ* of hides a great
number 102.1, 2

§ 99. Nouns of Quality in -t'ū^u (-t'ū'wī)

There can be little doubt that the vocalic elements of this suffix are identical with the nominalizing suffix discussed in § 97. The etymology of the initial consonantic element is obscure. This suffix is added to adjectives and adverbs only. Owing to the fact that a number of adjectives end in -t (see § 104) and that double consonants are invariably simplified, these adjectives drop their final consonant before adding the suffix (see § 15).

hatca't long 76.1

ina^{wi} rich 86.4

yikt large 48.8

qa'xûn high 8.7

qa'in- deep

hîs good 38.21

qa'ha'n- far 10.3

tci'nt^{etc} ha'tct'û^u for a long time
(literally, how much its long
period) 48.2

ina^{wi}t'û^{wi} wealth

yikt'û^{wi} large size

qaxûnt'û^{wi} height

qa'nt'û^{wi} depth

hîst'û^{wi} kindness

qa'han't'û^u distance

§ 100. Nouns of Agency in *-ya^{ux}*, *-îl* (*-a^{îl}*), *-t!*, *-t'wî*

Nomina actoris are formed by means of the following suffixes:

-ya^{ux} This suffix seems to have been used frequently.

lak^u- to fetch, to catch 7.5

xûⁿ- to snore 27.9

la'wat!- to gamble

îⁿ- to call (?)

temû'- to gather 7.3

la'k^uky^{ux} sheriff (literally, a
catcher [of people])

xû'ny^{ux} a snorer

la'wat!y^{ux} a gambler

îna'ty^{ux} an interpreter

tema^wy^{ux} a person who assem-
bles (people) 30.2

***-îl* (*-a^{îl}*).** This suffix is easily confounded with the verbal negative suffix of similar phonetic structure (see § 53); but this similarity is purely accidental.

wî'nkî- to work

xîl'xci'- to work 48.10

xîntm- to travel 12.10

waa'- to speak 7.1

pəkû'- to play shinny 9.4

sâ tsî'k!ya wî'nkîl he (is a) very
(good) worker 50.5, 6

xî'l'xci! a workingman

xî'ntmîl a traveler

wa'a^{îl} a speaker

pa'kwîl a shinny player

-t! It is quite possible that this suffix may have some connection with the initial element of the suffix for nouns of quality, *-t'â^u* (see § 99).

L!wîn to tell 8.2

tsîL!- to shoot 8.6

yuw- to pick, to dig 96.18

paLn- to hunt 82.17

t!âmç child, infant 40.20

L!wânt! an informant

tsîL!t! a marksman

yû'y^ât! a person who picks (ber-
ries [reduplicated stem])

paL'nt! a hunter

t!îmçt! one who raises children
30.23

-t'wî seems to be another form of the preceding suffix.

lak^u- to fetch

... *te la'k^{ut}/wî hî'tû'tc* this
gatherer of the people 7.5
la'k^{ut}/wî a fetcher 22.9

§ 101. Nouns in *-ax*

This suffix is used for the purpose of forming nouns from verbal stems, adverbs, and stems denoting geographical terms. When added to verbs or to adverbs, it is best rendered by PERSON, PEOPLE; while when used in connection with geographical terms, it denotes a tribal name and may be translated by INHABITING, BELONGING TO.

xaũ' he died 40.21

kũ' nàts xā'wa^axa^atnE if he had not
been killed (literally, not had he
been a person [who was] killed)
29.7

L'ōx- to send 16.10

tcēn ants hî'tc L'ōwa'x returned
this human messenger (literally,
returned that person [who was]
sent) 7.7

(*L'ōwa'x* instead of *L'ōwa'xax*, see
§ 24)

a^wstūx he will sleep 27.7

*sî'nîxyũ'NE ts'îlna'tc xawa'a^w a^w-
stūxax* it was desired (that) with
pitch killed shall be the person
(who) will sleep 24.1

wā'nwîts long ago 14.7

nî'ctcîm s^aa'tsa wā'nwîtsax be-
cause thus (did it) the old-timers
(literally, [people belonging to]
long ago) 68.13

nîctcîma^emū custom, fashion
36.28

s^aatsî'tc wā'nwîtsax nîctcîma^emwa^x
thus (was) the custom of the old-
timers (literally, thus [of people
of] long ago the [things pertain-
ing to their] customs) 76.6, 7

pehî'tc first 32.19

pehî'tcax a first settler

Lxa^wi-?

Lxa^wyax the other one, friend 42.8

qūⁱ-, qū'îtc south

qū'yax, qū'îtcax an Umpqua Indian
(literally, a person inhabiting
the south)

qpaⁱ- north

qpa'yax an Alsea man

qa'xq- east

qa'xqax a Kalapuya Indian

pî''tsîs ocean 44.1

pî''tsîsax inhabitants of the ocean

ckō'tc mountain 46.10

ckō'tcîtcax a mountaineer

§ 102. Nouns in *-ūnî* (*-a^unî*)

This suffix is added to adjectives, a few adverbs used in an adjectival sense, and to nouns. It has a double function. When added to adjectives or to adverbs, it transforms them into nouns, just as any adjective is transformed into a noun by adding ONE to it (compare our phrases THE BIG ONE, THE GOOD ONE, etc.). When used with other nouns, this suffix has an adjectival character, which may be best rendered by MADE OF, COMPOSED OF.

<i>tex^am</i> strong 10.1	<i>texm^u'nî</i> the strong one, a man 30.21
<i>lxa^w'yax</i> other 42.8	<i>lxa^wyaxa^w'nî</i> the other one 86.18
<i>yîkt</i> big 48.8	<i>yîkt^u'nî</i> the big one
<i>s^haⁱt</i> large	<i>s^haⁱt^u'nî</i> the larger one 92.18
<i>yāk!/-</i> small 38.19	<i>tū yāk!^a'nî</i> that small one 88.12
<i>îmnî'tc</i> behind 86.11	<i>îmnîtc^u'nî mîctcⁱ</i> the youngest sister 40.2
<i>hî'q!^a</i> beads, Indian money, dentalia shells 74.19	<i>hîq!^aha^w'nî</i> consisting of dentalia shells 78.14
<i>pî'iq^uts</i> coon	<i>pîlq^uts^u'nî tahā'nîk</i> made of raccoon (-hide) quivers 70.23, 24
<i>t!ⁱ</i> bear 12.4	<i>t!ⁱyū'nî tahā'nîk</i> made of bear (-skin) quivers 70.24
<i>k!ⁱx tē'q</i> everything 24.4	<i>k!ⁱēx^u'nî tē'qā^w'nî hūtca^w</i> composed of every sort (of) fun 10.5
<i>îa'qlaq</i> boards	<i>îaqlaqā^w'nîtc hîtsⁱ</i> made of some kinds of boards the house 80.7

This suffix may be added to verbal stems provided the verb has been changed into an attribute of a following noun.

<i>hamx-</i> to tie	<i>^ul hamxa^w'nî ants tseha^w'ya</i> and that made of tied grass . . . 8.6
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§ 103. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place *-a^emū*

This suffix indicates the place where a certain action is performed. When added to stems ending in a velar or palatal consonant, it appears as *-ya^emū*, and changes the final velar of the stem (*q*, *q!*) into a palatal *k* (see § 17). After all other consonants it occurs as *-a^emū*. The short *u*-vowels following velar and palatal consonants disappear before this suffix. It is possible that the final *ū* of the suffix may be related to the general nominalizing suffix *-ū* discussed in § 94 (see § 23).

ma'q'ĩ- to dance 28.7
ya'q^u'- to see 23.9
pekũ'- to play shinny 9.4

nĩtcat!- to fight
tũhate'- to try to buy
lxat- to run 12.3

mekya^amũ a dance-hall
yekya^amũ a vantage point
pekya^amũ a place where shinny is
 played, ball-grounds
nĩtcat!^amũ battlefield
tũhate'^amũ a store
lxata^amũ track (literally, a place
 where people run)
nĩtcĩma^amũ custom, fashion 29.9

§ 104. Adjectives in *-t*

Siuslaw has no true adjectives. All stems denoting adjectival ideas are intransitive verbs, and may be used as such, as may be seen from the following examples:

mĩ'k!^a hĩt that bad man 23.2,3 *tsĩ'k!^aya mĩ'k!^a* very bad it was 14.7
hatca't hĩ'q!^a long (strings of) *hatca't ants lqa^u'tũ* there was a
 dentalia shells 76.1 tall tree 92.21

Owing to this verbal significance, the Siuslaw adjective shows no special suffixes. A few stems denoting adjectival concepts appear in duplicated form, mostly those expressing color (see § 109). There will be found, however, a number of words expressing attributive ideas that end in *-t*.¹ Whether this consonant is related to the auxiliary *-t* (see § 76) or whether it may be looked upon as a true adjectival suffix, is a question open to discussion. The following is a list of such adjectives:

<i>yĩkt</i> big, large 48.8	<i>t'xutĩ't</i> straight
<i>hawā'tsĩt</i> new	<i>sh^at</i> big, old 92.18
<i>hatca't</i> long, tall 76.1	<i>tsĩnq!^t</i> poor 16.10
<i>hĩxt</i> wild	<i>tsĩlt</i> thick
<i>pā^ala'st²</i> spotted	<i>kĩ'k'ĩt</i> heavy 11.9
<i>pĩnĩ'tt</i> sharp	<i>k!^awĩ'act</i> proud
<i>mekct</i> fat 90.16	<i>q^ucĩ'ct</i> thin
<i>tĩmsqayā't</i> bitter, sour	<i>lqut</i> red
<i>tĩnt</i> ripe	<i>L!^aq̄t</i> wet 56.13
<i>tqatĩya't</i> dear, expensive	<i>L!^anũwā'tĩt</i> deep

§ 105. Irregular Suffixes *-Em*, *-ĩsĩ*, *-wĩ*, *-yũwĩ*, *-ĩwĩ*

These suffixes occur very seldom, and, while their function is to all appearances nominal, it can not be explained accurately.

¹ See also § 124.

² Dorsey: *p'āl-lāst* gray.

-Em occurs with a few nouns.

<i>ŭlqwa^a'tem</i> root, alder tree	<i>tsamŭ'tsem</i> chin
92.5, 6	<i>qŭŭ'nem</i> winter 80.19
<i>pŭ'ctcem</i> summer 98.8	<i>xa'tsem</i> woman's basket

-tsi seems to denote an abstract idea.

<i>pln-</i> to be sick 40.21	<i>plnŭ'si</i> sickness, cough
<i>qa'x</i> dark, night 38.21	<i>qa'xŭ'si</i> darkness, night
<i>hwn'nhwun</i> black	<i>hō'nŭsi</i> dusk
<i>nŭ'etca</i> (?) how 16.2	<i>nŭ'etciŭsi</i> arrival (?) 40.16
<i>nŭctcinwa'</i> spring comes	<i>nŭctcanŭ'wŭsi</i> year 92.12

The following nouns have analogous form:

<i>a'tciŭsi</i> camas 96.20	<i>ŭ!nŭ'tciŭsi</i> crawfish
<i>h'xtsnŭsi</i> small-pox	

The nouns *tswa'si* FROST and *ŭwa'si* NOSE may also belong here.

-wi is found in a small number of nouns.

<i>sŭ'na^wwi</i> grouse	<i>k!ō'xwi</i> gnat
<i>tsna'wi</i> bone	<i>q^whā'qwi</i> broom

In a few instances this suffix seems to form nouns of agency, and may be related to the suffixes discussed in §§ 97 and 99.

<i>tsxan-</i> to comb one's hair	<i>tsxa'nwi</i> a comb
<i>qatcū'</i> to drink 76.12	<i>qatcwŭ'wi</i> a person who waters animals (?)
<i>c^wxū-</i> to drive away, to scare 56.11	<i>cūxwa'wi</i> a driver (?)
<i>ŭlq-</i> to dig 80.6	<i>ŭlqa'wi</i> one who digs holes

-yūwŭ, -ŭwŭ. These two suffixes have a peculiar function. They seem to denote the nominal object of an action performed by a noun of agency (see § 100). The most puzzling phenomenon connected with their function is the fact that they can be added only to the discriminative form of a noun (see § 111), which seems to stand in direct contradiction to its objective significance, because the discriminative case points to the noun as the subject of the action.

Absolutive	Discriminative	Objective
<i>penŭ's</i> skunk 86.1	<i>pena's</i> 86.7	<i>tsŭL!t!</i> <i>penasyū'wŭ</i> a skunk-shooter

Absolutive	Discriminative	Objective
<i>h̄itc</i> person 7.1	<i>h̄iya'tc</i> 13.10; 15.2	<i>ts̄iL!t!</i> <i>h̄iyatcū'w̄i</i> a man-killer <i>t̄ema^{u'}ya^ux</i> <i>hyatc̄i'w̄i</i> a gatherer of people
<i>swat</i> grizzly bear	<i>swāl</i> 15.2	<i>ts̄iL!t!</i> <i>swālyū'w̄i</i> a grizzly-shooter
(?) huckleberries	<i>t̄E'xya</i>	<i>la'k^u!w̄i</i> <i>taxyū'w̄i</i> a picker of huckle- berries
<i>qwo'txaⁱ</i> beaver 48.6	<i>qwoa'txaⁱ</i> 52.4	<i>ts̄iL!t!</i> <i>qwoatx̄i'w̄i</i> a beaver-killer

Another nominalizing suffix that seems to be confined to one stem only is *-as* in the noun *wa'as* LANGUAGE, WORD, MESSAGE 34.21, formed from the verbal stem *waa-* TO SPEAK, TO TALK.

Reduplication (§§ 106–109)

§ 106. *Introductory*

Reduplication as a factor in the formation of grammatical categories and processes does not play as important a rôle in Siuslaw as in many other American Indian languages.

Considered from a purely phonetic point of view, the process of reduplication may affect a single sound, a syllable, or the whole word, while from the standpoint of position of the reduplicated elements it may be either initial or final. In accordance with these processes, a given language may show the following possible forms of reduplication: Vocalic or consonantic initial reduplication; consonantic final reduplication, commonly called final reduplication; syllabic reduplication, usually referred to as doubling or reduplication of the syllable; and word-reduplication, better known as repetition of the stem.

Of the forms of reduplication known actually to occur in the American Indian languages, Siuslaw shows only duplication of the (first) syllable, duplication of the final consonant, and repetition of the stem. Syllabic duplication occurs rather seldom, final duplication is resorted to frequently, while repetition of the stem plays a not unimportant part in the formation of words.

Reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb; its use for expressing distribution—a phenomenon commonly found in American Indian languages—is entirely unknown to Siuslaw, which employs this process solely for the purpose of denoting repetition or duration of action.

§ 107. Duplication of the Initial Syllable

This process occurs in a few sporadic instances only. The repeated syllable occurs in its full form, the original syllable losing its vocalic elements. Initial stops of both the original and repeated syllables are usually changed into fortis (see § 17).

tēmū'- to assemble 7.3

t!Emt!ma'xam wàn they come to see him (literally, he is assembled about) 23.3

lī'ū (they) come 9.3

L!īL!wa'xam he is approached 16.3

L!īL!wī sūtne he is continually approached 26.2

s^ʰa'tsanx tE L!ī' L!ūtūts that's why I came (to see) you 21.6, 7

h^ʰya'tcⁿxan L!ī' L!ūt people us came (to see) repeatedly 100.8

ta^t- to sit, to live 16.2

ants Tsxuna'plī t!ī' t!yūn (that) on which Coyote was sitting 94.6

ha^t- to shout 13.11

īha^tī'yūsne he would be shouted at 70.22 (this form may be explained as derived from an original *ha^tha^tī'yūsne*)

īha^tī'txa^ūne he is continually shouted at 11.10

yūw- to pick 96.18

yū'yau^{ūw}t! one who picks

§ 108. Duplication of Final Consonants

This process is employed extensively, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant with insertion of a weak *a*- or *i*- vowel. In many instances the quality of the connecting vowel is affected by the vowel of the stem. This is especially true in cases where the stem ends in a *u*-vowel, after which the connective vowel is assimilated and becomes a weak *u*. The short vowel of the stem is not infrequently changed into a long vowel. This duplication plays an important part in the formation of the past tense (see § 74), and, in addition to denoting frequency and duration of action, it seems to be capable of expressing commencement, especially of intransitive actions.

a^us- to sleep 23.9

a^u'sī's he began to sleep 26.9

qax dark 38.21

qaⁱxī'x wā'nwīts it got dark long ago 64.19

<i>xint-</i> to go 20.3	<i>ʷl wàn xintí't</i> he kept on going now 56.23
<i>sLōxʷ-</i> to go down	<i>ʷl sLōxu'xʷ wīL/a'xL!</i> he came down again 12.6
<i>ha'q</i> shore 44.7	<i>ha'qa'q wan</i> he then went ashore 58.17
<i>loqw-</i> to boil 96.1	<i>ʷl txū lōqwa'qʷ</i> and just he was boiling 96.7, 8
<i>mī'k!a</i> bad 14.7	<i>mīk!a'k! ants tsayū'wī</i> began to get rough that weather 64.15
<i>smūt'-</i> to end 11.1	<i>wàn smūt'a't'</i> it ends finally 9.1
<i>tēit'-</i> to blow 94.5	<i>tēit'a't'</i> the wind blew 94.5
<i>hūt-</i> to play 7.2	<i>ʷlʷnx āL hūtca'tc</i> and they now began to play 72.23, 24
<i>k!ap-</i> low water 36.18	<i>k!āpī'p</i> low water (comes)
<i>xwīL!-</i> to go back 42.6	<i>xwīL/a'!L! wàn</i> he finally came back 12.7
<i>nał-</i> to start	<i>sqā'tem nālī'l</i> he started from there 68.10
<i>hī'q!-</i> to start 22.6	<i>sʷa'tsa hī'q!aq!yax</i> thus it began 15.1
<i>lakʷ-</i> to take 7.5	<i>ʷlaʷx lakwa'kūʷn</i> they two took (them) away 52.16
<i>xumc-</i> to come, to approach	<i>la'kukyax</i> she took 60.23
<i>hīts-</i> to put on 11.8	<i>xumca'caʷx wàn</i> they two are approaching now 23.2
<i>tū'tc-</i> to spear 62.2	<i>h'iyatsi'tsūn ants la''qat</i> he is putting that feather on 11.8
<i>tcaq-</i> to spear 68.18	<i>tʷwatcī'tcūnaʷx</i> they two began to spear it 56.15, 16
<i>yax-</i> to see 20.10	<i>tʷwa'tēitcyaxa'ān</i> I have been spearing it 66.17
<i>qnū'-</i> to find 56.9	<i>ʷlaʷx tcaqa'qa'ān</i> and they two began to spear it 56.19
	<i>ʷlaʷx yaxī'xūn</i> they two saw it 56.15
	<i>ʷln qnūhū'hūʷn</i> I am finding it

A very interesting case of duplication applied to formative elements is presented by the nominal suffix *-ax*. This suffix signifies PEOPLE, BELONGING TO, and, when added to the adverb *wā'nwīts* LONG AGO, it was invariably rendered by OLD-TIMERS (see § 101). Whenever the speaker wants to imply the intensive idea PEOPLE OF VERY LONG AGO, he usually repeats this suffix.

wā'nwîtsax old-timer 68.13

wā'nwîtsaxax people of long, long ago 29.9

s²a'tsa xnîw'nūtne *wā'nwîtsaxax*
thus it was done (by) people of
long, long ago 62.9

wā'nwîtsaxax nîctēma^emū (of) old,
old-timers their custom 68.19

Similarly the modal *-itc* (see § 94) is found repeated in a few instances.

tcā where 34.4

tcāitcī'tc nī'ctūx where he will go
64.20

§ 109. Duplication of Stems

While this process is, strictly speaking, of a lexicographical character, and as such ought to be treated more properly under the heading "Vocabulary" (see § 137), it will nevertheless be found useful to give here a list of doubled stems. Barring a few nouns, most of these terms are adjectives denoting color and quality.

hvu'nhvun black

qa'sqas stiff, hard

pxū'pxūⁱ sorrel, yellow

qu' LquL white 40.10, 11

tu'ktuk deaf

qtsī'nqtsīn blue, green

ī'n'k!ī'nk! soft

xu'sxu naked

kī'k'īt heavy 11.9

līma'līm blind

pūna'pūna' gopher, mole
96.19

tsīnī' Ltsīnī' L² little beaver (?)
50.15

mū'smūs cow ¹

tcīmtca'mī ax 27.10

t!'a'l't!'al' tongue

qu'laⁱL' qu'laⁱL otter from ocean (?)

tsīyī'ktsīyī'k wagon ¹

laqlaq board 80.7

Vocalic Changes (§§ 110–112)

§ 110. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses two distinct grammatical categories by means of vocalic change. Of these two categories, one is nominal, while the other has a strictly verbal character pertaining to intensity and frequency of action. When applied to nouns, vocalic change expresses the discriminative case.

¹Chinook jargon.

²Chinook.

§ 111. *The Discriminative Case*

The discriminative case is that form of the noun which singles it out as the performer of an action directed upon an object; i. e., it designates the nominal subject in sentences containing pronominal or nominal object.

The discriminative form of pronouns and of nouns of relationship is expressed by means of the prefix *q-* (see § 21). All other nouns express the discriminative form by means of a vocalic change that varies according to the quantity of the stem-vowel, and in polysyllabic stems according to the quantity of the vowel of the accented syllable. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

1. The discriminative form of nouns the stem-vowel of which is a long *i* or *ū* is obtained through the diphthongization of these vowels into *ya* and *wa* respectively (see § 7). For purely physiological reasons a weak vowel corresponding to the quality of the diphthongized vowel is inserted between the diphthong and its preceding consonant.

<i>hītc</i> person, people 7.1	<i>ʷt ya'qʷyūn hīya'tc</i> and people looked on 70.4
<i>hī'tcʰt</i> cougar 13.3	<i>hīya'tcʰt hīyatsʰt'sūn</i> Cougar put it on 13.4
<i>mī'k!a</i> bad 14.7	<i>mīya'k!a hīya'tc hī't!a'yūn</i> a bad person devoured him 15.2
<i>hīqʷ</i> wild-cat 34.17	<i>hīyatsʰt'sūn hīya'qʷ</i> Wild-Cat put it on 11.11
<i>lk!anū'kʷ</i> screech-owl 86.1	<i>tsī'k!ya wī'nxaūn ants penī's lk!anʷwa'kʷ</i> Screech-Owl feared that Skunk very much 86.3
	<i>hīna'wūn ants ptna'st lk!anʷwa'kʷ</i> Screech-Owl intended to take along that sick man 88.1, 2
<i>qīūtē' nī</i> woman 30.21	<i>cī'l'xūn qīūtē'wa'nī</i> (a) woman shook him 58.4
<i>texmū' nī</i> man 30.21	<i>wī'lūn texmʷwa'nī</i> (the) man agreed with her 58.7
<i>tsxayū'wī</i> sun, day 8.1	<i>mītkwī tūtsīn tsxayʷwa'wī</i> (the) Sun had pity on me 72.14

Somewhat irregular discriminative forms are shown by the nouns *t!ī* GRIZZLY BEAR and *qī'ūtc* WIFE, which occur as *t!īya'* and *qa'yūtc* respectively.

t!i grizzly bear 12.4

qī'ūtc wife 48.17

t!iya' *h'yatsi'tsūn* Grizzly Bear
put it on 12.3

ma^atc *qa'yūtc^atc* (he and) his wife
had lain 60.13

2. Nouns with short stem-vowels, or with short vowels in the accented syllable, change these vowels into an *a* in their discriminative forms. Short *a*-vowels of the stem are lengthened into *ā*.

peni's skunk 86.1

tsi'sqan deer 13.9

qwo'txaⁱ beaver 48.6

pīlq^uts raccoon 70.23, 24

q!a'xa^uxt wolf 13.2

swāl grizzly bear

sqūma' pelican 44.1

i'na^{u'wi} *hītc uⁱ* *lqagaⁱtxa^{ūn}* *pena's*
(at) a rich man he always broke
his wind, (namely) Skunk 86.6, 7
h'yatsi'tsūn tsa'sqin Deer put it on
13.8

a'tsa uⁱ *kumī'ntc sī'nīxyūn qwoa't-*
xaⁱ *ants q^uL!i'tc* that's why not
liked Beaver that Otter 54.8, 9
pa'lq^uts h'yatsi'tsūn Raccoon put
it on

q!ā'xa^uxt h'yatsi'tsūn Wolf put it
on 12.8

swāl i't!a'yūn Grizzly Bear de-
voured them 15.2

wad'a^{ūn} sqūmā' ants lq!al'ō'mā
said Pelican to Sea-Gull 44.17

3. Stems containing diphthongs, or stems whose accented syllables end in the diphthong *aⁱ*, add a short *a* to the diphthong for the purpose of forming the discriminative case.

ha'mūt all 9.5

ha'na different 58.9

haya'mūt h'ya'tc L!xū'yūn all peo-
ple know it 60.24, 25

yaq^uyī'w'yūtsatōi haya'mūt you all
shall look at me 72.11, 12

haya'na h'yatsi'tsūn another (one)
put it on 12.8

4. Polysyllabic stems whose accented syllable ends in a consonant and is followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant form the discriminative case by inserting a short *a* between these two consonants.

tsxu'nplī coyote 88.9

texmī'l'mā old people 58.25

ants Tsxuna'plī t!i't!yūn that (on
which) he was sitting, (namely)
Coyote 94.6

texmīl'a'mī L!xū'yūn an old man
knew it 76.15, 16

¹ Probably misheard for *qwa'txaⁱ*.

um'li thunder

qūūtci'l'mä old woman 96.15

tcē'nta^u which one 90.1

s^zatsi'tc waa'a^un uma'li thus said
to him Thunder 36.9

qūūtci'l'a'mi ta'yūn ants tsē'l'i the
old woman kept that arrow 96.2

tcēna'ta^u sē'nⁱxyaxa^un ants . . .
whoever wanted that . . .
11.6, 7

§ 112. *Intensity and Duration of Action*

Vocalic change as a means of expressing intensive and durative actions is of a twofold character. The change consists either in the diphthongization of the long *i*- and *u*- vowels of the stem (see § 7), or in stem-amplification. In both cases the underlying principle may be described as the change of a monosyllabic root into a stem having two syllables.

Diphthongization is applied to those stems only whose vowels are either long *i* or *u*. A verbal stem with a diphthongized vowel expresses durative actions only in connection with other proper devices, such as the temporal suffixes or duplication of final consonants (see §§ 41, 56, 69, 108). Owing to the fact that certain temporal suffixes—notably the inchoative, the frequentative, the durative, the present, the future, and the imperative—imply to a certain extent intensive actions, or actions that are being performed continually, the suffixes for these tenses are frequently found added to the verbal stem whose vowel has been diphthongized, while all other tenses are formed from the simple root.

l'ōn- to tell 16.9

kū'n- to bend down

tkūm- to close, to shut 48.8

tū'tc- to spear 62.2

qū'n- to pour 29.2

l'ōx- to send 16.10

s^zatsi'tc l'wa^an thus he was speak-
ing 16.6

u^l txū kwa^{hu}nt and (they) would
just bend down 11.9

u^l kwa^{hu}na't/ist and he would con-
tinually lower his head 13.5

u^{ns} tkwa^msūn and we two shall
keep on making dams (literally,
closing [the river]) 48.14

t^owa'tēis wān spear it now! 64.2

t^owa'tēi'tūna^ux they two are
spearing it 56.15, 16

qwa^a'nyūx pour it into his . . . !
29.2

l'ōwa'xyūn (I) shall keep on send-
ing (them) 30.19

L!xū- to know 19.9*L!x^wwa'x^yūtsa'tcā* you shall know me 30.17*lak^u-* to take, to get 7.5*wān lakwa'kūⁿ* now (they two) were taking them 52.16*hīts-* to put on 11.8*hⁱyatsī'tsūn* he is putting it on 11.8*cītx-* to flop*cⁱyatx* it is flopping 36.23*īlqa'ⁱ* he digs 84.2*ya'tqaⁿ* (they two) are digging (holes) 84.5*tsīL!-* to shoot 8.6*ts^tyaL!-* to shoot

Intensity and duration of action of verbal stems whose root-vowels are vowels of quantities and qualities other than *ī* and *ū* are expressed by means of amplification of the root by the insertion of a weak vowel between its two final consonants. This process occurs in a few rare instances.

anx- to give up 60.11*kumī'ntcīnł* and *xyūn* not we shall give it up 16.8*hamx-* to tie 8.6*k!^zLūn* *hama'xyūn* tomorrow I will tie it up*xnī^wn-* to do 10.5*s^a'tsa^uxūn* *xnīyūnī^w'yūn* thus to them two I will do it 88.14, 15*s^a'tsa^uxūn* *xnīyuna'^wūn* thus to them two I intend doing it

Another example of stem-amplification for the purpose of expressing duration of action is furnished by the stem *aⁱq-* TO LEAVE, which is changed into *ayaq-*.

ta^vk^zns *aya'qyūn* here we two (incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17

Stem-amplification may have also caused the change of the root *L!xmaⁱ-* TO KILL into *L!xmīyaⁱ-*.

yā^a'xaⁱ *hītc* *L!xmīya'yūn* *ants* *Swāl* many people he is killing, that Grizzly Bear 94.9

L!xmīya'yūnanł we (incl.) are going to kill him 28.3

Siuslaw possesses a number of stems that occur in such double forms, and I give here a few of the most important.

L!ōn- 16.9*L!wa^an-* to tell 16.6*kūⁱn-**kwa^{hu}n-* to lower one's head 11.9*tkūm-* 48.8*tkwam-* to close, to shut 48.14*tū'tc-* 62.2*t^watc-* to spear 56.15*qūⁱn-* 29.2*qwaⁱn-* to pour 29.2

L!ōx- 16.10*k^uts-**Lōt-**ka^us-* 92.7*ūt-* 76.10*lak^u-* 7.5*xaw'-* 40.21*haw'-* 11.4*t!ū'-* 74.5*t!E'mxū^u-* 48.12*wīlū-* 58.7*yax-* 40.11*hits* 11.8*hīn-* 9.5*ūlq-* 80.6*tsīL!-* 8.6*q!ūⁱp-**cīt^x-* 36.23*līt!-* 13.10*tcīⁱn-* 12.10*aⁱq-**hamax-* 8.6*anax-* 60.11*wn^un-* 10.5*L!xū-* 19.9*L!xmāⁱ-**L!owax-* to send 7.7*kwats-* to paint one's face*L^owat-* to strike*kⁱwas-* to follow 92.3*wāt-* to snow*lakwa'-* to take, to get, to fetch
52.16*xawa'-* to die 15.5*ha'wa-* to be ready 23.10*t!ūha'-* to buy 74.5*t!Emxwa-* to cut into pieces*wītwa'-* to agree 30.11*ya'xa-* to see 20.10*hⁱyats-* to put on 11.7*hⁱyan-* to take along*yalq-* to dig 84.5*tsⁱyaL!-* to shoot*q!uyap-* to twinkle 36.14*cⁱyata-* to flop 36.23*lⁱyat!-* to eat*tcⁱyan-* to come back*aya'q-* to leave 56.5*hamax-* to tie*ana'x-* to give up 16.8*wnⁱyun-* to do 88.14, 15*L!x^uwa-* to know 30.17*L!xmīyaⁱ-* to kill 28.3

Amplification of the stem seems to have been used in a few instances for the purpose of expressing intransitive actions performed by the third person singular. It will be remembered that this person has no special suffix, the same being understood in the stem or in the verbal suffixes. In some cases, however, Siuslaw adds a weak *a* to the stem, provided the same is not followed by any of the subjective suffixes (see § 24).

haw' to quit, to be ready 28.2 *wā'nwīts ha'wa* long ago it (was)
ready 23.10

xaw'- to die 22.5 *txūn xā'wa sī'nⁱxyūtne* just I to
die am wanted 20.8, 9

yax- to see 40.11 *txūnə ya'xa sī'nⁱxyūtne* merely
thou to (be) see(n) art wanted
20.10

t!ū' - to buy*tsa'ntcî tū'ha sî'nîxyūn* if you to
buy want her 74.8*waa'* - to speak 7.1*ʷl̥ waa'* and he said 12.10

In one instance the quality of this weak vowel has been assimilated to that of the stem-vowel.

tqūl̥ - to shout 92.6*mîta'tcʷax ants tqūl̥ū' waa'* their
(dual) father, that one shouted
(and) said (*tqū'lū* instead of
tqū'la) 52.8

The Pronoun (§§ 113–115)

§ 113. *The Independent Personal Pronouns*

The independent personal pronouns occur primarily in two forms, according to whether they are used as subjects or objects of an action; but, owing to the fact that from the subjective pronouns there is obtained by means of the prefix *q-* (see § 21) a discriminative form, the independent personal pronouns may be said to have three distinct forms—the discriminative, subjective, and objective or locative sets. Both the discriminative and subjective pronouns refer to the subject of the sentence, differing, however, in so far as the former applies to subjects of transitive actions, while the latter is used mostly in connection with intransitive verbs. The discriminative form, moreover, is employed whenever the sentence absolutely requires that subjectivity of action be indicated (see §§ 21, 111). To be sure, cases where the subjective pronouns are used with transitive verbs are by no means rare.

Siuslaw, like so many other Indian languages, has no distinct pronoun for the third person singular, this person being supplied by the demonstrative pronouns *s^ɛà*, *s^ɛa'ina*, *s^ɛàs* (see § 115). The first person dual has two separate forms, one for the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other for the exclusive (I AND HE). Similarly, in the first person plural are distinguished the inclusive (I AND YE) and exclusive (I AND THEY).

These pronouns perform the function of a whole sentence, and may be rendered by I, THOU, HE, etc., AM THE ONE WHO. . . .

The tabular presentation of the independent personal pronouns is as follows:

		Subjective	Objective	Discriminative
Singular. . .	1st person . . .	<i>na'han, nà</i>	<i>nàtc</i>	<i>qna'han, qnà</i>
	2d person . . .	<i>nîxats</i>	<i>nîxatc</i>	<i>qnîxats</i>
	3d person . . .	<i>s^Eà</i>	<i>s^Ea'na, s^Ea'tnàtc</i>	<i>s^Eàs</i>
Dual. . . .	Inclusive . . .	<i>nans</i>	<i>na'tc^Ens</i>	<i>qnans</i>
	Exclusive . . .	<i>naw'xân</i>	<i>na'tcaw'xân</i>	<i>qna'xân</i>
	2d person . . .	<i>nîxats</i>	<i>nî'xtc^Ets</i>	<i>qnîxats</i>
	3d person . . .	<i>s^Ea'wax, s^Eawx</i>	<i>s^Eaina'tcawx</i>	<i>s^Ea'sawx</i>
Plural. . . .	Inclusive . . .	<i>nanl</i>	<i>na'tc^Enl</i>	<i>qnanl</i>
	Exclusive . . .	<i>na'nzan</i>	<i>na'tc^Enzân</i>	<i>qna'nzan</i>
	2d person . . .	<i>nî'xats^Elct</i>	<i>nî'xtc^Elct</i>	<i>qnî'xats^Elct</i>
	3d person . . .	<i>s^Eânz</i>	<i>s^Eaina'tcânz</i>	<i>s^Ea'sânz</i>

This table shows that the independent pronouns are derived from two stems—*nà* for the first persons, and *nîx* or *nîxats* for the second persons; the first singular and all dual and plural persons being obtained by suffixing the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24) to the singular forms. Thus the inclusive and exclusive dual *nans* and *naw'xân* are composed of the first person singular *nà* and of the subjective suffixes *-ns* and *-xân*. In like manner the inclusive and exclusive plural *nanl* and *na'nzan* consist of *nà* + *-nl* and *nà* + *-nzan* respectively.

The second person dual *nîxats* is abbreviated from an original *nî'xts^Ets*. This abbreviation is due to simplification of double consonants (see § 15), causing a phonetic similarity between the pronouns for the second person singular and dual. In order to avoid possible confusion, duality of subject is indicated by suffixing to the verb the subjective pronouns for the second person dual. The second person plural is regular, consisting of the singular form for the second person plus the subjective suffix plural for that person.

The third persons dual and plural are obtained by adding the subjective pronouns for these persons to the subjective form of the demonstrative pronoun *s^Eà*.

The objective forms of the personal pronouns—that is to say, those forms that are used as objects of a sentence—are formed by adding to the subjective pronouns the local suffix indicating motion *-tc* (see § 90). The form for the second person singular is the result of an abbreviation from an original *nî'xts^Etc* caused perhaps by a reduction of the cluster of final consonants.

It will be noticed that the subjective suffixes employed in the formation of the corresponding dual and plural persons are added after the adverbial *-tc*, a trait which Siuslaw has in common with the Alsea language. The objective pronouns for the third persons have as their basis the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronoun.

For the sake of emphasis the subjective suffixed pronouns are sometimes used in addition to the independent forms.

Examples of subjective pronouns:

na'han ^u*ln tsɪL* ⁱ*ya's* I have an arrow (literally, I am the one who [I] is arrow-having) 50.16

a'tsan *te* *nà* *L'ōxa'xam* that's why this I was sent 21.8

na'han *a'nts^{en}x* *sí'n'xyūts* I am that one whom you wanted 40.14

kumî'ntcîn *nà* *nîctcō'tc* *wa'a'ī* not I anything will say (literally, not I, I am the one who anything will say) 74.9

k'!āxa' *nà* alone (was) I 100.3

nīx^ats ^u*l^{en}x* *qanī'nał* *hī'nīsītī* you'll take along your knife (literally, you are the one, you, knife take along will, yours) 50.16, 17

nīx^ats *ł't!a'* you are eating

^u*ł* *s^aā* *pētī'tc'tūx* and he will be first 10.1

nans *hī'sa* we two (incl.) are well

na^wxūn *xā'ts!ū* we two (excl.) are two 36.15

s^aax *ata's* *L'xū'yūn* they two only knew it 98.9

s^aānx *tsī'k!ya* *L'xū'yūn* they very (well) know it 72.1, 2

Examples of objective pronouns:

kumî'ntc *hī'sa* *nàtc* it is not good for me 12.2

^u*lnx* *nàtc* *Lī'wīs* then you shall come to me 44.6

kumî'ntc *hī'sa* *nī'x^atc* it (does) not (look) good on you 12.5

kumî'ntc *na'tc^{ens}* *sī'n'xya* *te* *qīūtēū'nī* not us two (incl.) like these women 52.13

Examples of objective and discriminative pronouns for the third persons will be found under "Demonstrative Pronouns" (see § 115), while the discriminative pronouns for the first and second persons have been illustrated in § 21.

§ 114. The Possessive Pronouns

The independent possessive pronouns are compound forms consisting of the following three separate elements: the independent personal pronoun (see § 113), the relative case-ending *-emł* (see § 87),

and the sign of possession \bar{i} (see § 88). The sign of possession is not present in forms that express the third persons as the possessor. To these compound forms are added the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24) for the purpose of indicating the person of the possessor. The suffixed pronouns, to be sure, agree always with the independent pronouns that form the initial elements of the compound. The following peculiarities will be observed in connection with the pronominal forms that enter into the composition of the independent possessive pronouns:

1. For the first and second persons (singular, dual and plural) the subjective forms of the independent pronoun are used. The stems $n\bar{a}$ and $n\bar{i}x$ are employed for that purpose.

2. For the third person (singular, dual and plural) the objective form of the independent pronoun ($s^E a' na$) is used.

3. Singularity, duality, or plurality of the person is expressed, not in the initial pronominal element, but in the suffixed subjective pronoun. Consequently the initial element remains unchanged for all numbers.

Owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct subjective suffix for the third person singular, the suffix $-tc$ is added without the aid of the sign of possession \bar{i} . Duality and plurality of the third person are indicated by adding to $-tc$ the subjective suffixes $-a^u x$ and $-nx$ respectively.

In § 88 the fact has been mentioned that possessive phrases are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix $-t$ (see § 76) to the sign of possession. This $-t$ often figures in the composition of the independent possessive pronouns, especially those for the first and second persons.

The following table shows the independent possessive pronouns:

Singular . . .	{ 1st person { 2d person { 3d person	<i>na'm^Elin, na'm^Elilin</i> <i>nī/zamlinx, nī/zamlinx</i> <i>s^Ea'na'mitc, s^Ea'na'mi</i>
Dual	{ Inclusive { Exclusive { 2d person { 3d person	<i>na'm^Elins, na'm^Elilins</i> <i>na'm^Eiixān, na'm^Elitawān</i> <i>nī/zamliis, nī/zamliits</i> <i>s^Ea'na'mitcawx</i>
Plural	{ Inclusive { Exclusive { 2d person { 3d person	<i>na'm^Elinl, na'm^Elilinl</i> <i>na'm^Elinxan, na'm^Elilixan</i> <i>nī/zamliitcl, nī/zamliitcl</i> <i>s^Ea'na'milen^Ex</i>

It will be noticed that the obscure *E* of the relative suffix *-Eml̃* has been contracted with the preceding vowels of *nà* and *s^Ea'na* into a clear *a*-vowel (see § 9). The weak vowel in *na'm^El̃n*, *na'm^El̃ns*, etc., is due to the law of sound-groupings (see § 4).

The third person singular often loses its distinct suffix for that person (*-tc*). This loss is due to the fact that the form *s^Ea'na'ml̃* is in itself capable of expressing a possessive idea that has the third person as its possessor.

These possessive pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be properly translated by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc. They are frequently used for the sake of emphasis in addition to the possessive suffixes that are added to nouns, and in such cases invariably precede the nominal concept.

wa'a's^Enx na'm^El̃t̃t̃n wa'as you shall continually speak (with) my language 36.13

na'm^El̃n q'a'it̃ my pitch, this is my pitch

na'm^El̃t̃t̃n tkwa'nug^u this is my hat

na'm^El̃n m̃it̃a (he) is my father

ñi'xaml̃nx kō'tan your horse

ñi'xaml̃nx m̃il̃a (she is) your mother

s^Ea'na'ml̃tc wa'as wa'syaxa^un his language he had spoken 36.14

s^Ea'na'ml̃tc laa' his mouth

s^Ea'na'ml̃ kō'tan his horse

na'm^El̃ns kō'tan our (dual, incl.) horses

na'm^El̃x̃un t̃c̃l̃ our (dual, excl.) hands

ñi'xaml̃ts kw̃iyō's your (dual) dog

s^Ea'na'ml̃tc^wax kō'tan their (dual) horse

na'm^El̃nl̃ kō'tan our (plural, incl.) horses

na'm^El̃nxan t̃E'q our (plural, excl.) relative 102.5

ñi'xaml̃t̃c̃i t̃E'q your (plural) relatives

s^Ea'na'ml̃tcⁿx qal̃tc their (plural) knives

§ 115. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Although Siuslaw has a number of stems that are used as demonstrative pronouns, there could not be detected in them such categories as visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, nearness to or remoteness from the speaker. It is true that in some instances the informant would render a certain demonstrative pronoun as indicating nearness or remoteness; but this rendering was invariably caused by

the leading character of my questions, and never appeared spontaneously.

The demonstrative pronouns, however, present another striking feature that is not commonly found in the American Indian languages. This feature consists in the fact that some of them occur in two distinct forms, one being used with subjects of the sentence, while the other is applied to objects only. This fact serves as another instance illustrating the extent to which the category of subjectivity and objectivity permeates this language.

The following demonstrative pronouns have been found in Siuslaw:

tā^ak has been invariably rendered by **THIS**, and in some instances by **HERE**. It may be used in connection with subjects and objects alike. Duality and plurality of subjects and objects are indicated by the suffixation of the subjective pronouns *-a^ux* and *-n^x* respectively (see § 24).

tā^ak penⁱ's this skunk.

tā^ak texmū'nî this man

tsi'k!ya hīs tē'q tā'kîn lakwa'kūn (a) very good thing this here I have obtained 72.15, 16

L!wa'xan tā'kîn Lîū' as a messenger here I come 17.6, 7

tā^a'k^wax qa'tē'ntūx these two will go 32.10, 11

tā^a'kⁱn^x texmū'nî these men

tE applies to subjects and objects. There can be no doubt that it is an abbreviated form of the demonstrative pronoun *tā^ak* (see above). It was usually rendered by **THIS** or **THE**. When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), the obscure vowel assumes a clear tinge and appears as a distinct *a*-vowel.

uⁱ meq!aⁱ'tx haⁱ'qmas Lîya'wa tE lk!anū'k^u and she danced near the fire, this Screech-Owl 86.11, 12

Lîha'yax tE Lîya'a^u it passed (by), this fire 32.19

tî'kⁱn tE taⁱ this here is my house (literally, here I, this one, live) 58.8

s^a'tsa hî'tē'c nîctcîma^amu tE t!î that's why bear acts like a person (literally, thus [of a] person his fashion [has] the bear) 60.26

wî'nxa^un tE penⁱ's she was afraid of this skunk 86.1

hîna'yūn tE mî'kla hîtc he took along this bad man 23.2, 3

nî'c^aan^x tan^x yā^a'xaⁱ qātx why do you cry much (literally, how [is it that] you this, much cry) 94.16, 17

s^ʔa'tsa tanx sî'nîxyūtne that's why this you are wanted 18.4
lakwa'ūltxa^{ux} ta'tc^wax qî'ūtc ta^{ux} tsîmî'l'ä qwoa'tra^wax taken
 away (were) these their (dual) wives, (namely of) them two,
 Beaver and Muskrat 52.3, 4
 *ta'nxan hūtcū'* (as) these we (here) play 70.12

In some instances this pronoun may have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by **THIS WHO**. . . .

s^ʔa'tsa tî't!a' tE ta'yax thus ate those who lived (there) 82.12

s^ʔās is used with subjects of transitive verbs only, and seems to have a distinct discriminative character. In this capacity it exercises the function of the missing independent pronoun for the third person (see § 113). It may either precede or follow the verb, although there is a prevailing tendency to place it at the end of the sentence. It may be translated by **THIS** or **HE**.

u'l tî't!a'yūn s^ʔās and he devours him 94.10

mî'k!a tE'q xaū'ūn s^ʔās bad something this (one) had killed 96.12,
 13

s^ʔās k^unā c^uxū'yūn ants tî'v'ā'ī he, perhaps, has scared away that
 salmon 56.11

s^ʔās gata'yūn ants Lxaū' he hooks that spear 64.7

s^ʔa's^ʔnt k!i'xa'yūts he killed us 28.3

s^ʔā refers to subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The difference between this pronoun and the above discussed *s^ʔās* lies in the strictly discriminative character of the latter. It may best be rendered by **THIS**, **HE**, and is mostly employed as a personal pronoun for the third person singular (see § 113). Duality and plurality of the subject are indicated by suffixing to *s^ʔā* the subjective pronouns *-a^{ux}* and *-nx* respectively (see § 24).

s^ʔā tExmū'nî this man

u'l tsîm s^ʔā ya'q^u'yūn always he sees it 68.22

u'l s^ʔā pEtî'tc'itūx and that one will be first 10.1

s^ʔa^{ux} ata's L!xū'yūn tî't!a'ī these two only know (where) food (is)
 98.9

s^ʔānx tsî'k!ya L!xū'yūn hūtcū'^u these very (well) know (how to)
 play 72.1, 2

In four instances this pronoun has been used as referring to objects. I believe this use to be the result of erroneous application on the part of the informant. The examples follow.

s^əà l!xū'yūn lk!an^uwa'k^u him she knows, Screech-Owl 86.7
s^əà ũln qī'ūtc hawa'yūn that one I (will my) wife make 90.1, 2
s^əà ata's ants ma'q!īnūtnE (for) him only the dance was arranged
 28.7
tōwa'tōis wàn s^əà yīktī'l'mä spear now that big (one)! 64.2

s^əa'na refers to objects only, and serves as the objective form of the missing personal pronoun for the third person (see § 113). Hence it may be rendered by **THIS, THAT, HIM**. By adding the subjective suffixes to it (see § 24), the dual and plural persons for this pronoun are obtained.

yā'a'xai hītc pīna'tx ha' s^əa'na many people were sorry for that
 15.4
kum'īntcīn nā nīctc'ītc wa'a'ī pēī'tc s^əa'na not I anything will
 say first (without) her 74.9
s^əa'tsa^{ux} ũt kum'īntc tE'q s^əa'na^{ux} that's why they two (cared)
 nothing about them two 54.11, 12

tū, tū'a, a demonstrative pronoun that may best be rendered by **THAT ONE**. It denotes subjects and objects alike. A comparison between this pronoun and the previously discussed *s^əà* suggests that the initial elements *t* and *s* may be petrified prefixes having the function of demonstrative pronouns. This assertion receives further substantiation from the fact that Siuslaw forms, in analogy to *s^əàs*, a discriminative pronoun *tū'as*, and that it has two other demonstrative stems whose initial elements are *t*- and *s*- respectively. These pronouns are *tū'a'it* **THAT KIND** and *s^əa'it* **THIS KIND**, and they may be explained as being composed of *t*- (*tū*-) + *a'it* and *s*- + *a'it*. The function of the second element can not be explained. The *t*- occurs, furthermore, independently as *tE* (see p. 580).¹

The pronoun *tū, tū'a*, occurs also in dual and plural forms, obtained by adding the subjective suffixes *-a^{ux}* and *-nx* (see § 24) to it.

tū yāk!a^ūnī qīūtē'ū'nī that small(est) woman 88.12
kum'īntc hīs tū tēxmū'nī not good (is) that man 90.23; 92.1
tū'a tēxmū'nī that man
qna'nxaN lēbū'yūn tū'a^{ux} xā'ts!ū we (incl.) are hitting those two
tū'anx tēxmū'nī those men
lēbū'yūtsīn tū'as that one is hitting me
tū'a'it that (is the) kind 102.2
kum'īntc hīs nātē tE s^əa'it l!a'ai not good (is for) me this kind (of
 a) place 44.4, 5

¹ The *s* as a demonstrative element has been also found in Alsea.

s^ʰaʰt^ʰ L!aʰaʰ such (a) world 15.1

waʰ yāaʰxaʰtE hītc, s^ʰaʰtūʰ sʰiʰnʰxya although many (are) these people, that kind (of a thing every one) likes 102.2, 3

ants is the only pronoun that may be said to contain a locative force. It is invariably used in connection with objects that are away from the speaker, and may be rendered by **THAT ONE**. It may refer to subject and object, and is used in the singular, dual, and plural, although in most cases duality and plurality are accentuated by suffixing the respective subjective pronouns *-aʰx* and *-nx* (see § 24). This pronoun may also have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by **THAT ONE WHO . . . , THOSE WHO . . .** It always precedes the noun.

hamxaʰnî ants tsehaʰya that tied (up) grass 8.6

sʰkwīʰtc tsīngʰt ants hītc very poor (was) that person 16.10; 17.1

ants qaʰx last night (literally, that night) 40.14

lkʰ!anʰwaʰkʰ wʰiʰnxaʰn ants penʰiʰs Screech-Owl was afraid of that Skunk 86.5

ants lqaʰʰtū ants Tsxunaʰplī tʰiʰtʰ/yūn that tree on which Tsxunplī (Coyote) was sitting 94.6

xaʰnʰaʰxūn ants mīʰkʰ!a hītc we two killed that bad person 96.8, 9

lakwaʰkʰūn ants qīūtēʰnî antsʰx tsīnīʰLtsīnīʰL those two otters took away those women 52.16

ants L!aʰaʰ hītc those many people 7.1

ants pekūʰwi those who play 70.6, 7

atsiʰtc waaʰxam ants hītc teaʰxaʰt thus was told that man who was going back 30.13, 14

lkʰ!anūʰkʰ yaʰqʰyūn aʰntsux meqʰ!aʰʰtx Screech-Owl watched those two who kept on dancing 86.8

sʰaʰtsa xniʰʷnīs aʰntsʰnx pukwaʰʰ thus keep on doing those who play shinny 78.17

In a number of instances two demonstrative pronouns are used, following each other in immediate succession. This is done primarily for the sake of emphasis. In such sentences the second demonstrative stem may be rendered by a relative pronoun.

haʰiʰnate aʰiʰsxa kīʰtʰ!aʰ tE sʰaʰ qʰLʰiʰtc that otter is eating a different food (literally, different her, also, food, [of] this here sea-otter) 54.7, 8

ʷl sʰaʰ tE tʰāmēʰskʰîʰn and this here (is) the little boy 94.16

ʷl waaʰxam ants sʰaʰ qaʰtcʰntūx and was told that man who will go 16.7

kumâ'ntc^wax sî'n'xyūn lî'ū ta'is ants s^əà they two don't want to stay near here (literally, not they two, want it, near [to] keep on staying, that one here)

Parallel to these forms are the indefinite, interrogative, and reflexive pronouns. The following have been observed:

wàtc. It has the function of an interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animate beings only. When used in an interrogative sense, it is best rendered by WHO, while as an indefinite pronoun, it is to be translated by SOMEBODY. The interrogative character of this particle can be recognized only by the interrogative tone of the sentence in which it occurs.

wàtc^t kō'tan whose horse (is it)?

wàtc xa'ltūx somebody will climb up

watc tē'xamtc haⁱ (he) who strong (is) his heart 10.1

wàtc L!xū'yūn l̄xatū^{wi} (he) who knows (the art of) running 78.18

tē'q is used as an interrogative and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animals and inanimate objects only. It may best be rendered by WHAT OR SOMETHING.

tē'q what (is it)?

ha'mūt tē'q everything 9.5

tē'k!ya hīs tē'q (a) very good thing 72.15, 16

kumâ'ntcⁿx tē'q you (will be) nothing 13.2

ats tē'q waxa'yexayim when something will be given to him 18.5

u! s^əa'tsa tē'q qnuhū'yūn that's why something he finds

In a few instances *tē'q* has been rendered by RELATIVE. This free rendering is perfectly justifiable, because in the instances quoted *tē'q* implies the idea of BEING SOMETHING TO the person spoken to or spoken of.

na'm^ēl̄inx tē'q you (are) my relative (literally, my something you [are]) 20.6

tē'imstc tē'q ants lq!al'ō'mä her own relative (was) that pelican (literally, her own something) 46.1

An objective form of this particle has been found in one instance.

tē'qaⁿna'n̄ l̄a'kwīsūn something we (incl.) will always get 72.17, 18

tāqaⁿna is the regular objective form of *tē'q*, and occurs frequently.

kum'ntcxûn tãqã'na wí'nx not we two (excl.) anything fear 94.17

sí'nxít tãqã'na he wants something 18.5

wa'sL'syanx tãqã'na (when) you get mad at anything 36.11, 12

wa'a's²nx tãqã'na (when) you will say something 38.4

Another objective form of this particle may be the form *tã'qan*, occurring in one single instance.

tã'qan tex tcañtc'í'tc xí'ntmís why do you want to go anywhere (literally, for something, perhaps, somewhere [you] keep on going) 48.1, 2

tcínt, *tcí'nta'*, serves primarily as an interrogative pronoun, in which case it is rendered by WHICH ONE? Its scope, however, has been widened, permitting its use as a relative pronoun and in some instances as a numeral adverb. In the latter sense the form *tcínt* is invariably used. It is then translated by WHOEVER, WHATEVER, or by HOW MUCH, HOW MANY?

tcí'nta'^un tsx l'kwa'yûn which one I (wonder) shall I take? 88.20; 90.1

tcí'nta'^unx sí'n'xyûn which one do you want? 40.4, 5

tcí'nta'^u nîctca'í ants hîtc whatever does that man 70.22

tcí'nta'^u hîtc Lîwa' whatever person came (here) 24.7

tcí'nta'^u yí'kt'í'tc . . . whosoever . . . is big 90.1

tcínt hîtc qa'nteya Lîwa'wax whatever person from somewhere is going to come 38.10, 11

tcí'ntínx hî'q'la how many shells have you? (literally, how many thy dentalia shells?)

tcínt kô'tan how many horses?

. . . *tcínt tsxayû'^{wi}* . . . on such a day (literally, [on] whatever [a] day) 7.3

ts'îms has the function of a reflexive pronoun, and is best rendered by (I) MYSELF, (THOU) THYSELF, etc., or, when used with nouns, by (MY) OWN, (THY) OWN, etc.

ts'îms s'atsí'tc cî'n'xyat!ya to himself thus he always thinks 88.11

Lkû'yûn ts'îms I hit myself

ts'îmstc tE'q ants lq'al'ô'mä ants sqūmā' her own relative that Pelican (is of) that Sea-Gull 46.1, 2

L'xmañ'yûtsmîn ts'îms m'û'sk^u I killed my own brother

qa'wuntî, *qa'wuntîtc*, imparts the idea of reciprocity, and is best rendered by EACH OTHER, MUTUALLY. The difference between the two parallel forms lies in the fact that the latter has been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-îtc* (see § 94).

uł k'ix tɛ'q skwaha'yūsne qa'wintī everything was placed on both sides 80.8

qaw^{untī}tc^{wax} wīn^ɛna'wa each other they two feared 86.2

qa'w^{untī} on both sides

The Numeral (§§ 116–117)

§ 116. The Cardinals

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>ałq</i> 18.7 | 16. <i>kī'x^s uł qa'tīm^x</i> |
| 2. <i>xā'ts/ū</i> 30.23 | 17. <i>kī'x^s uł xā'ts/ū qdā'max</i> |
| 3. <i>cī'n^ax</i> 62.12 | 18. <i>kī'x^s uł cī'n^ax qdā'max</i> |
| 4. <i>xā'ts/ūn</i> 40.23 | 19. <i>kī'x^s uł kumī'ntc ał^q qa'nat</i> |
| 5. <i>lxa'p's</i> 72.8 | 20. <i>xā'ts/ū kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 6. <i>qa'tīm^x</i> | 21. <i>xā'ts/ū kīxē'stīm uł ał^q</i> |
| 7. <i>xā'ts/ū qdā'max</i> | 30. <i>cī'n^ax kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 8. <i>cī'n^ax qdā'max</i> | 40. <i>xā'ts/ūn kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 9. <i>ał^aqxa^{ut}</i> | 50. <i>lxa'p's kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 10. <i>kīx^s</i> 8.1 | 60. <i>qa'tīm^x kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 11. <i>kī'x^s uł ał^aq</i> | 70. <i>xā'ts/ū qdā'max kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 12. <i>kī'x^s uł xā'ts/ū</i> | 80. <i>cī'nax qdā'max kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 13. <i>kī'x^s uł cī'n^ax</i> | 90. <i>ał^aqxa^{ut} qdā'max kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 14. <i>kī'x^s uł xā'ts/ūntc a'xwī'yu</i> | 100. <i>kī'x^s kīxē'stīm</i> |
| 15. <i>kī'x^s uł lxa'p'stc a'xwī'yu</i> | 101. <i>kī'x^s kīxē'stīm uł ał^aq</i> |

By origin the Siuslaw numeral system is probably quinary, although there seem to be only four simple numeral stems; namely, those for ONE, TWO, THREE, and FIVE. The numeral *xā'ts/ūn* FOUR is to all appearances a plural form of *xā'ts/ū* TWO. The numeral *qa'tīm^x* SIX could not be analyzed. It is not improbable, however, that it may signify ONE (FINGER) UP, in which event SEVEN could be explained as denoting TWO (FINGERS) UP, while EIGHT could be rendered by THREE (FINGERS) UP. In spite of incessant attempts, the numeral for NINE could not be analyzed. Its probable rendering may be suggested as ONE (LACKING TO) TEN. The numerals for FOURTEEN and FIFTEEN may be translated as by TEN AND FOUR ITS ADDITION and TEN AND FIVE ITS ADDITION respectively. The exact rendering of NINETEEN is obscure, while TWENTY evidently denotes TWO TIMES TEN, etc.

Siuslaw does not possess the series of ordinal numerals. These and the numeral adverbs, such as the multiplicative numerals, are expressed idiomatically by means of adverbs or adverbial suffixes. The adverbs *pɛtī'tc* AHEAD and *kīmnī'tc* BEHIND (see § 119) are very often used as ordinal numerals for the first two numbers.

pen's peł'te ʷl lk!anū'ku līmñ'te Skunk (doctored) first, and Screech-Owl second 86.11

s^ha'tū'nē peł'te xī'ntma'stūn the biggest one first he took along 92.18

Qa'a'tēx peł'te līha'yax tē līya'a^ū along North Fork at first it came, this fire 32.19

Multiplicative numerals are sometimes formed by adding to the cardinals the modal suffix *-tē* (see § 94).

xāts!ūwī'tēn yīxa'yūn twice I saw him

a'lqa'tēn l!xū'yūn qnā once I knew it 92.12

Ordinal numerals in the sense of AT THE FIRST, SECOND, etc., are sometimes formed by suffixing to the cardinals the suffix *-a'tū*.

alqa'tū tsxayū^{wi} on the first day, in one day

xāts!ūwā'tū tsxayū^{wi} on the second day, in two days

xāts!ūna'tū tsxayū^{wi} on the fourth day, in four days

The suffix for the numeral FIVE appears in a somewhat changed form. Instead of the expected *-a'tū*, this numeral takes the suffixes *-ta'tū*, *-tya'tū*. The suggestion may be offered that the initial *t*- of these suffixes is the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104), and the *-a'tū* the regular modal suffix. Of course, this does not explain the occurrence of the semi-vowel *y* in *-tya'tū*.

t!āmcēns tē'ntūx lxa'pīstā'tū tsxayū^{wi} our (dual, incl.) boys will return in five days 42.7

lxa'pīstya'tū ʷl wān tē'n hītsī'stē on the fifth day he finally came home 72.9

tē'ntūx lxa'pīstya'tu tsxayū^{wi} he will come back in five days 40.25, 26

Two stems, *k!īx* and *hai'mūt*, are used as definite numerals. The former is best rendered by EACH, EVERY; while the latter, to all appearances an adjective in *-t* (see § 104), is best translated by ALL.

k!īx tē'q everything 24.4

tēxmū'nītc^wax ants t!āmc k!īx they two had each a boy (literally, males their two, those boys, each) 40.19

ha'i'mūt ma'ttē't ants līmna'q all elk^s got burned 34.18, 19

ha'i'mūt qa'tē'nt sqa'ktē'tē all go there 23.6

§ 117. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten are expressed by forms whose exact rendering would be TEN (TWENTY) AND ONE (TWO) as, for instance, *k!īx^s ʷl a'l^aq* TEN AND ONE, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of

the suffix *-tīm*, that is added to the cardinal numerals for TEN. The numeral thus amplified is preceded by the cardinals from TWO to TEN (inclusive). Thus TWENTY, literally translated, means TWO TIMES TEN, THIRTY signifies THREE TIMES TEN, and ONE HUNDRED denotes TEN TIMES TEN. The numeral for THOUSAND was, naturally enough, never used. The informant invariably gave the English equivalent for it.

The Adverb (§§ 118-121)

§ 118. *Introductory*

Siuslaw has, comparatively speaking, a small number of adverbial stems. These express ideas of a local, temporal, and modal character. A few of them are compounds,—that is to say, they consist of two or more adverbs that occur independently also,—while others occur with the adverbial suffixes whose function is always in harmony with the ideas expressed by the bare stem. Thus a few adverbs indicating local ideas appear with the local suffix *-tc* (see § 90), while most of the modal adverbs take the suffixes of modality *-tīc* or *-a* (see §§ 94 and 96).

It is quite conceivable that the final *k* in the local adverbs *tīk*, *stīm**k*, and *sqā**k*, may imply some local idea, especially in view of the fact that both *stīm* and *stīm**k* occur.

A very important law applying to local adverbs (and phrases) is the fact that, whenever they are used in connection with nouns, the nouns invariably take the locative case-endings (see § 86).

§ 119. *Local Adverbs and Phrases*

<i>a'mha'tx</i> in the middle	<i>tūtī'm</i> there 72.3
<i>ha'q</i> ashore 44.7	<i>tūqa'tmē</i> over there, across
<i>ha'qmas</i> alongside, near 25.4	<i>tūgya'a^{u2}</i> up-stream 32.22
<i>ha^uwi's</i> beyond	<i>qa'tītc³</i> across the river, opposite
<i>pēl'tc</i> ahead, first 32.19	80.16
<i>m^{eyō}k^us</i> in the beginning	<i>qā'tkī</i> from here 60.4
82.11	<i>qa'xantc⁴</i> under, down, below 8.10
<i>tū'is¹</i> here 17.3	<i>qa'xūn</i> , <i>qa^uxūn⁵</i> high up, above,
<i>tīk</i> , <i>ta'k</i> here 56.5, 19	on 8.7; 34.21

¹ Probably related to the Coos *tū* OVER THERE.

² Alsea *to'qwi*.

³ Coos *qa'tītc* DOWN THE STREAM.

⁴ Related to Alsea *qē'xan* UNDER, BELOW.

⁵ Coos *qazan*- UP.

<i>qa^ux¹</i> on top 76.14	<i>qaⁱhā'n</i> 56.8, <i>qaⁱha'ntc</i> far 10.3; 56.5
<i>qaⁱu'tc²</i> below, down the stream 62.17, 18	<i>qan</i> , <i>qan̄stc̄'tc</i> down, below 12.6
<i>qaⁱwa'a^u</i> below, down stream 80.6	<i>qō'x^um</i> off shore, out in the water 34.6
<i>tqa^uwi'</i> , <i>tqa^uwītc</i> up-stream 56.8, 12	<i>qtsi</i> inside
<i>stīm</i> , <i>stīm̄k</i> there 30.23; 32.12	<i>līm̄nī'tc</i> behind, after, second 86.11
<i>sqā'tem</i> from there 34.3	<i>lnū</i> outside 38.23
<i>sqāⁱk</i> , <i>sqēk</i> there 14.6	<i>lī'ū</i> near (used also as a verb in the sense TO COME, TO APPROACH) 40.12

§ 120. Temporal Adverbs

<i>ats³</i> at that time, when 16.8	<i>tsā'nxaⁱts</i> yesterday
<i>aⁱlal</i> then, afterwards 34.3	<i>tsīm</i> always 15.5
<i>hī'nakⁱ</i> right away 20.1	<i>ts'ū'xtits</i> early in the morning 40.9
<i>wā'nwits</i> long ago, already 14.7	<i>tcī'kyac</i> L! ^{aⁱ} sometimes 100.7
<i>wī'yū</i> still, yet	<i>kūⁱyā'tsac</i> L! ^{aⁱ} ⁴ after a while, soon 7.7
<i>yā'tsa</i> a long time 11.3	<i>kⁱsā't</i> today 38.16
<i>ta'tits</i> after a while 50.2	<i>kⁱlū⁵</i> tomorrow 60.2
<i>tīL</i> awhile	<i>lnāt</i> always 13.3
<i>lī'mqa</i> quick, right away 19.6	

§ 121. Modal Adverbs

<i>a'tsa</i> , <i>atsī'tc</i> thus 15.5; 11.2	<i>s^ea'tsa</i> , ⁶ <i>s^eatsī'tc</i> thus 8.2, 7
<i>hī'catca</i> a little	<i>s^ukwī'tc</i> very, very much 16.10
<i>yā'xaⁱ</i> much, many 8.5	<i>cī'ntcata</i> in a circle
<i>yux^u</i> too much 12.2	<i>tsī'kⁱya</i> very, very much 13.9
<i>tī'mwa</i> together 40.18	<i>xyal'x</i> , <i>kūⁱ xyal'x</i> almost, very nearly 11.1; 10.9, 11.1
<i>nītcamaⁱnat^e</i> differently 9.3, 4	

Particles (§§ 122-133)

§ 122. Introductory

Siuslaw has a great number of particles which serve to define more clearly a certain part of speech or even a whole sentence. Their

¹Alsea *gauz* HIGH.

²Possibly related to Coos *gaya'atc* DOWN THE STREAM.

³See § 136.

⁴A compound adverb consisting of the negation *kūⁱ* NOT, the adverb *yā'tsa* A LONG TIME, amplified by the obscure suffix -c, and of the stem *L/aⁱ* (see § 133).

⁵By prefixing to this adverb the demonstrative pronoun *ants*, Siuslaw forms a compound adverb *ants kⁱlū*, which is best rendered by YESTERDAY.

⁶See § 125.

meaning was deduced mostly from the sense of the sentence in which they occurred. These stems are either monosyllabic (in which case they may be enclitic or proclitic) or they consist of two or more syllables. A limited number seems to be composed of two or more originally independent particles. As a rule, particles are not capable of word-formation—that is to say, they can not be amplified by means of any of the grammatical processes, such as prefixation, suffixation, etc. But owing to the fact that Siuslaw shows a tendency to keep the verbal stem free from all subjective suffixes, these suffixes are preferably added to the particles that precede the verb (see § 26). Some of these particles seem to be in reality verbal stems, but do not convey a clear verbal idea unless used in conjunction with a proper verbal suffix (see § 135).

In accordance with their syntactic function, the particles may be conveniently subdivided into the following categories:

- (1) Pronominal particles.
- (2) Numeral particles.
- (3) Conjunctions.
- (4) Temporal particles.
- (5) Particles denoting degrees of certainty.
- (6) Particles indicating connection with previously expressed ideas.
- (7) Exhortative particles.
- (8) Restrictive particles.
- (9) Miscellaneous particles.
- (10) Suffixed particle *-ū* (*-a^ū*).
- (11) The stem *L!a'ai*.

§ 123. *Pronominal Particles*

The pronominal forms treated in § 115 are used sometimes without formative prefixes, and appear then like true particles. The following are particularly used in this manner:

tā^ak this, here

tē this

tū that

ants that one

wàtc who, some one

tē'q what, something

tc'nt, *tc'i'nta^u* which one, whoever, whatever, how much, how many

ts'ims (reflexive) self

qa'w^unti mutually

Related to *tcînt* are the particles *tcîk* WHERE, and *tcā*, *tcāitcî'tc* WHERE TO.

tcîk, a local particle denoting REST. It may be used indicatively and in an interrogatory sense. It is best rendered by WHERE.

tcîk s^æa'nā'ml kō'tan where is his horse ?

tcîk qnūhū'yūn hātc where (ever) he finds a person 94.9, 10

kūi tcîk nowhere 56.11

tcîk ants k'ālatū'u where that fun (is) 88.2

tcîk ants yîktî'l'mā lqai''tū where that big log (is) 88.17, 18

tcā*, *tcāitcî'tc, a local particle indicating MOTION. It is used in an interrogative and indicative significance, and is best rendered by WHERE (TO). The form *tcāitcî'tc* may be explained as caused by the double suffixation of the adverbial suffix *-itc* (see §§ 90, 94). Such double adding of a suffix occurs in only one other instance; namely, in the case of the nominal suffix *-ax* (see § 101).

kumî'ntc tcā yax nowhere (anything to) see 34.4

kumî'ntcaxūn qa'ha'ntc tcā nî'ctcîs not we two (excl.) far somewhere will go 56.2

. . . *tcān tē lūū'* . . . where this I arrived 66.19

tcāitcî'tc Lō^εL nî'ctūx (I) wonder where he will go 64.20

tcāitcî'tc qa'tc'ntyax he went somewhere

§ 124. Numeral Particles

Here belong the following stems: *yā^a'xaⁱ* MANY (see also § 12), *tē'mxut*, *tsî'nexma*, *tsî'nîxt* HALF, and *k^æa't* HOW MANY. The particles serving as fractional numerals invariably follow the noun they define, while the two other numeral particles may either precede or follow it.

yîxa'yūn yā^a'xaⁱ hātc I saw many people

tē'mxut tā'la half a dollar

hî'tc^εtc tsî'nexma ants t'î that bear is half a person (literally [a] person [is] his [one] half, that bear) 60.16

hātc tsî'nîxt ants t'î half human (is) that bear 60.22

These forms might also be considered as adjectives. It will be noted that most of them end in the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104).

§ 125. Conjunctions

Only three particles were found that may be properly said to have the function of our conjunctions. These particles are *a'l'dū*, *a'ⁱsxa*, and *ʷ*.

a'l·dū refers to nouns only, and its function is of an inclusive character, indicating that the defined noun is included in the action. It always follows the noun and is best rendered by *LIKEWISE*. It is frequently used as a verb (see § 135).

ʷl t!i a'l·dū ma'ttci't Bear likewise got burned 34.16
hī'qʷ a'l·dū mī'ttci'st Wild-Cat likewise burned 34.17
yaʷxaʷx a'l·dū tīt!a'yūn fern-roots they two likewise eat 98.15
qaʷxʷnax a'l·dū ya'qʷhītūx at night you likewise shall watch 70.18,
 19

ai'sxa serves the same purpose as the preceding *a'l·dū*, but may either precede or follow the noun to which it refers. It is best rendered by *ALSO, TOO*.

a'taq tɛxmū'nī ʷl a'taq qīūtci'ŋī ʷl ai'sxa sqa'ktci'tc qa'tci'ntūx one
 man and one woman too will go there 30.21, 22
ha'i'natc ai'sxa lī't!a'ī her food belonged to some one else (literally,
 different her, also, food) 54.7

ʷl has various functions. Its chief function is that of a copula between nouns and sentences, and in that case is best rendered by *AND*. Its position is free, although it tends to follow the noun and to precede the verb.

a'taq tɛxmū'nī ʷl a'taq qīūtci'ŋī one man and one woman 30.21, 22
mīta'a'tīn ʷl mīla'a'tīn my father and my mother
pənī's pēlī'tc ʷl lk!anū'kʷ līmñī'tc Skunk (doctored) first, and
 Screech-Owl second 86.11
sʷatsī'tc wad', ʷl hī'q!a't thus he said and started 22.5, 6
ta'ī ʷl tīt!a'ī he sits and eats

It serves, furthermore, to introduce a new idea, in which case its functional character may best be compared to that of our syntactic period. Its exact rendering is a rather difficult matter, unless the arbitrary *THEN* be excepted.

L!xū'yūn mī'k!a tsī'k!ya. L!xū'yūn hī'sa lk!anʷwa'kʷ ants pənī's.
Enaʷwi hītc ʷl lqqa'ʷtɛa'n pēna's she knew him (to be) very bad.
 Screech-Owl knew that Skunk very well. At a rich man Skunk
 was breaking his wind 86.5, 6, 7
sʷatsī'tc wad'ī ants lk!anū'kʷ. Ants ptna'st ʷl cī'nīxyat!ya āqa'wax.
ʷl sʷatsī'tc wad' ants lk!anū'kʷ. Thus said that Screech-Owl.
 Then that sick man thought of running away. Then thus said
 that Screech-Owl 86.14, 15, 16

Finally, it may denote a connection with a previously expressed idea, especially when used in conjunction with the particle *waⁱ* (see § 128).

waⁱ yîkt ants hîtsîⁱ, ^ul tã'qnîs hîtû'stc although big (is) that house, still (it is) full (of) people 25.2, 3

waⁱ tci'wa maj^{tc} ants lqaⁱ'tû, ^ul mîltcaⁱ 'although in the water lay those logs, nevertheless (they) began to burn 32.22

waⁱ yã^a'xaⁱ hîtc, ^ul haⁱ'mût s^{as} lî!ⁱa'yûn although many (were) the people, still he devoured (them) all 94.10, 11

This subordinate function, as it were, is particularly brought out when ^ul is followed or preceded by the modal adverb *a'tsa*, *s^aa'tsa* THUS (see § 121). This phrase is invariably rendered by THAT IS WHY.

a'tsa ^ul wân temû'tx hîtcû^u that is why now people assemble 15.5, 6

a'tsan ^uln kumî'ntc sî'nⁱxyûn that is why I don't want it 15.8

s^aa'tsa ^ul kumî'ntc nî'k!^a xî'ntmîl hîtc that was why not alone traveled a person 94.11

^ul s^aa'tsa ^ul haya'mût hîyât^c L!xû'yûn and this is why all people know it

§ 126. Temporal Particles

While Siuslaw employs distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing the different tenses in the verb, it has a few particles that are used to define more clearly the time, duration, or occurrence of a certain action. These are used mostly in conjunction with the proper temporal suffixes. The following particles serve this purpose:

āl denotes commencement of an action, and has been rendered rather freely by NOW.

ā'lan lî!ⁱa'wax now I commence to eat

āl sîLa'wax now he commences to swim

^ul^{en}x āL hîltca'tc now they began to play 72.23, 24

wân indicates finality, completion of action. It either precedes or follows the verb. The informant invariably rendered it by NOW, THEN, but the most proper rendering would be FINALLY.

^ul wân tci'n he finally returned 68.12

āqa'qa^ux wân they two finally ran away 92.5

wân smût'a't' finally it ends 9.1

sqaⁱk wân hawaⁱ there finally it ends 14.6

waⁱ, wahaⁱ, expresses repetition of action, and is best rendered by AGAIN. It rarely occurs as an independent particle, being mostly used as a verb (see § 135). The explanation for the occurrence of the double form has been given in § 3.

qa'tc'nt ants h̄tc waha' that man went again 19.5

k'ink'ya'waxan waha'wax I will look again 56.20

ʷt wàn waha' haʷn qa'mskʷtc finally again (said) to him his younger brother 56.20, 21

ʷn kumî'ntc xwî'ɫ!tūx wa'tūx I will not go back again 46.8

waha'ʷ xalna'ʷ ants yaʷkʷs again climb up those seals 62.10

ʷiyax- indicates short duration of action. It always occurs in verbal form (see § 135), and is best rendered by A WHILE.

ʷiyaxem qa'qʷnem! listen a while!

ʷiyaxʷxyaxan aʷs̄syax I slept a while

ʷiyaxa'waxan aʷsa'wax I intend to sleep a while 27.5, 6

§ 127. Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Emotional States

a'ck!aʷ indicates a supposition on the part of the speaker, and is best rendered by PERHAPS, (I) THOUGHT. It consists of two etymologically obscure stems, *a'ck!a* and *ʷ*. The subjective pronouns, when added to this particle, are always suffixed to the initial element, and never to *ʷ*. It is invariably placed at the beginning of the sentence.

a'ck!anʷ ʷ xau' (I) thought you (had) died 68.14, 15

a'ck!aʷ ats̄v'tc xwîɫ!a'wax ants t!ā'mc̄ins (I) thought thus were going to return our (dual, incl.) boys 42.9, 10

a'ck!aʷ qa'tc'nt he went (away) perhaps

ha'nhan emphasizes a statement as having actually occurred. Hence it is rendered by INDEED, TO BE SURE. It precedes the verb.

ʷt wàn ha'nhan s̄atsa'tx h̄tcūʷ now, indeed, thus people play 7.4

ʷt wàn ha'nhan ɫ̄w̄wanx h̄ts̄v'stc finally, sure enough, they were coming to different houses 30.6

hank! "KIND OF," LIKE, has a double function. When used with verbs, it implies that the action is not intimately known to the speaker. When referring to nouns (objects), it expresses a comparison between the defined noun and one already known to the speaker. It always precedes the noun or verb.

hank! t̄cktc haʷ he is in a way glad (literally, "kind of" somewhere his mind?) 70.15

hank! w̄n̄x̄tx haʷ he is rather afraid

hank! hī'tc^{tc} nīctcīma^{mū} tē qwó'txaⁱ the beaver acts like a person
(literally, like a person his actions [of] this beaver) 54.11

hank! hītc (he is) like (an) Indian 102.5

tE^x (I) WONDER, SUPPOSE (IF), (I) DON'T KNOW. This particle has a dubitative character, expressing doubt on the part of the speaker as to the possibility or advisability of a certain action. It may refer to any part of the sentence, but must always precede the verb.

tē'nta^un tE^x tīkwa'yūn I wonder which one (shall) I take 88.20;
90.1

nī'ctcī tE^x xī'ntmīs hītc (I) wonder how (a) person (can) keep on traveling

nī'ctcan tE^x nīctca'wax (I doubt whether we) shall accomplish (anything) 60.9

nī'ctcanl tE^x xawa'ūn (I) wonder how we (incl.) can kill him 15.7

kīl. This particle occurs in the texts only once; but, judging from the examples obtained in conversation, it seems to express agreeable surprise.

hī'san kīl wàn waa'yūts well he told me (I was agreeably surprised)
46.18

tāⁱ kīl wàn he is here (literally, he stays, surprise)

k (I) MAY, PERHAPS. This is a dubitative particle, occurring also in Coos,¹ and denoting possibility of action. Owing to its dubitative character, it has often an interrogative significance.

nī'ctca k^u what is the matter? (literally, how, perhaps . . .) 90.12
k!īnk'yā'waxan tqa^uwī'tc k^u waha'wax I may look again up-stream
56.20

nī'ctxan k^u a'ntsīn māt!ī' tē kū' tē' nīl what may (be the cause that)
that my elder brother, this here, not comes back? 58.11, 12
tīkwa'yūnanx k^u tī'ī'āⁱ you may get salmon 48.18

k^unā, a compound particle, consisting of the preceding one and of the particle of interrogation *nā* (see § 131). Its significance is dubitative, and it may be rendered by IT SEEMS, PERHAPS, MAYBE, (I) GUESS. Its position is freely movable.

wàn k^unā tā'kīn s^zatsī'tc a^usī's now it seems, this I thus dream 70.1
yā^u'xaⁱ tī'ī'āⁱ tqa^uwī' k^unā much salmon may be up-stream 56.8

¹ See Coos, p. 385.

s^{as} k^unà c^uxū'yūn he, I guess, drove it away 56.11
lakwa'kū^un k^unà he took him (away), perhaps 58.14
kum^untc k^unà s^{as}tsī'tc not thus (it is), I guess 21.10

xī has the same function as the previously discussed *hank'* (see p. 594). It may best be rendered by (IT) LOOKS LIKE, AS IF.

xā'ts!ū xī hītc tE kī'nnā (it) looks as if two people here were talking
plna'tx xī (it) looks as if he were sick
tqala'ixan xī I feel rather warm

Lō^eL (I) WONDER, (I) DON'T KNOW. It either precedes or else follows the verb.

tcaītcī'tc Lō^eL nī'ctūx (I) wonder where (he will) go 64.20
tcā Lō^eL Lī'ūtūx (I) wonder where he will stop (arrive) 64.24
plna' Lō^eL (I) wonder whether he is sick

§ 128. Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas

Siuslaw has only two particles that serve this purpose. These are *nī'ctcīm* and *wa³*.

nī'ctcīm indicates causality, and is best rendered by BECAUSE.

. . . *nī'ctcīm sqa³k Lī'wat!ī* . . . because there he frequently came 68.4, 5
 . . . *nī'ctcīm s^{as} k!ī'xa'yūn tE hītc* . . . because he made disappear these people 18.8
 . . . *nī'ctcīm nīn meq!ya'wax* . . . because I intend to dance 72.12
 . . . *nī'ctcīm^{enx} nam³l tE'q* . . . because you are my relative 21.5

wa³ is best rendered by ALTHOUGH, EVEN, IN SPITE OF. It may refer to the sentence as a whole or to any of its parts. The complex of ideas dependent upon *wa³* is invariably introduced by the conjunction *u³* (see § 125).

cugwa'an harva'yūn, wa³ cā'yatc he passes it as roast, although his penis [it was] (literally, roast he makes it) 90.13
nī'ctcīm sqa³k Lī'wat!ī, wa³ yā'tsa, because there he frequently came every time (literally, because there he came frequently, even for a long time) 68.4, 5
wa³ mī'k!a^u L!aya' u³ Lxata' even on a bad place he runs 14.1
wa³ yīkt ants hītsī'i u³ tā'qnīs hītū'stc although big (was) that house, nevertheless full (it was of) people 25.2, 3

wał qa'x, *ʷl xînt* in spite of (the fact that it was) night, (they) kept on going 64.24

wa' tE'q mî'k!a ʷl tî't!a'yûn sʷàs even (if it is) something bad still she eats it 44.20

§ 129. *Exhortative Particles*

qa'it expresses a polite command addressed to the first and third persons. It is hence employed in the formation of the exhortative mode. The verb usually occurs with exhortative suffixes (see §§ 41, 48, 63, 64), although instances of idiomatic expressions are not lacking where these suffixes have been omitted (see § 139). This particle is best rendered by LET (ME, HIM, US, etc.).

qa'it qatc'î'xmî let him go!

qa'la'x lakwî'nî let them two seize (them)! 52.12, 13

qa'itn xâl!î'tsmE hîtsî'î let me fix his house!

qa'it wân a'w'stûx let him sleep now! 27.8

tcû serves to emphasize the imperative and exhortative modes. It invariably follows the verb, which must occur in either of these two forms. It can not be translated easily. In some instances the informant rendered it by TRY TO.

qaqû'nEm tcû listen now!

tî't!Emans tcû let us (incl. dual) eat!

qa'txEm tcû cry!

a'w'sEm tcû try to sleep!

tEmà' indicates a polite command addressed to any person. The informant rendered it by IT IS BETTER TO. . . . Although it usually followed verbs having imperative suffixes, I was able to obtain examples showing the use of this particle in conjunction with verbal expressions of a non-imperative character.

qwa'nyûx tEmà' Laaya'tc better pour it into his mouth! 29.2

a'w'sEm tEmà' (you had) better sleep!

tEmà' wa'tûx it is better (that) he should talk

ak'ha'n is apparently a compound particle, whose component elements can no longer be analyzed. It has an emphatic character, implying that a certain command addressed to the second person must be obeyed. It is best rendered by MUST, NECESSARILY.

tî't!Em ak'ha'n you must eat!

L!wâ'nîs ak'ha'n you must tell him!

L!î'îs ak'ha'n you must hit him!

§ 130. *Restrictive Particles*

ata's limits the action to only one object, and is to be rendered by ONLY, MERELY. It usually follows the restricted object.

- lqa'qa^ñnx ata's* your wind only (is sick) 86.16, 17
pā'l'ū ata's qatcū' txa^ñtnE from (one) well only it is being drunk
 (plural) 76.12
sqā^k wān ata's hawa' only there now it ends 29.7
s^ēās ata's L!xū'yūn he only knows it 44.8

ha'tsī has a restrictive function, and is best rendered by NOTHING BUT.

- hīg!aħa^ūnī ants xū'nħa' ha'tsī* nothing but dentalia shells these
 (people) bet 78.14
ha'tsīn kō'tan yīxa'yūn nothing but horses I saw

txū MERELY, ONLY, JUST. It refers mostly to the verb, and may either precede or follow it.

- txū xyal'xī'sk'īn qa'tc'nt* just a little ways he went 12.1
txū lī'tc^ē lī'nīnx just Cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6
xa^wya' txū hīcatca'sk'īn he merely came out for a little while 64.8
lī't!em txū just eat! 40.26; 42.1
cī'nīxyat!ya txū he was only continually thinking 42.2
kumî'ntc txū qīūtēcūnya't hītc not for nothing a person gets a wife
 (literally, not just a woman has [gets a] person) 74.1

§ 131. *Miscellaneous Particles*

kūⁱ, *kumî'ntc*, NO, NOT. These are two etymologically related stems that are used as particles of negation. The final *tc* in *kumî'ntc* is the adverbial suffix (see §§ 23, 94)

- kūⁱ cī'l'xīl* he did not move 27.2, 3
kūⁱ nī'tcā nī'ctcūtne nothing could be done to him 94.12, 13
kūⁱya'tsac!a^ai not long then . . . 7.7
kumî'ntc hī'sa not good (it is) 12.2
kumî'ntc līt!aya't ants kō'tan not food had the horses 34.10

When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), *kūⁱ* is contracted into *kwī*. This contraction is not based on any distinct phonetic law, but is the result of rapidity of speech.

- kwī'ya^wx ya'xa^ñl mī'ck'laⁱ* not he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.3
kwīnx yā'tsa s^ēa'ts^ēyax not they long (did) thus 11.3, 4

In certain cases the negated verb takes, beside the negative particle, the distinct suffix of negation *-îl* (see § 53).

ha^u, hā'nîk, YES, ALL RIGHT, are used as particles of affirmation.

ha^u yes, all right 21.8

hā'nîk yes

ha^u lî'mqan teî'ntûx all right, I'll come back right away 56.21, 22

ha^u wa'nzan hate'a'wûn yes, now we (excl.) shall ask her 74.12

nâ serves as a particle of interrogation, and refers to the sentence as a whole. Its phonetic similarity to the independent personal pronoun for the first person singular (see § 24) is merely accidental.

nîctetî'tcîn tex nâ wa'a^s I wonder what shall I say? 74.7

plnaⁱ nâ is he sick?

pâkwa'wanx nâ are you going to play shinny?

a^u, hê, have an exclamatory character, and may be called interjections.

a^u, nîctetî'tc plâⁿ nâ waha' what! is he sick again?

hê, kumî'ntc hî'sa nî'x^{tc} Hey! it (does) not (look) well on you 13.5

ka'tî, katî'xtî, an emphatic particle. It never occurs alone, being always preceded by the negation *kûⁱ, kumî'ntc* (see p. 598), and is then best rendered by NOT AT ALL.

kumî'ntc katî' xa^wwîl not at all he came out (from water) 64.7, 8

kûⁱ katî'xtî l'xmaⁱ ants ya^ku^s he did not entirely kill that seal 64.12, 13

kûⁱ katî'xtî xa^wwîl not again he floated up 64.16, 17

mîntc, a temporal particle indicating time in general. It is rendered by WHEN, SOMETIMES. The final *tc* is the adverbial suffix *par excellence* (see § 23).

mîntc l'aya' some time

mîntc lō^ε l'î'utûx (I) wonder when he will arrive

mî'ntc'nx tca'xatûyax when did you go home?

tsan, ants, kûⁱ nâts. These three particles are etymologically related. The last one is composed of the particle of negation *kûⁱ* NOT and of *nâts*. The forms *ants* and *nâts* resulted from the law of consonantic metathesis (see § 13); *ants* is easily confused with the demonstrative pronoun of similar phonetic structure (see § 115).

These particles serve to introduce conditional clauses, and are best rendered by IF, SINCE. *kūi nàts* is rendered by IF NOT (see also § 136).

tsa'ntcê tū'ha sî'n'xyūn . . . if you want to buy her . . . 74.8
tsa'ntcê sî'n'xyaxaⁿ, ^u*ttcê hatc'a'yūn* since you want her, (go and)
 ask her 74.10, 11
yā'xaⁱ hītc tēm^uwaⁱ sqaⁱk, *ants ha'qaⁱ* *ants hamī'tcī* many people
 assembled there, when (if) those whales come ashore 82.21, 22
 . . . *ants ikwa'myax ants īng!a'aⁱ* when (ice) closed up that river
 78.3

Whenever the subordinate clause is introduced by the negative *kūi nàts*, the co-ordinate sentence that follows must be preceded by the particle *nàts*.

kūi nàts xā'wa^axaⁱtnē, ^u*t nàts tsī'k!ya mī'k!a L!a^{ai}* if he had not
 been killed, it would have been a very bad country 29.7, 8
kūi nàts vī'ūyax, ^u*ln nàts nakwa'yatīti haⁱ* if he had not come, I
 should have been sorry

nī'etca, *nī'etca*, *nīctx*. These three forms are undoubtedly etymologically related. Their primary function can not be easily defined, owing to the fact that they are used for the purpose of expressing grammatical concepts of a varying character. The most frequent uses made of these particles are those of an interrogative and indefinite pronoun. The function of an interrogative pronoun is chiefly confined to the form *nī'etca* when followed by the demonstrative pronoun *te* (see § 115), while it serves as an indefinite pronoun whenever it is preceded by the negative particle *kūi*, *kumī'ntc* NOT. *nī'etca* is frequently amplified by means of the modal suffix *-ītc* (see § 94).

nī'etca k^u te cuqwa'an te ha'kwat!ya what may (be the reason that)
 this roast here continually falls down? 90.12
nī'etcanx tanx yā^a'xaⁱ qāt^x why do you (this one) cry (so) much?
 94.16, 17
nī'etcan tex nīetca'wax I doubt whether (we) shall accomplish any-
 thing 60.9
nī'etcanl tex xawa'ūn how can we kill him? 15.7
 . . . *nī'etca te taⁱ* . . . how this one was living 16.2
kūi nī'etca nī'ctcūtne nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13
kūi nī'etca qa'tc^wīl not able to get a drink 76.11
kūi nī'etca la'kwīl līt!aya' she could not get food 96.16, 17
nīctcī'tc^xtcī te tēm^uwa'tam . . . why you have been gathered 30.17

kumî'ntc nîctcî'tc cî'nxîl he thinks of nothing (else) 60.20, 21

kumî'ntc'tcî nîctcî'tc ta'tcî temû'ûts not for nothing did I assemble you (here) 30.18, 19

nîctc occurs in two instances only, and to all appearances has an interrogative significance.

nî'ctxan k^u a'ntsîn mât'î' tE kû' tci'nîl what may (be the reason that) my elder brother here does not come back? 58.11, 12

nîctx k^u a'naxa'î how (would it be if) he were given up? 64.26

In a great many cases *nî'ctca* and *nî'ctca* are used as verbs with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence (see § 135). The particles are then verbalized by means of some of the verbal suffixes.

kû' nî'ctca nî'ctcûtnE nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13

kû' nî'ctca tcaîtcî'tc nî'ctcîl not can anywhere (they) go 76.14

kumî'ntcxûn nî'ctcîs not we two (excl.) will keep on going 56.2

nî'ctcan tEx nîctca'wax I doubt whether (we) are going to do (anything) 60.9

nî'ctcaî'a^x sî'nîxyûn to fight mutually they two want (it) 52.2

In one instance the addition of a nominal suffix has transformed *nî'ctca* into a noun.

kumî'ntc qwatc L'xû'x^un nî'ctcatc ants nî'ctcîsî no one knows what happened to them (literally, how their arrival) 40.15, 16

§ 132. The Suffixed Particle -û (-a^û)

It indicates an action, transitive or intransitive, that is performed near the speaker, and may be added to stems other than verbal. It always stands in final position as a loose suffix. Since similar formative elements expressing other locative categories were not found in Siuslaw, and in view of the fact that Alsea employs, besides this suffix, many other suffixes denoting location of action, I am inclined to believe that this element represents a formative element borrowed from Alsea. The Siuslaw render it by *HERE, THIS WAY*. A peculiar phonetic law seems to be intimately connected with this particle. When following the consonantic cluster *nx*, it causes the dropping of the *x* (see § 4). The interchange between *û* and *a^û* has been discussed in § 2.

ka^ûs = to follow 92.7

kî'wasî'yû'tsana^û you will overtake me 92.3

qa^wxûn above 80.12

yû^{wî}L'a'tx qa^wxûnû' it broke on top 94.4

qa'tcîntûx he will come
xwîl'Em come back!
lîû'ûnanx they come (trans.)

xî'ntanx they travel 88.20

ya'qu'yû'nanx thou art seen
qa'hâ'n from afar 56.8
sqâ'tem from there 34.3

qa'tcîntûxa^û nâtche will come to me
xwîl'Emâ^û come back this way!
lîû'ûnanâ^û tci'wa'nE they come
 out from the water

xî'ntana^û tî'mava they travel this
 way together

ya'qu'yû'nanâ^û thou art seen here
qa'hâ'hana^û lîû' he came from afar
sqâ'tmanû tsîl'!L'!L'!â^un I shoot at
 him from there

§ 133. *The Stem L!a'^{ai}*

The original function of this stem is that of a noun denoting PLACE, COUNTRY, GROUND, WORLD, and it occurs in this function in a great many instances. Its locative form is *L!aya'* or *L!ayû's* (see § 86).

mî'k!a L!a'^{ai} a bad world 29.8

yâk!îsk'înu' L!aya' uî tîyû'^{wi} on a small place they were living
 38.19

mî'tcîstûn L!ayû'stc he made (them) fall to the ground 94.7, 8

In most cases, however, it is used with a significance which, while intimately connected with its original meaning, seems to lend to it a peculiar function. Thus it is employed in the formation of verbs expressing meteorological phenomena, and serves as the (impersonal) subject of such verbs.

hî'n^sk!ya L!a'^{ai} it rained 78.1

k!u^wîna^{i'} L!a'^{ai} ice (appeared) all over 76.11

qa'ⁱxîxyax tE L!a'^{ai} it got dark 34.4

nâ'qutyax L!a'^{ai} it got cold 76.10, 11

hû^wnyax L!a'^{ai} it was dark (foggy) 34.8, 9

kumî'ntc wî'lîl ants L!a'^{ai} there was no low tide 34.22

qûûnEmâ^{i'} L!a'^{ai} (when) winter begins 78.5

From the Siuslaw point of view this application of *L!a'^{ai}* is perfectly justifiable, because to his mind verbs expressing natural phenomena represent real actions performed by the UNIVERSE as a personified subject. Consequently he renders our neutral phrases IT RAINS, etc., by THE WORLD RAINS, etc., using the noun *L!a'^{ai}* as the general subject of the action.

As a further consequence of this general significance, *L!a'^{ai}* is used to denote plurality of subjects and objects, especially in cases where the verb is used in its singular form (see §§ 78, 79, 139).

t!āmcī' l' mǎ *L!a'ai* all the children 34.6, 7

qīūtē' nī *L!a'ai* many women 82.14

sexā' tē qā' xam ants *L!a'ai* *tē' q* into the canoe were put many things 34.5

metē' tē tē xwā' ka ants *L!a'ai* one-sided their heads (of) those (people) 70.5, 6

yā' xā' xū' nhā' i *L!a'ai* they bet a great deal 70.6

hīq' ahā' nī *L!a'ai* many dentalia shells 70.6

tsī' k' ya mī' k' a wā' nō' wīs *L!a'ai* very bad (things existed) long ago 14.7

stīm *L!a'ai* *mā' q' īs* there they keep on dancing 29.3

vāā' a' tsmē ants *L!a'ai* *hītc* he said to all his people 7.1

pēkū' u *L!a'ai* they play shinny 9.4

L!ōxā' xā' tsmē hītc *L!a'ai* he sent all his people 30.1, 2

k' u' wī' nūn *L!a'ai* he made ice all over 94.2, 3

tē' t' a' t' ūn *L!a'ai* he caused the wind to blow all over 94.5

This stem occurs also as a suffix. In such cases it is abbreviated into *-L!* (see § 77).

§ 134. Nouns and Verbs as Qualifiers

Siuslaw has no means of indicating by a grammatical device the sex of a given noun; that is to say, it does not exhibit grammatical gender. Hence, whenever it is desired to distinguish between the male and the female of a species, the nouns *termū' nī* MAN and *qīūtē' nī* WOMAN are used as qualifying a given appellative term. The qualifying noun either precedes or follows the qualified term.

qīūtē' nī kwī' yōs a female dog

termū' nī kō' tan a male horse, stallion

tsī' sgan qīūtē' nī a female deer, doe

lā' kukyax hītū' tē termū' nya she took a male person 60.23

termū' nī tē' ax ants *t!āmc k' īx* they two had boys each (literally, male their [dual] those infants each [are]) 40.19

Not infrequently verbs are used to qualify the actions implied by another verbal stem. The qualifier has then the function of a modal adverb, and its significance may best be compared to that of our adverbs ending in *-LY*. The position of the qualifier is freely movable.

u' l' s lōxu' xū xwī' L!a' L! so down(-wardly) he came back (literally, he slid down and came back) 12.6

xawa' h̄tc ʷl kum̄i'ntc t̄c̄i'n̄l̄ xw̄i'L̄i'l̄ (when) a person dies, (he will) not come back (by way of) return(-ing) (literally, not he comes back [and] returns) 42.11

m̄ta't̄c̄ʷax ants tq̄ūb̄ū' waa' their (dual) father, that one, shouted, saying (literally, shouted [and] said) 52.8

§ 135. Particles as Verbs

The frequent use of particles as verbs constitutes a characteristic feature of Siuslaw that is chiefly due to the fact that the majority of stems are neutral, deriving their nominal or verbal significance from the nature of the suffix that is added to them (see § 22). Consequently any particle (or adverb) may serve as a verb when occurring with the proper verbalizing suffixes, mostly the pronominal and temporal elements.

ha'q shore (§ 119)

ha'q̄iqyax it was (coming) ashore 56.13

s̄a'tsa thus (§ 121)

yā'tsa s̄a'ts̄yax for a long time thus they (did) 11.3, 4

yā'a'xa' many (§ 124)

st̄imts ya'xt̄ūx there you two will multiply 32.6

a'l'dū likewise (§ 125)

al'twa'wanx also you (come) 16.4
a'l'tūtūnx h̄tcū'̄stc also you will (have) fun 22.8

ʷla'ʷx al'twa'̄' h̄itū'̄stc they two again were among people 98.17, 18

wa', waha' again (§ 126)

ʷl w̄an waha' ha'̄n qa'msk̄'̄tc finally again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21

wa't̄ūnx m̄q̄wa'LEMtc wa'as you will again (talk with) Crow's language 38.8, 9

l̄'yax- a while (§ 126)

l̄'yaxa'waxan a'sa'wax a little while I intend (doing it), (namely to) sleep 27.5, 6

n̄l'ctca (§ 131)

t̄c̄i'nta'̄ n̄l'ctca'̄ ants h̄tc whatever does a man 70.22

kum̄i'ntc̄x̄n n̄l'ctc̄s not we two (excl.) will keep on (going) 56.2

§ 136. The Conditional Clause

The rendering of the conditional clause in Siuslaw is accomplished in so many different ways, that it was thought best, for the sake of §§ 135-136

conciseness, to devote a separate section to this subject. The usual procedure is to introduce a conditional clause by means of the temporal adverb *ats* AT THAT TIME, WHEN (see § 120), or by means of either of these three related particles: *tsan*, *kūⁱ nàts*, *ants* (see § 131).

ats te'q waxa'yexayîm if something (will) be given to him 18.5

tsa'ntcî tû'ha sî'n'xyûn if you (to) buy want her 74.8

yā'xa' hîtc tem^wwa' sqa'k, *ants ha'qa' ants hamî' tcî* many people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22

kūⁱ nàts xā'wa^axa' tne if he had not been killed 29.7

There are, however, other ways of expressing a conditional clause that are resorted to more frequently than the process just mentioned. Of these, the use of the past tense as conveying conditionality is of an exceedingly frequent occurrence, and is due to the participial function that is assigned by the Siuslaw to that tense (see § 74). In such cases the conditional clause tends to precede the sentence expressing the co-ordinate thought, although instances of a reversed order are by no means rare. The verb of the co-ordinate clause takes usually (but not as a rule) the durative suffix (see § 69).

tcî'k^{enx} ya'xyaxa'ûn hîtc, *u^{enx} L'wa'nîsûn* if somewhere you see a person, you will tell of it (literally, having seen . . .) 38.12, 13
wa'sLⁱsyax tāqa'na, *u^{enx} tsî'k!ya qa'w'xûn wa'a's* if you get mad at anything, you very loud will always talk (literally, having become mad . . .) 36.11, 12

lî'wayaxx îng!^{a'îtc}, *u^{enx} qnû'wî'wûs* whenever they came into a river, they would find (literally, having come . . .) 66.21, 22
lî'una^wya^wx, *u^t s^eatsî'tc wa'yûn* when they two came together, then thus she said 46.7

îng!^{a'îtc} hîtc ta'yax, *u^t yā'xa' sîng!* if in the ocean a man lives, (very) much he is hungry 44.12, 13

tsî'k!ya hîs atsî'tc wa'yax very good (it would have been) if thus he had said 42.13

The conditional clause is also expressed by the use of the future tense.

sî'n'xyû'ne ts!îlna'tc xawa'a^w, *a^wstûxax* it was desired (that) with an arrow he (should) be killed, if he should (be a) sleep(er) 24.1
tsî'k!ya hîs t!ā'môins tcî'ntûx very good (would it be) if our children (dual incl.) should come back 42.6, 7

hawa'tûx te tsî'L!î, *u^{enx} tsî'L!a't^etûx* when finished will (be) these arrows, then we two (incl.) will shoot 50.14

sî'tûnx, *u^lnx qnî'x^ats xñî'wnîsûn* when (if) you will grow up, then you will do it 98.10

The conditional clause may also be expressed by the verb in its present tense.

sí' n'xyanx tít!aya', *ʷlɪnɪx nàtɛ lɪ'wɪs* if you want food, then you will always come to me 44.6

tɛ'q xawa' pɪ' tsís, *ʷl sʷàs tít!a'yūn ha'qyax* if something dies in the ocean, he eats it (it) having come ashore 44.19, 20

wɪLa' l!a' ai ʷl ha'qmas tɛl'wa xɪ'ntmɛ when the water is low, alongside of the beach he travels 46.16

tɛɪn hɪtsɪ'stɛ ants qwo'txaʷ, *atsɪ'tɛ waa'yūtsmɛ qɪ'ūtc* when he gets home, that Beaver, thus he says to his wife 48.17

§ 137. VOCABULARY

All Siuslaw words may be divided into two distinct classes, those of a denominating character and neutral stems. To the former belong all nouns of relationship, terms denoting parts of the body, animal names, words expressing natural objects, etc. These nouns never consist of more than three syllables. By far the greater part of the vocabulary consists of neutral stems, whose nominal or verbal function depends solely upon the sense in which they are used in a sentence and upon the functional value of the suffix with which they occur (see § 22). These stems are mostly monosyllabic, and consist of a vowel and consonant, of a consonant or consonantic cluster followed by a vowel, or (in most cases) of a consonant vowel and consonant.

aʷs- to sleep 24.1

anax- to give up 16.8

āq- to go away 52.10

īL!- to break 94.4

wa- to speak 7.1

taʷ- to sit, to live 16.2

sɪʷ- to grow 98.10

mɛq!- to dance 19.2

xāL!- to do, to make 50.8

yax- to see 20.10

wɪnx- to be afraid 17.6

qatcʷn- to go 8.2

āq- to take off 13.1

aʷq- to leave

aʷtc- to trade 36.4

qaa- to enter 34.5

xaiū- to die 16.8

ɪk!a- to open (one's mouth) 28.2

xɪntm- to travel 12.10

tqūl- to shout 52.8

ɔlʷx- to shake 27.2

L!wān- to tell 17.1

As examples of bisyllabic stems, the following may be given:

wasLʷs- to be angry 36.11, 12

qaqū'n- to listen

sɪnxi- to desire 11.7

tɛmū- to assemble 7.3

k!ā'laʷ- to be tired 36.21

xɪlʷxai- to work 48.10

ha'nʷnɪt!- to believe 46.3

Onomatopoeic expressions are exceedingly rare, being confined to three animal names and one verbal stem.

mî'temîtc grouse (probably called so from its cry *mî't-mî't*)

pūpuhū'nîk! owl

qō'qōq swan (white)

xūn- to snore

ʷl wàn xūʷn now he snores 27.9

A few terms appear in a reduplicated form (see § 109).

§ 138. STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES

The absence of nominal incorporation and polysynthesis as grammatical devices renders the Siuslaw sentence subject to easy analysis, and prevents the many complications that are met with in many other American languages. Each part of the sentence—such as subject, nominal object, predicate, and attribute—is expressed by means of a phonetically independent word. The successive order in which these parts of a sentence are arranged is arbitrary and exempt from any well-defined rules. The subject may be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, usage favoring its occurrence at the very end, especially in cases where the sentence contains a nominal subject and object.

lk!anū'kʷ ʷl meq!aʷ'tx ha'qmas līya'wa Screech-Owl was continually dancing alongside of the fire 86.2, 3

lk!anʷwa'kʷ wī'nxaʷn ants penʷ's Screech-Owl fears that Skunk 86.5

tsī'k!ya wī'nxaʷn ants penʷ's lk!anʷwa'kʷ very much is afraid of that Skunk, Screech-Owl 86.3

pī'tca'yaʷx lqatūwīyū's ants qīltcū'nī they two go over logs, these women 88.15, 16

Nominal objects may either precede or follow the subject of the sentence.

hīna'wūn ants pīna'st lk!anʷwa'kʷ she intends to take along that sick man, Screech-Owl 88.1, 2

waa'aʷn sqūmā' ants lq!al'ō'mā said Pelican to that Sea-Gull 44.17

Of a similar free position are those parts of the sentence that express adverbial ideas. They may precede or follow the verb.

ʷlaʷx tcī'watc hakwa'aʷ they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8

xa'lnt qa'wīntc lqatūwīyū'stc he climbs up on a tree 12.4

yāk!isk'īnū' L!aya' ʷl tīyū'wī on a small place they live 38.19

lī'kwa'yūnanx kʷ lt'ī'aʷ sēxaʷ you may get salmon in the boat 48.18

Nominal and adverbial attributive complements may precede or follow the noun or verb, excepting the demonstrative pronouns *ants*, *tē* (see § 115), which are usually placed immediately before the noun. Owing to the fact that all adjectives are intransitive verbs, they seldom refer to the noun, and are freely movable.

- yā'xa' hītc p̄lna'tx ha'* many people were sorry 15.4
yīxa'yūn hītc yā'xa' he saw many people
wī'na'x̄n tsī'k!ya tē penī's she was very much afraid of Skunk 86.1
tsī'k!ya'x̄ xaū' sī'nīxyūn very much they two wanted him to die 86.19
yūwa'yūn yā'xa' ants q!a'ūl they collected lots of that pitch 88.5, 6
lxa'yax̄a'w̄nī ants penī's that other skunk 86.18, 19
yīkt ants hītsī'i big (is) that house 25.2
hī'tc^{tc} nīctcīma^{mu} tē t!i a person's fashion (has) this Bear 60.26

The same freedom of order as is exhibited by the different parts of the sentence is found in the relative position of coordinate and subordinate sentences. Subordinate clauses are usually introduced by particles, and they may precede or follow the principal clause.

- wa' tē'wa ma^{tc} ants lqā''tū, ū' mīltca'* although in the water lay those logs, still (they) burned 32.22
nī'ctcīm sqā'k lī'wat!i, wa' yā'tsa because there he came frequently, even for a long time 68.4, 5
yā'xa' hītc, ū' tem'wa' sqā'k, ants ha'qa' ants hamī'tcī many people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22
tē'q xawa' pī'tsīs, ū' s^{as} kīt!a'yūn ha''qyax when something dies in the ocean, he eats it after it has come ashore 44.19, 20

§ 139. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Here belongs in first place the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives. The comparative degree is expressed by using the objective form of the pronoun (or noun) for the compared object, which is invariably placed at the end of the sentence. In some cases the idea of comparison is brought out more forcibly by the adverb *pēlī'tc* AHEAD, FIRST, following or preceding the object.

- s^à hīs nàtc* he is better than I (am)
na'han hī'sa nī'x^{tc} I am better than you (are)
yīktī'l măn s^{a'}na pēlī'tc I am taller than he (is)
yīkt s^à pēlī'tc na'tc^{nī} he is taller than we (are)

The superlative is expressed in the same manner, although the augmentative or diminutive suffixes (see §§ 83, 84) or the suffix *-ūnî* (see § 102) are preferably used to indicate the superlative degree.

l'na^{wi} s^a na'tcⁿxan he is (the) richest of us all

s^a yāk!i' sk'in tēxmū'nî he is the smallest man

na'han yîktî'l-mä I am the tallest

s^a yîktî' nî that biggest one

tū yāk!a'w' nî that smallest one 88.12

A very important example of idiomatic phraseology is the (colloquial) use of the singular number for the plural. It will be remembered that Siuslaw has only two suffixes expressing plurality, neither of which is used consistently (see §§ 79, 80). In many cases the adverb *yā'a'xai* MUCH, MANY (see § 121), the numeral particle *ha''mūt* ALL (see § 124) or the stem *L!a'ai* PLACE, WORLD (see § 133), is employed for the purpose of denoting plural subjects and objects, and, while these stems are at times used in conjunction with one of the plural suffixes, they more frequently express plurality without the aid of these suffixes; that is to say, the verb is more often used in the singular form.

yā'a'xai L!a'ai hîtc yîxa'yūn he saw many people 70.2

yā'a'xai hîtc plna'tx ha' many people were sorry 15.4

ha''mūt . . . tîkwa' all get it 82.6

lā'i'qat skwaha'i'tx xwāki' ants L!a'ai feathers have on their heads those people 10.9

Very often, however, the singular number has a plural function, even without the aid of any of these particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

s^aa'tsa tî't!a' tē ta'i'yax thus eat those who lived here 82.12

u't qqa'wîtc taya' they lived up stream 82.12, 13

u't tēm'wa' sqa'k they assemble there 82.21, 22

cî'n^axto ya'xai' ants ya'k^us three were the seals (literally, three his number, that seal) 62.16, 17

xā'ts!ū hîtc ūlqa' two people dig 84.2

sî'nⁱxyūn lq!ā'nū they wanted (to buy) hides 100.15

hîq!aha'w' nî ants xu'nha' ha'î'tsî nothing but dentalia shells these (people) bet 78.14

Another peculiar idiomatic expression is found in the manner of expressing an act performed by two subjects, both of whom are mentioned. This is usually done by adding the subjective pronoun for

the third person dual *-a^ux* (see § 24) to one of the subjects, using the other in its absolutive form. The noun taking the pronominal suffix occurs invariably in its discriminative form (see § 111). It is not absolutely necessary that these two subjects should follow each other in immediate succession.

s^ēa'tsate nîctcîma^ēmû te sqûma' wâ'nwîts lq!al·ôa'ma^ux thus was long ago the custom of pelican and sea-gull (literally, thus his custom, [of] this pelican long ago, [of] sea-gull, [of] them two) 48.4, 5

qwo'txaⁱ tsîmîl·a'wa^ux taⁱ beaver and muskrat lived 48.6

s^ēatsî'tc^wax halk! mǎ'q^uL te uma'tî^wax thus is told the story of Crow and Thunder (literally, thus their two, story, Crow [of] this [and] this Thunder [of them two]) 38.18

qîûtçî'l·mǎ tték^owa'ntc^wax taⁱ tî'mwa an old woman and her grandchild lived together (literally, old woman, her grandchild, they two, lived together) 96.15

u^ax stîm qa'txast ants tẏxmû'nî qayû'tc^ētc^wax they two there commenced to cry that man and his wife (literally, they two, there, commenced to cry, that man, his wife, they two) 58.17, 18

Lxat^yaxa^ū'nî ants penî's tsî'k!ya^ux xau' sî'nîxyûn ants plnast (he and) that other skunk very much they two wanted (that) that sick man (should) die 86.18, 19

An idiomatic expression of irregular occurrence is the formation of the imperative mode of a verb that is preceded by the stem *haû-* to STOP. Such a phrase consists of the imperative form of the verb to STOP followed by the demonstrative pronoun *s^ēâ*, and of the past tense of the verbal stem that expresses the prohibited action.

ha'ûm s^ēanx qâ'txyax quit crying! (literally, stop, this one you [who] has been crying)

ha'ûm s^ēanx tsî'L!yax stop shooting!

ha'ûm s^ēanx qâ'Lxyax stop counting!

The verb expressing the prohibited action may sometimes occur without the suffix for the past tense.

ha'ûmatçî s^ēa'tçî waana'wa stop talking to one another!

ha'ûm s^ēanx c^uxî'yûn te kô'tan stop scaring these horses!

As the last instance of idiomatic phraseology may be mentioned the use of the durative as a negative imperative, a use that has been fully discussed in §§ 40, 60, and 61.

TEXTS

THE DEATH OF GRIZZLY BEAR¹

Wā'nwīts. ²	Tsī'k'lyā ³	mī'k'la	wā'nwīts ²	Lī'aī. ⁴	Klēxū ⁵	Līayā ⁶
Long ago.	Very	bad	long ago	world.	Each on	place on
uī ⁷ s ⁸ ai ⁸	Lī'aī. ⁴	S ⁸ ai ⁸ tsa ³	hī'q'laq'iyax ⁹	wā'nwīts. ²	Mīya'k'la ¹⁰	hīya'te ¹¹
then	such	world.	Thus	it had started	long ago.	Bad
Person						
Itla'yūn. ¹²	Swāī ¹³	Itla'yūn ¹²	hītc	Lī'aī. ⁴	wā'nwīts. ²	Hītc
devoured him.	Grizzly	devoured	people	many	long ago.	Person
p ^a ai'Ln ¹⁴	qatc'naī ¹⁵	uī	s ⁸ ās ¹⁶	Līxmaī'yūs ¹⁷	uī	hīh'yūs. ¹⁸
to hunt	goes,	then	he	would kill him	and	would devour him.
Yā'a'xa ¹⁹	hītc	pīnaī'tx ²⁰	ha ¹	s ⁸ ai'na. ²¹	uī	tēmū'tx ²²
Many	persons	sorry their	hearts	for that.	Then	assemble (pl.)
people.						
Sin ²³ xyū ²⁴	xāLlā'ūltx. ²⁵	Tsīm ²⁶	xawa'a ²⁷	A'tsa ²⁸	uī	wān ²⁹
Desire (pl.)	be fixed his	Always	killed	That's	why	now
	(disposition).		shall be.			
tēmū'tx ²²	hītcū ³⁰	uī	waaī'tx ³¹	mātiyū ³²	te ³³	Lī'aī. ⁴
assemble (pl.)	people.	Then	say continually	chiefs (of)	this	region.
"Pla'ntxan ³⁴	ha ¹	tsī'k'lyā. ³	Nī'tcanī ³⁵	tēx ³⁶	xawa'ūn ³⁷	uī
"Sorry our	hearts	very.	How we	doubt	kill him?	For

¹ See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. IV, pp. 15 *et seq.*

² Temporal adverb (§ 120).

³ Modal adverb (§ 121).

⁴ See § 133.

⁵ *kīx* EACH, EVERY (§§ 124, 2); -*ū* local suffix of rest (§ 91).

⁶ *Lī'aī* particle (§ 133); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

⁷ Conjunction (§ 125).

⁸ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

⁹ *hīqī-* TO START, TO COMMENCE (§ 108); -*yax* past tense (§ 74).

¹⁰ Discriminative form of *mī'k'la* (§ 111).

¹¹ Discriminative form of *hītc* PERSON (§ 111).

¹² *hīl-* TO EAT (§ 12); -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹³ Discriminative form of *swāī* GRIZZLY BEAR (§ 111).

¹⁴ Transposed from *palnaī'* (§ 14); *paln-* TO HUNT; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75).

¹⁵ *qatcn-* TO GO, TO START; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 136).

¹⁶ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

¹⁷ *Līxmaī-* TO KILL; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); -*ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

¹⁸ *hīl-* TO EAT; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

¹⁹ Modal adverb (§ 121).

²⁰ *pīn-* TO BE SICK; -*aitx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

²¹ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

²² *tēmū-* TO ASSEMBLE; -*tx* plural (§ 80).

²³ *hītc* PERSON; -*ūu* plural (§ 79).

²⁴ *sinxi-* TO WANT, TO DESIRE; -*ūu* plural (§§ 79, 8).

²⁵ *xāLl-* TO MAKE, TO FIX; -*ūltx* passive (§ 39).

²⁶ Temporal adverb (§ 120).

²⁷ *xaiū-* TO DIE; -*aa* future passive (§§ 56, 8).

²⁸ Modal adverb (§ 121); *a'tsa uī* FOR THAT REASON (§ 125).

²⁹ Temporal particle (§ 126).

³⁰ *hītc* PERSON; -*ūwi* plural (§ 79).

³¹ *waa-* TO SPEAK; -*aitx* frequentative (§§ 68, 9).

³² *māā'ī* CHIEF (§ 98); -*ūu* plural (§§ 79, 8).

³³ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

³⁴ Abbreviated; for *pla'ntxanxan*; *pīn-* TO BE SICK (§ 112); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); -*naxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

³⁵ *nī'tca* particle (§ 131); -*nī* inclusive plural (§ 24).

³⁶ Particle (§ 127).

³⁷ *xaiū-* TO DIE (§ 112); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

kumí'ntc ³⁸ not	xa'wīl ³⁹ he die not	tsīL'ī'tc. ⁴⁰ arrow through.	A'tsan ⁴¹ Thus I	uIn ⁴² so I	kumí'ntc ³⁸ not				
sín'xyūn ⁴³ want it	tsīL'ī'tc. ⁴⁰ arrow with	L'xmayá'a ⁴⁴ killed he shall be."	u ⁴⁵ Then	wàn ²⁹ finally	waa'tx ⁴⁵ say (pl.)	hītcū'u ²³ people,			
k'īnk'ya'a ⁴⁶ it will be gone and seen	nī'tca ⁴⁷ how	tē ³³ this	ta ⁴⁸ lives.	S ^a 'tsa ³ Thus	tū'na'a ⁴⁹ he will be invited.	u ⁴⁵ Then	wàn ²⁹ now		
qa'tc'ntx ⁵⁰ go (pl.)	k'īnk't'ū'wī ⁵¹ searchers.	u ⁴⁵ Then	wàn ²⁹ now	L'īL'wa'xam. ⁵² he is approached.	Līū'ūn. ⁵³ He got there.				
"K'lahá'yū'nanx ⁵⁴ al'twa'wanx ⁵⁵ hūtcū'ustc ⁵⁶ L'aya'tc." ⁵⁷						Kumí'ntc ³⁸ Not			
"Invited art thou, also about thou fun to place to."									
a'mhate ⁵⁸ willing his	ha ¹ mind.	u ⁴⁵ So	tea'xa'ūt ⁵⁹ goes back	u ⁴⁵ and	tcīn ⁶⁰ goes home	ants ⁶⁰ that	hītc. man.	u ⁴⁵ And	s ^a 'atsī'tc ⁶¹ thus
L'wa'n. ⁶² relates.	"Kumí'ntc ³⁸ a'mhate ⁵⁸ ha ¹ ."		S ^a 'atsī'tc ⁶¹ L'wa'n ⁶² ants ⁶⁰		relates that				
"Not willing his mind."		Thus relates that							
hītc. man.	Yā'a'xa ¹¹⁹ Much	hūtcū'u ⁶³ fun	L'a'ai ⁴ they (of)	ants ⁶⁰ that	temū'uwi ⁶⁴ assembly.	u ⁴⁵ Then	waa'xam ⁶⁵ is told		
ants ⁶⁰ that	s ^a ē ⁶⁶ who	qa'tc'ntūx. ⁶⁷ go will.	"Kumí'ntcīn ⁶⁸ ana'xyūn. ⁶⁹ Ats ⁷⁰		Not we give it up will. When				
xa'ūtūx, ⁷¹ then we		ana'xyūn." ⁷² give it up will."		Atsī'tc ⁷³ Thus	L'ōn'txa'ū'ne. ⁷⁴ it is repeatedly said.				

³⁸ Particle of negation (§ 131).³⁹ xaū- TO DIE; -ū negative (§§ 53, 8).⁴⁰ tsīL'ī' ARROW (§ 98); -ītc adverbial (§§ 94, 9, 12).⁴¹ a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).⁴² u THEN (§ 125); -n 1st person singular (§ 24). a'tsan uIn FOR THAT REASON I (§ 125). Singular instead of plural (§ 139). Should have been a'tsanxan uInxan.⁴³ sín'xy- TO DESIRE (§ 4); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 24, 28, 8).⁴⁴ L'xmai- TO KILL; -aaw future passive (§§ 56, 8).⁴⁵ waa- TO SAY; -tx plural (§ 80).⁴⁶ k'īnk'ī- TO GO AND LOOK; -aaw future passive (§§ 56, 8).⁴⁷ Particle (§ 131).⁴⁸ t- (f) TO LIVE, TO RESIDE; -aī verbalizing (§ 75).⁴⁹ tū'na- TO INVITE; -aaw future passive (§ 56).⁵⁰ qatcn- TO START, TO GO (§ 4); -tx plural (§ 80).⁵¹ k'īnk'ī- TO GO AND LOOK; -tū'wī nominal (§ 99).⁵² L'īū- TO COME, TO APPROACH (§§ 107, 112); -xam present passive (§§ 55).⁵³ L'īū- TO ARRIVE, TO COME; -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 10).⁵⁴ k'a'- TO INVITE; -aī verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); -ū'ne passive (§§ 56, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).⁵⁵ Contracted; for al'twa'wanxan (§ 9); a't-dē LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); -aaw intentional (§§ 70, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).⁵⁶ hūtcū'u FUN (§ 97); -ūs locative case (§§ 86, 9); -tc local (§ 90).⁵⁷ L'a'ai GROUND (§ 133); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8); -tc local (§ 90).⁵⁸ a'mha WILLING; -tc possessive 3d person singular (§ 88).⁵⁹ tca'xū- TO TURN BACK; -t present (§§ 72, 2).⁶⁰ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).⁶¹ s^a'atsa THUS (§ 121); -ītc modal (§§ 94, 9).⁶² L'ōn- TO RELATE (§ 112).⁶³ hūtc- TO PLAY; -ū nominal (§ 97).⁶⁴ temū- TO ASSEMBLE; -ūwī nominal (§§ 97, 9).⁶⁵ waa- TO SPEAK, TO SAY; -xam present passive (§ 55).⁶⁶ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).⁶⁷ qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73).⁶⁸ kumí'ntc NOT (§ 131); -nī inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).⁶⁹ anx- TO GIVE UP; -yūn exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 112).⁷⁰ Temporal adverb (§ 120).⁷¹ xaū- TO DIE; -tūx future (§ 73).⁷² u THEN (§ 125); -nī inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).⁷³ a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -ītc modal (§§ 94, 9).⁷⁴ L'ōn- TO TELL, TO SAY; -ītx frequentative (§ 68); -a'ne passive (§ 58).

u ¹	wàn ²⁹	L!ōxa'xam ⁷⁵	waa'xam ⁶⁵	ants ⁶⁰	hītc.	Sukwī'tc ⁷⁶	tsīnqlt ⁷⁷
Then	finally	is sent	is told	that	man.	Very	poor
ants ⁶⁰	hītc	L!ōxa'xam. ⁷⁵	"Hī'sanx ⁷⁸	L!wa'nīsūn. ⁷⁹	Kwīnx ⁸⁰	nīctē'tc ⁸¹	
that	man	who is sent.	"Well thou	shalt tell him.	Not thou	what-like	
L!wa'nīsūn ⁷⁹	mī'k'la'na. ⁸²	L!wa'nīsūnanx ⁸³	s ^e atsī'tc, ⁶¹	'Sī'n ^e xyūt-			
shalt tell him	bad-ly.	Shalt tell him thou	thus,	'Desire			
sanxan ⁸⁴	Lī'ūtūx ⁸⁵	tū'uts. ⁸⁶	Tsī'k'yanxan ⁸⁷	sī'n ⁱ xyūn ⁴³	hūtc'a'u. ⁷⁸		
we-thee	come shall	here.	Very we	want it	fun shall be		
					(had). ⁷		
Atsī'tc ⁸⁹	L!wā'nīsūn. ⁷⁹	Kwīnx ⁸⁰	L!wā'nīsūn ⁷⁹	mī'k'la'na. ⁸²			
Thus thou	shalt tell him.	Not thou	shalt tell him	bad-ly.			
Yā'a'xa'tc ⁹⁰	ha ⁱ ,	tsī'k'ya ³	mī'k'la." ⁹¹	u ¹	wàn ²⁹	qa'tc'nt ⁹¹	ants ⁶⁰
Much his	mind,	very	bad."	So	finally	starts	that
hītc.	Wīnx	tsī'k'ya. ³	"L!wa'xan ⁹²	tā'kīn ⁹³	Lūū." ⁹⁴	u ¹	wàn ²⁹
man.	He fears	very.	"Messenger I	this I	come."	Then	now
wīlwa ⁱ . ⁹⁴	"Nīctē'tcanx ⁹⁵	wa'a'yaxa ^ū s ⁹⁶	ants ⁶⁰	Lī'ūyax? ⁹⁷			
he assents.	"What-like thee	told he-thee	that (who)	came?"—			
"Kumī'ntc ³⁸	nīctē'tc ⁸¹	wa'aī. ⁹⁸	Txūn ⁹⁹	L!ōna'yūtnē ¹⁰⁰	s ^e atsī'tc. ⁶¹		
"Not	what-like	he said.	Just I	am told	thus:		
'k'laha'yū'nīn. ¹⁰¹	Atsī'tcīn ¹⁰²	L!ōna'yūts. ¹⁰³	'Tsī'k'yanx ¹⁰⁴	sī'n ⁱ xyūn ⁴³			
'invited am I.'	Thus me	he tells he-me.	'Very they	want it			

⁷⁵ L!ōx- TO SEND; -xam present passive (§§ 55, 4).

⁷⁶ Modal adverb (§§ 121, 94).

⁷⁷ tsīnql- TO BE POOR; -t nominal (§ 104).

⁷⁸ hī's GOOD; -a modal (§ 96); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

⁷⁹ L!ōn- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).

⁸⁰ kū' NOT (§ 131); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

⁸¹ nī'ctca WHAT (§ 131); -ītc modal (§§ 94, 9).

⁸² mī'k'la BAD (§ 96); -'na modal (§ 94).

⁸³ L!ōn- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁸⁴ sī'nā- TO DESIRE; -ūtsanxan direct object of first and second persons WE-THEE (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 473).

⁸⁵ Lūū- TO COME; -tūx future (§ 73).

⁸⁶ Local adverb (§ 119).

⁸⁷ tsī'k'ya VERY (§ 121); -nxan exclusive plural (§ 24).

⁸⁸ hūtc- TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; -aa^u future passive (§ 56).

⁸⁹ atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -nx 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹⁰ yā'a'xaⁱ MUCH (§ 121); -tc possessive 3rd person singular (§ 88).

⁹¹ qatcn- TO START (§ 4); -t present (§ 72).

⁹² Contracted; for L!ō'waxaxan (§ 24); L!ōx- TO SEND (§ 112); -ax nominal (§ 101); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹³ tūū THIS (§ 115); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹⁴ wīlū- TO AFFIRM, TO AGREE, TO ASSENT; -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

⁹⁵ nī'ctca WHAT (§ 131); -ītc modal (§§ 94, 9); -nx 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹⁶ waa- TO SAY; -yax past (§ 74); -a^ūs direct object of first and second persons (§ 29).

⁹⁷ Lūū- TO COME; -yax past (§ 74).

⁹⁸ waa- TO SAY; -aⁱ negative (§§ 53, 9).

⁹⁹ txū JUST (§ 130); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).

¹⁰⁰ L!ōn- TO TELL; -aⁱ verbalizing (§ 75); -ūtnē passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹⁰¹ k'la- TO INVITE; -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); -ū'nē passive (§§ 58, 8); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).

¹⁰² atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁰³ L!ōn- TO TELL; -aⁱ verbalizing (§ 75); -ūts direct object of first person and second persons (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 480).

¹⁰⁴ tsī'k'ya VERY (§ 121); -nx 3d person plural (§ 24).

Līwa'wax. ¹⁰⁵	S ^E atsi'tcīn ¹⁰⁶	L'owa'x ¹⁰⁷	tā'kīn ⁹³	līū'.'''	S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹
intend to come	Thus I	messenger	this I	come.'''	Thus
(thou).					
waa'.' ¹⁰⁸	"Te''qīn ¹⁰⁹	waxaū'mē ¹¹⁰	tā'kīn ⁹³	k!aha'yū'nē? ¹¹¹ —	
he says.	"Something I	be given	this I (who)	am invited?''—	
"Kumīn'ntc ³⁸	nīctcī'tc ⁶¹	wa'aū'tnē. ¹¹²	Txū ¹¹³	wān ⁷	hūtcū' ¹¹⁴
"Not	anything	is said.	Just	now	have fun
L'la' ^{al} . ⁴	S ^E a'tsa ³	tanx ¹¹⁵	sī'n ^E xyūtne ¹¹⁶	Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵ —	"S ^E atsi'tc ^{Enx} ¹¹⁷
many.	Thus	this thou	art wanted	come shall."—	"Thus thou
L'wa'nīs, ¹¹⁸	Sī'nxīt ¹¹⁹	tāqa'na. ¹²⁰	Ats ⁷⁰	te'q ¹²⁰	waxa'yexayīm, ¹²¹ u!
shalt tell,	He wants	something.	When	something	be given to him, then
wān ²⁹	Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵	S ^E atsi'tc ^{Enx} ¹¹⁷	waa'yūts. ¹²²		
finally	he come will.	Thus thee	tells he-thee."		
u!	s ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	waa' ants ⁶⁰	a'laq ¹²³	hītc.	"Txū ¹¹³ yā'a'xa'tc ⁹⁰
Then	thus	says	that	one	man.
ha ¹ .	S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	sī'n'xya, ¹²⁴	nī'ctcīn ¹²⁵	s ^E ās ¹⁶	k!xa'yūn ¹²⁸ te ³³
mind.	Thus	he desires,	because	he	kills
hītc.	A'tsa ^{u!} ²⁸	yā'a'xa'tc ⁹⁰	ha ¹ ."	Atsi'tc ⁷³	waa' ants ⁶⁰ hītc.
people.	That's why	much his	mind."	Thus	says that man.
"Atsi'tc ⁷³	waa'xam, ⁶⁵	'Mēq!ē'na'a ^u . ¹²⁷	Hūya'ūltx ¹²⁸	ha ¹ .	Tsī'k!ya ³
"Thus	he is told,	'It will be danced	Changed his	mind.	Very
		for him.	(will be)		
planya't!yūn ¹²⁹	ha'tc. ¹³⁰	S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	waa'.' ¹⁰⁸	'Ats ⁷⁰	te'q ¹²⁰
sorry continually for	him	mind his,	Thus	he says.	'When something
wā'xyaxaū'mē, ¹³¹	u!	Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵	S ^E atsi'tcīn ¹⁰⁶	wa'a'ā'ūts. ¹³²	
be given to him,	then	he come will.	Thus me	tells he-me."	

¹⁰⁵ Līū- TO COME; -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8).

¹⁰⁶ s^Eatsi'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁰⁷ Contracted; for L'owa'xax (§ 24); L'ōx- TO SEND (§ 112); -ax nominal (§ 101).

¹⁰⁸ waa- TO SAY; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 9).

¹⁰⁹ te'q pronominal particle (§ 123); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹¹⁰ wax- TO GIVE; -ā'mē passive (§ 38).

¹¹¹ k!a'- TO INVITE (§ 8); -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ā'nē passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹¹² waa- TO SAY; -ā'ūtnē passive (§ 58).

¹¹³ Restrictive particle (§ 130).

¹¹⁴ hūtc- TO HAVE FUN; -ū plural (§ 79).

¹¹⁵ tāq THIS (§ 115); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 16).

¹¹⁶ sīnā- TO DESIRE; -ūtnē passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹¹⁷ s^Eatsi'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹¹⁸ L'ōn- TO RELATE (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69).

¹¹⁹ sīnā- TO DESIRE; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -t present (§ 72).

¹²⁰ Pronominal particle (§ 123).

¹²¹ Mis-heard for wā'xyaxaū'mē; wāx- TO GIVE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -ā'mē passive (§ 38).

¹²² waa- TO SAY; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -ā'ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 466, § 8).

¹²³ Numeral (§ 116).

¹²⁴ sīnā- TO DESIRE (§§ 112, 8).

¹²⁵ Particle (§ 128).

¹²⁶ k!a- TO DISAPPEAR; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹²⁷ maq!- TO DANCE; -in verbal (§§ 81, 2); -āu passive (§ 56).

¹²⁸ hūya- TO CHANGE; -ūltx passive (§ 39).

¹²⁹ Contracted; for planya'ya't!yūn; pln- TO BE SORRY (§ 112); -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -at!i frequentative (§ 68); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹³⁰ ha!- MIND, HEART (§ 98); -tc possessive 3d person singular (§§ 88, 139).

¹³¹ wax- TO GIVE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -ā'mē passive (§ 38).

¹³² waa- TO SAY; -ā'ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).

u ¹	wàn ²⁹	qa'te ⁿ t ⁹¹	ants ⁶⁰	hite	waha'. ¹³³	"S ^e atsi'te ⁿ x ¹¹⁷
Then	now	starts	that	man	again.	"Thus thou
wa'a'sūn. ¹³⁴	'Waxa'yimanx ¹³⁵	qanī'na ¹ .	A tsi'te ⁿ x ⁸⁹	L!ōna'yūn. ¹³⁶		
shalt tell him.	'Is given to thee	knife.'	Thus thou	tell him.		
'Lī'mqanx ¹³⁷	qa'te ⁿ tūx, ⁸⁷	k!aha'yū'nanx. ⁵⁴	Hūtcū'wi ¹¹⁴	L!a'ai ⁴		
'Quick thou	start shalt,	invited art thou.	Play	many		
yā'a'xai. ¹⁹	Sī'nīxyū'nanx ¹³⁸	Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵	Atsi'te ⁿ x ⁸⁹	L!ōna'yūn. ¹³⁶		
much.	Wanted art thou	come shall.'	Thus thou	tell him.'		
Cī'nīxyat!ya ¹³⁹	ants ⁶⁰	hite	L!ōxa'a'u. ¹⁴⁰	"Qna'han ¹⁴¹	waa'yūn. ¹⁴²	
Thinks continually	that	man (who)	sent will be.	"I	say to him.	
L!xū'yūn ¹⁴³	qna'han ¹⁴¹	nīctei'te ⁸¹	waa'yūn, ¹⁴²	u ¹	hī'nak! ¹⁴⁴	
Know it	I	what-like	say to him,	and	right away	
qa'te ⁿ tūx. ⁸⁷	u ¹	wàn ²⁹	qa'te ⁿ t ⁹¹	ants ⁶⁰	hite.	"Qna'han ¹⁴¹
he start will."	Then	now	goes	that	man.	"I
waa'yūn, ¹⁴²	u ¹	hī'nak! ¹⁴⁴	qa'te ⁿ tūx. ⁸⁷			
say to him,	and	right away	he start will."			
Atsi'te ⁷³	cī'nīxyat!ya ¹³⁹	ants ⁶⁰	hite.	u ¹	xīnt	u ¹
Thus	thinks continually	that	man.	So	he goes	and arrives.
					He comes	to him.
"L!owa'xan ⁹²	tā'kīn ⁹³	Līū'.	Tsi'k!yanx ¹⁴⁵	sī'nīxyū'ne ¹⁴⁶	Līwa'wax. ¹⁰⁵	
"Messenger I	this I	come.	Very thou	art wanted	intend to come.	
Kū'yā'tsac	L!a'ai ¹⁴⁷	u ¹	smū't ⁸ tūx ¹⁴⁸	ants ⁶⁰	L!a'ai ⁴	hūtcū'u. ⁶³
Pretty soon	then	end will	that	big	fun.	
Atsi'tcīn ¹⁰²	waa'yūtne. ¹⁴⁹	Na'm ⁸ linx ¹⁵⁰	te'q. ¹²⁰	Nīctei'tcanx ⁹⁵		
Thus I	am told.	Mine thou	relative.	What manner thou		
tanx ¹¹⁵	kū ¹⁵¹	a'mha'ti ¹⁵²	ha ¹ ?"	Atsi'te ⁷³	waa'aūn. ¹⁵³	"Yā'a'.
this thou	not	willing (thy)	mind?"	Thus he	says to him.	"Much
xa'txan ¹⁵⁴	ha ¹ .	S ^e a'tsan ¹⁵⁵	te ³³	kumī'nte ³⁸	a'mha'ti ¹⁵²	ha ¹ .
(think in my)	mind.	Thus I	this	not	willing (my)	mind.
						Just I

¹³³ Temporal particle (§ 126).¹³⁴ waa- TO SAY; -a's durative (§§ 69, 9); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).¹³⁵ wax- TO GIVE; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ine passive (§§ 38, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).¹³⁶ L!ōn- TO RELATE; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).¹³⁷ Lī'mqa RIGHT AWAY (§§ 120, 96); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).¹³⁸ sīnxi- TO DESIRE; -ū'ne passive (§§ 58, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).¹³⁹ cīnxi- TO THINK (§ 4); -a'i frequentative (§§ 68, 8, 7).¹⁴⁰ L!ōx- TO SEND; -aa' future passive (§ 56).¹⁴¹ q- discriminative (§ 21); na'han personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).¹⁴² waa- TO SAY; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).¹⁴³ L!xu- TO KNOW; -ū' verbalizing (§§ 76, 9); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).¹⁴⁴ Temporal adverb (§ 120).¹⁴⁵ tsi'k!ya VERY (§§ 121, 96); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).¹⁴⁶ sīnxi- TO DESIRE (§ 4); -ū'ne passive (§§ 58, 8).¹⁴⁷ Temporal adverb (§ 120).¹⁴⁸ smū't- TO END, TO FINISH; -tūx future (§§ 73, 4).¹⁴⁹ waa- TO SAY; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ūtne passive (§§ 58, 8).¹⁵⁰ Contracted; for na'm⁸lin⁸nx (§ 15); nū I (§ 113); -eml relative (§§ 87, 9); -in possessive 1st singular (§ 88); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).¹⁵¹ Particle of negation (§ 131).¹⁵² a'mha WILLING; -a' possessive (§§ 88, 9).¹⁵³ waa- TO SAY; -aūn direct object of third person (§ 28).¹⁵⁴ yā'a'xai MUCH (§ 121); -tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 83); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).¹⁵⁵ s^ea'tsa THUS (§ 121); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).

¹⁵⁶ k'unā perhaps ¹⁵⁷ xa'wa to die ¹¹⁶ sī'n'xyūtne. am wanted. ¹⁵⁵ S^Ea'tsan Thus I ¹⁵⁸ u'in and I ¹⁵⁹ yā'xa'tī much (think in my) ¹⁵⁹ ha'.—"mind."—
 "Kumí'nte³⁸ s^Eatsī'tc.⁶¹ txūnx¹⁶⁰ ya'xa¹⁶¹ sī'n'xyūtne.¹¹⁶ S^Ea'tsanx¹⁶²
 "Not thus, just thou to see art wanted. Thus thou
 te³³ k!aha'yū'ne.¹¹¹ Txūnx¹⁶⁰ wān²⁹ hī'sa¹⁶³ hawa'yime¹⁶⁴ ha'.
 this art invited. Just thee now well (towards) it is made mind.
 TE'q^{enx}¹⁶⁵ waxa'ū'me.¹¹⁰ S^Ea'tsanx¹⁶² te³³ k!aha'yū'ne.¹¹¹ Na'm^E-
 Something thee it is given. Thus thou this art invited. Mine
 līnx¹⁵⁰ te'q.¹²⁰ s^Ea'tsanx¹⁶² tanx¹¹⁵ līkwa'yūts¹⁶⁶ qnā.¹⁶⁷ S^Eatsī'-
 thou relative, thus thee this thee fetch I-thee I. Thus
 tcīn¹⁰⁶ tā'kīn⁹³ lī'mqa¹⁶⁸ Līū'. Qanī'nal waxa'ū'manx.¹⁶⁹ S^Ea'-
 I this I quickly come. Knife is given to thee. Thus
 tsanx¹⁶² tanx¹¹⁵ k!aha'yū'ne,¹¹¹ s^Ea'tsa³ tā'kīn⁹³ Līū', nī'ctcī-
 thou this thou art invited, thus this I come, because
 m^{enx}¹⁷⁰ na'm^El¹⁷¹ te'q.¹²⁰ S^Ea'tsanx¹⁶² te³³ Līū'ūts¹⁷² qnā.¹⁶⁶
 thou me of relative. Thus thee this come I-thee I.
 Sī'n'xyūtsanx¹⁷³ qnā¹⁶⁶ hūtea'wax.¹⁷⁴ S^Ea'tsanx¹⁶² te³³ Lī'l'ūtūts.¹⁷⁵
 Want I-thee I intend to play. Thus thou this approach I-thee.
 S^Eatsī'tcīn¹⁷⁶ ha'. kumí'nte³⁸ k'unā¹⁵⁶ te'q¹²⁰ mī'k!a'na⁸²
 Thus my mind, not perhaps something badly
 nīx'atc.¹⁷⁷ A'tsan⁴¹ te³³ nā¹⁷⁸ L!ōxa'xam.⁷⁵ — "Ha'ū!¹⁷⁹ Tsi'k!yanx¹⁴⁵
 thee to. Thus I this I am sent," — "Yes! Very thou
 mī'k!a. L!xma'yanxīn¹⁸⁰ sī'n'xyūts.¹⁸¹ S^Ea'tsan¹⁵⁵ kū¹⁵¹ a'mba'tī¹⁵²
 bad. Kill they me want he-me. Thus I not willing (my)
 ha'.—"Kumí'nte³⁸ k'unā¹⁵⁶ s^Eatsī'tc.⁶¹ S^Ea'tsan¹⁵⁵ tā'kīn⁹³ nā¹⁷⁸
 mind."—"Not perhaps thus. Thus I this I I

¹⁵⁶ Dubitative particle (§ 127).

¹⁵⁷ xa'w- TO DIE (§ 112).

¹⁵⁸ u' THEN (§ 125); -n 1st person singular (§ 24); s^Ea'tsa u' THAT'S WHY.

¹⁵⁹ yā'xa'tī MUCH (§ 121); -a'itī possessive (§§ 88, 9).

¹⁶⁰ txū JUST (§ 130); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹⁶¹ yax- TO SEE (§ 112).

¹⁶² s^Ea'tsa THUS (§ 121); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹⁶³ hīs GOOD; -a modal (§ 96).

¹⁶⁴ hāū- TO MAKE, TO FINISH; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -ime passive (§§ 88, 8).

¹⁶⁵ te'q SOMETHING (§ 123); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁶⁶ lākū- TO TAKE, TO FETCH (§ 12); -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480 and § 8).

¹⁶⁷ q- discriminative (§ 21); nā personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

¹⁶⁸ Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

¹⁶⁹ wax- TO GIVE; -a'ime passive (§ 38); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹⁷⁰ nī'ctcīn BECAUSE (§ 128); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁷¹ nā personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113); -xmī relative (§§ 87, 9).

¹⁷² Līū- TO COME; -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, § 10).

¹⁷³ sinxi- TO DESIRE; -ūtsanx direct object of first and second persons I-thee (§ 29, Table, p. 473, § 8).

¹⁷⁴ hūte- TO PLAY; -awax intentional (§ 70).

¹⁷⁵ Līū- TO APPROACH (§ 107); -t present (§ 72); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).

¹⁷⁶ s^Eatsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -in possessive 1st singular (§ 88).

¹⁷⁷ Objective form of personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).

¹⁷⁸ Personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

¹⁷⁹ Particle of affirmation (§ 131).

¹⁸⁰ L!xmī- TO KILL; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -nx 3d person plural (§ 24); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁸¹ sinxi- TO DESIRE; -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§§ 29, 8, Table, p. 480).

Ll'ōxa'xam. ⁷⁵	S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	nàts, ¹⁸²	kū ⁱ¹⁵¹	nàts ¹⁸²	nà ¹⁷³	Ll'ō'xyaxa ^ū nē. ¹⁸³
am sent.	Thus	if not,	not	conditional	I	had been sent.
Qa'tc'ntūnx ¹⁸⁴	wàn? ²⁹	—	“Qa'tc'ntūnx. ¹⁸⁵	Hi'sanx ⁷⁸	mā'nīsūts ¹⁸⁶	
Start wilt thou	now?”	—	“Go will I.	Well thou	shalt watch	thou-me
qn'x'ats.” ¹⁸⁷	S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	waa'a ^ū n. ¹⁵³	“Ha ^ū ! ¹⁷⁹	Atsi'tcīn ¹⁸⁸	ha ⁱ .	
thou.”	Thus	he tells him.	“All right!	Thus my	mind.	
Kum'ntc ³⁸	k ^ū nà ¹⁵⁶	tē'q ¹²⁰	mī'k'la'na ⁸²	tē ³³	hūtcū ^{u63}	L'la'ai.” ⁴ —
Not	perhaps	something	bad-ly	this	fun	big.” —
“Ha ^ū , ¹⁷⁹	qa'tc'ntūnx ¹⁸⁵	wàn. ²⁹	Kum'ntc ³⁸	wàn ²⁹	tē'q, ¹²⁰	xaū'-
“Yes,	start will I	now.	Not	now	something,	die
tūxan.” ¹⁸⁹	S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	waa' ⁱ¹⁰⁸	u ¹	hī'q'la'it. ¹⁹⁰	“Kum'ntc ³⁸	k ^ū nà ¹⁵⁶
if will I.”	Thus	he says and	starts.	“Not	perhaps	
wàn ²⁹	s ^E atsi'tc. ⁶¹	Qa'tc'ntūnx? ²⁹	Atsi'tc ⁷⁸	waa'a ^ū n. ¹⁵³	“Tsī'k'!	
now	thus.	Go wilt thou?”	Thus	he tells him.	“Very	
yanx ¹⁴⁵	qnà ¹⁸⁶	sī'n'xyūts. ¹⁸¹	A'l'tūtūnx ¹⁹¹	hūtcū ^u 'stc.” ⁵⁶	Atsi'tc ⁷³	
thee	I	like I-thee.	Also shalt thou	fun to.”	Thus	
waa'ūn. ¹⁹²	“Qa'tc'ntūnx ¹⁸⁵	wàn.” ²⁹	u ¹	wàn ²⁹	qa'tc'nt. ⁹¹	Cī'n'ix-
he tells him.	“Go will I	now.”	Then	finally	he starts.	Keeps
yat'lis ¹⁹³	ants ⁶⁰	hītc	la'k'ut!wī. ¹⁹⁴	S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	cī'n'xyat'lis. ¹⁹³	
on thinking	that	man	fetcher.	Thus	he thinks continually.	
Qa'tc'nta ^u x ¹⁹⁵	wàn. ²⁹	Līwī'tc ^{wax} ¹⁹⁶	wàn ²⁹	xīnt.	u ¹ la ^u x ¹⁹⁷	s ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹
Go they two	now.	“Approach, man-	now	go.	So they two	thus
		ner of, they two				
waa'xam. ⁶⁵	“Xumca'ca ^u x ¹⁹⁸	wàn. ²⁹	Hīna'yūn ¹⁹⁹	wàn ²⁹	tē ³³	mī'k'la
are told.	“Come they two	now.	He brings him	now	this	bad
hītc.”	Tc!ha ^u cyaxam ²⁰⁰	wàn. ²⁹	Wàn ²⁹	te ⁱ n.	T!emt!ma'xam ²⁰¹	wàn. ²⁹
man.”	Gladness was felt	now.	Finally	he	He is assembled about	now.
				returns.		
“Tsī'k'yanx ¹⁴⁵	hīs tanx ¹¹⁵	Līū',	ts'īl'mūt.	Hū'tetūn! ²⁰²	yā'a'xa.” ²⁰³	
“Very thou	good this thou	comest,	friend.	Play will we	much.”	

¹⁸² Participle (§ 131).¹⁸³ Ll'ōx- TO SEND; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -a^ūnē passive (§ 58).¹⁸⁴ Contracted; for qa'tc'ntūnxanx (§ 24); qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).¹⁸⁵ qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).¹⁸⁶ mām- TO WATCH; -is durative (§ 69); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480).¹⁸⁷ q- discriminative (§ 21); nīxats personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).¹⁸⁸ atsi'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -in possessive 1st singular (§ 88).¹⁸⁹ xaū- TO DIE; -tūx future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).¹⁹⁰ hīq/- TO START, TO COMMENCE; -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -t present (§ 72).¹⁹¹ Contracted; for a'l'tūtūnxanx (§ 24); a'l'dū LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); -tūx future (§ 73); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).¹⁹² waa- TO SAY; -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).¹⁹³ cīn- TO THINK (§ 4); -at'ī frequentative (§§ 68, 8); -ts durative (§§ 69, 9).¹⁹⁴ lakū- TO TAKE, TO FETCH; -t'wī nominal (§ 100).¹⁹⁵ qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -t present (§ 72); -aux 3d person dual (§ 24).¹⁹⁶ Līū- TO APPROACH; -tūc modal (§§ 94, 8); -wax transposed for -aux 3d dual (§§ 24, 13).¹⁹⁷ u¹ THEN (§ 125); -aux 3d dual (§ 24).¹⁹⁸ xumc- TO APPROACH, TO COME (§ 108); -aux 3d dual (§ 24).¹⁹⁹ hīn- TO TAKE ALONG; -aⁱ verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).²⁰⁰ Abbreviated; for tc!ha^ucyaxam (§ 15); tc!hac- TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); -yax past (§ 74); -xam present passive (§§ 55, 15).²⁰¹ tēmū- TO ASSEMBLE (§ 107); -xam present passive (§ 55).²⁰² Contracted from hū'tetūxan! (§ 24); hūtc- TO PLAY; -tūx future (§ 73); -nī inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).²⁰³ yāax- MUCH; -a modal (§ 96).

- Atsi'tc⁷³ waa' ants⁶⁰ hītc. Temū'tx²² hītcū'^{u 23} ants⁶⁰ L!a'ai⁴ Wa'^{1 204}
 Thus says that man. Assemble (pl.) people those many. Although
- yā'xa'^{i 19} ants⁶⁰ hītc, u¹ ha'īmūt²⁰⁵ qa'tc'nt⁹¹ sq'a'kte'tc,²⁰⁶ ants⁶⁰ L!a'ai⁴
 many those people, still all go now there to, manner, that crowd.
- Lā'nīsūtne²⁰⁷ ants⁶⁰ hītc. "Tsi'k'lyā³ hīs tanx¹¹⁵ Līū'. Yā'xanxan²⁰⁸
 Is called con- that man. "Very good this thou comest. Much we
 tinually
- hūtcū'^{i 209} Hū'tetūns.²¹⁰ — "Haū!¹⁷⁹ S^Eatsi'tc⁶¹ waa' ants⁶⁰ hītc.
 have fun. Play will we two." — "All right!" Thus says that man.
- "Ya'q'ūhītūnx,²¹¹ kwīnx⁸⁰ a'ūsīs.²¹² Yā'xanxan²⁰⁸ hūtcū'^{i 209} Atsi'tc⁷³
 "Look shalt thou, not thou shalt sleep. Much we play." Thus is
- waa'īsū'nē²¹³ ants⁶⁰ hītc. Wā'nwīts² ha'wa.²¹⁴ Sī'n'xyū'nē¹⁴⁶
 repeatedly told that man. Long ago it is ready. It is desired
- ts'īlna'tc²¹⁵ xawa'a'ū²⁷ a'ū'stūxax.²¹⁶ Atsi'tc⁷³ ha'ūsime.²¹⁷ "Ts'īl-mū't,
 pitch with killed he shall when sleeper he Thus it is agreed. "Friend,
 be, will be.
- kwīnx⁸⁰ a'ūsīs.²¹² Hū'tetūns.²¹⁰ Atsi'tc⁷³ wa'a'īsū'nē.²¹³ "S^Ea'tsanx¹⁶²
 not thou sleep con- Play will we two." Thus he is repeatedly told. "Thus thou
 tinually.
- tanx¹¹⁵ k!aha'yūtne.²¹⁸ S^Eatsi'tc⁶¹ waa'īsūtne.²¹⁹ "Yā'xa'^{i 19} L!a'ai⁴
 this thou art invited." Thus he is told continu- "Many they
 ally.
- nīctcama'nat'ū'^{wi 220} ants⁶⁰ tiyū'^{wi 221} hūtcū'^{wi 222} Klīx²²³ tē'q¹²⁰ hūtcā'^{i 224}
 different (of) inhabitants games. Each some-
 those thing
- u¹ Enx²²⁵ yīxa'yūn.²²⁶ S^Ea'tsanx¹⁶² tanx¹¹⁵ k!aha'yū'nē.¹¹¹ Tsi'k'ly-
 and thou seest it. Thus thou this thou art invited. Very
- anxan⁸⁷ hī'sītī²²⁷ ha¹. Kum'īntc³⁸ tē'q¹²⁰ mī'k!a'na.²²⁸ Atsi'tc⁷³
 we good is (our) heart. Not something badly." Thus
- wa'a'īsū'nē.²¹³ Tū'nta^{u 228} hītc Līwa'^{i 229} u¹ atsi'tc⁷³ waa'yūsne.²³⁰
 he is repeatedly told. Whatever person comes, so thus he frequently was
 told (by him).

²⁰⁴ Particle (§ 128).

²⁰⁵ Numeral particle (§ 124).

²⁰⁶ *sq'a'k* THERE (§ 119); *-tc* local of motion (§ 90); *-hītc* modal (§ 94).

²⁰⁷ *tn-* TO CALL BY NAME; *-sūtne* durative passive (§ 59).

²⁰⁸ *yā-x-* MUCH; *-a* modal (§ 96); *-nzan* exclusive plural (§ 24).

²⁰⁹ *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ūi* verbalizing (§ 75).

²¹⁰ Contracted; for *hū'tetūxans* (§ 24); *hūtc-* TO PLAY; *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-ns* inclusive dual (§§ 24, 4).

²¹¹ Contracted; for *ya'quhītūxanz* (§ 24); *yaqu'* TO LOOK (§ 3); *-ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²¹² *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-is* durative (§ 69).

²¹³ *waa-* TO SAY; *-a'ūsū'nē* durative passive (§§ 59, 9).

²¹⁴ *haū-* TO MAKE, TO HAVE READY (§ 112).

²¹⁵ *ts'ān* PITCH; *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 12); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).

²¹⁶ *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); *-ax* nominal (§ 101).

²¹⁷ *haū* YES (§ 131); *-ūs* durative (§§ 69, 9); *-ime* passive (§ 38).

²¹⁸ *k!a'* TO INVITE; (§ 3); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūtnē* passive (§§ 58, 8).

²¹⁹ *waa-* TO SPEAK; *-a'īsūtne* durative passive (§§ 59, 9).

²²⁰ *nīctcama'nat'* DIFFERENT; *-ūwi* plural (§ 79).

²²¹ *tat-* TO LIVE (§ 2); *-ūwi* nominal (§§ 97, 8).

²²² *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ūwi* nominal (§ 97).

²²³ Numeral particle (§ 124).

²²⁴ *hūtc-* TO HAVE FUN; *-ai* nominal (§ 98).

²²⁵ *u¹* THEN (§ 125); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²²⁶ *yax-* TO SEE (§ 12); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ān* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

²²⁷ *hīs* GOOD; *-tūi* possessive (§ 88).

²²⁸ pronominal particle (§ 123).

²²⁹ *Līū-* TO COME; *-ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

²³⁰ *waa-* TO SAY; *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūsne* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

"Tsī'k'lyā ³	hīs tanx ¹¹⁵	Lūū', ts'īl'mū't.	Wa ¹²⁰⁴	yā'tsa ²³¹	ants ⁶⁰
"Very	good this thou	come, friend.	Although	long time	that
L!a'ai ⁴	u! xni' ^{wn} is. ²³²	Ya'q ^u hītūnx." ²¹¹	u! s ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹	wa'a'sū'nē. ²¹³	
crowd,	still does continually.	Look shalt thou."	Then thus	he is told repeatedly.	
"S ^E a'tsanxan ²³³	k!aha'yūts. ²³⁴	Yā'a'xa ^{i 19}	hūtcū'wi" ⁶³	Wān ²⁹	hīna'a'u ²³⁵
"Thus we	invite we-thee.	Much	fun."	Finally	he taken
					will be
tcīk ²³⁶	ants ⁶⁰	hūtcū' ^{u 63}	L!a'ai ⁴	Sqa'k ²³⁷	hīna'a'u ²³⁵
where	that	fun	great.	There	he taken
					will be.
ants ⁶⁰	hītsi' ^{i. 239}	Wa ¹²⁰⁴	yīkt ²⁴⁰	ants ⁶⁰	hītsi' ^{i. 239}
that	house.	Although	big	that	house,
					still full
hītū'stc. ²⁴¹	Stīm ²⁴²	ya'q ^u ha'it ²⁴³	ants ⁶⁰	hītc.	"Tī'k ^E n ^{xan} ²⁴⁴
people with.	There	looks	that	man.	"Here we
ta'n ^{xan} ²⁴⁵	hūtcū' ^{i. 209}	ta'n ^{xan} ²⁴⁵	k!aha'yūts ²³⁴	qnā." ¹⁶⁷	Ha'qmas ²⁴⁶
these we	play,	these we	invite we-thee	I."	Alongside
tī'xam ²⁴⁷	Līya'wate. ²⁴⁸	Q!a'īl	ants ⁶⁰	Līya'a' ^{ū. 249}	"Yaxa' ^ū wītc ²⁵⁰
he is seated	fire at.	Pitch	that	fire.	"Multitude kind of
L!a'ai ⁴	hītc	ya'q ^u ha'itūn." ²⁵¹	Atsi'tc ⁷³	cī'n'xyat'lis ¹⁹³	ants ⁶⁰
many	people	look at now I."	Thus	keeps on thinking	that man.
Ma'iteū'nē ²³⁸	ants ⁶⁰	hītsi' ^{i. 239}	"Kwīnx ⁸⁰	a'u'sis ²¹²	ts'īl'mū't.
Fire is built (in)	that	house.	"Not thou	always sleep,	friend.
					Thus
ta'n ^{xan} ²⁴⁵	waa'yūts ¹²²	qnā ¹⁶⁷	Līwa'wanx." ²⁵²	"Ha'ū! ¹⁷⁰	tsī'k'lyan ²⁵³
these we	tell we-thee	I	intend to come thou."	"All right!	very I
hī'sītī ²²⁷	ha ¹	Yaqu'ya'waxan ²⁵⁴	hūtcū'ste ⁵⁶	L!aya'." ²⁵⁵	Atsi'tc ⁷³
good (my) mind.	Intend to look I	fun at	great at."	Thus says continually	
ants ⁶⁰	hītc.	Ha'qmas ²⁴⁶	tī'xam ²⁴⁷	Līya'wa. ²⁵⁷	Ya'q ^u hīsū'nē. ²⁵⁸
that	man.	Close by	he is seated	fire.	He is continually watched.

²³¹ Temporal adverb (§ 120).²³² *miw-n*- TO DO; -*is* durative (§ 69).²³³ *s^Ea'tsa*- THUS (§§ 121, 96); -*n^{xan}* exclusive plural (§ 24).²³⁴ *k!a'*- TO INVITE (§ 3); -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, § 8).²³⁵ *hīn*- TO TAKE ALONG; -*aaū* future passive (§ 56).²³⁶ Particle (§ 131).²³⁷ Local adverb (§ 119).²³⁸ *malte*- TO BURN; -*ū'nē* passive (§ 58).²³⁹ See § 98.²⁴⁰ See § 104.²⁴¹ *hītū's* locative form of *hītc* (§ 86); -*tc* adverbial (§ 90).²⁴² Local adverb (§ 119).²⁴³ *yaqu'*- TO LOOK (§ 3); -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -*t* present (§ 72).²⁴⁴ *tīk* HERE (§ 119); -*n^{xan}* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).²⁴⁵ *tāak* THIS (§ 115); -*n^{xan}* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 16).²⁴⁶ Local adverb (§ 119).²⁴⁷ *tai* TO SIT (§ 2); -*xam* present passive (§ 55).²⁴⁸ *Līya'a'ū* FIRE (§ 97); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8); -*tc* local (§ 90).²⁴⁹ See § 97.²⁵⁰ *yāx*- MANY; -*āūw* nominal (§ 97); -*ite* modal (§§ 94, 9).²⁵¹ *yaqu'*- TO LOOK (§ 3); -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*t* present (§ 72); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).²⁵² Contracted from *Līwa'waxanx* (§ 24); *Līū*- TO COME; -*awax* intentional (§§ 70, 8); -*n^x* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).²⁵³ *tsī'k'lyā* VERY (§ 121); -*n* 1st person singular (§ 24).²⁵⁴ *yaqu'*- TO LOOK (§ 3); -*awax* intentional (§§ 70, 8); -*n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).²⁵⁵ *L!a'ai* particle (§ 133); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).²⁵⁶ *waa*- TO SAY; -*ais* durative (§§ 69, 9).²⁵⁷ *Līya'a'ū* FIRE (§ 97); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).²⁵⁸ *yaqu'*- TO LOOK (§ 3); -*isū'nē* durative passive (§§ 59, 9).

Wusya'a ^{ist} 259	ants ⁶⁰	mī'k'la	hītc.	Līl'wī'sūtne ²⁶⁰	wān. ²⁹	"Kwīnx ⁸⁰
Begins to feel sleepy	that	bad	man.	He is continually approached	now.	"Not thou
a'u'sis, 212	ya'q'uhis ^{Enx} . 261	A'tsanxan ²⁶²	ta'nxan ²⁴⁵	waa'yūts ¹²²		
always sleep,	always look thou.	Thus we	these we	tell we-thee		
Līwa'wanx. ²⁵²	Kwīnx ⁸⁰	a'u'sis, 212	ya'q'uhis ^{Enx} . 261	Atsī'tc ⁷³		
intend to come thou.	Not thou	sleep always,	watch always thou.	Thus		
tanx ¹¹⁵	klaha'yū'ne. ¹¹¹	Hī's ^{Enx} an ²⁶³	hawa'itx ²⁶⁴ ha ¹ ."	Wusya'a ^{ist} 259		
this thou	art invited.	Good we	make our heart."	Begins to feel	sleepy	
ants ⁶⁰	mī'ek'la ¹ . 265	Ya'q'uhisu ^{Enx} . 258	Ha'ūsime ²⁶⁶	ants ⁶⁰	ts!aIn.	
that	bad man.	He is constantly watched.	Is made ready for him	that	pitch.	
S ^E a'na'tc ²⁶⁷	xawa'a ^u . 27	Lī'wis ^u 'ne ²⁶⁸	ants ⁶⁰	meq'lyū' ^u 269	Lla'ai ⁴	
That with	killed he will be.	He is constantly approached by	those	dancers	many.	
"Ha'q'atcyā, ²⁷⁰	ts'īl'mū't,	mīl'tcī'xmīnx."	Atsī'tc ⁷³	wa'a'sū'ne. ²¹³		
"Shore-like from,	friend,	thou mayest get burned."	Thus	he is constantly told.		
"Kwīnx ⁸⁰	a'u'sis ²¹²	ts'īl'mū't."	— "Wusya'a ^{ist} ūn."	Meq'lyū' ^u 269		
"Not thou	always sleep	friend."	— "Begin to feel sleepy I."	Dance (pl.)		
Lla'ai ⁴	A ^u sī's. 273	"Ha'q'atcyā, ²⁷⁰	mīl'tcī'xmīnx."	Tc!ha'u'cīsūtne. ²⁷⁴		
many.	He sleeps.	"Shore-like from,	mayest get burned thou."	Gladness is constantly felt.		
S ^E a'tsa ³	xawa'a ^u . 27	Wusya'a ^{ist} 259	wān. ²⁹	Atsī'tc ⁷³	wa'a'sūtne. ²¹⁹	
Thus	killed he will be.	He begins to sleep	finally,	Thus	he is constantly told,	
cī'l'xīsūtne. ²⁷⁵	"Ha'q'atcyā, ²⁷⁰	mīl'tcī'xmīnx."	Kū ⁱ 151	cī'l'xīl. ²⁷⁶		
he is shaken con- stantly.	"Shore-like from,	mayest get burned thou."	Not he	moves not.		
u' wān ²⁹	qaa'xam ²⁷⁷	ants ⁶⁰	Lī'yaxa ^ū 'wi ²⁷⁸	ts!aIn.	Meq'lyū' ^u 269	
So finally	is brought in	that	boiled	pitch.	Dance (pl.)	
Lla'ai ⁴	"Ha'q'atcyā ²⁷⁰	ts'īl'mū't."	Kū ⁱ 151	kwī'sīl, ²⁷⁹	tsī'k'lyā ³	
many.	"Shore-like from	friend."	Not	wakes up not,	very	
a'sī's. 273	Atsī'tc ⁷³	waa'.	"A'nxā ^ū tsatcī. ²⁸⁰	Lī'yaxa'waxan ²⁸¹	a ^u sa'wax." ²⁸²	
he sleeps.	Thus	he says.	"Leave alone you-me.	A while intend I	sleep intend."	

²⁵⁹ wusī- TO FEEL SLEEPY; -aī verbalizing (§ 75); -st inchoative (§ 66).

²⁶⁰ Līū- TO APPROACH (§ 107); -īsūtne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

²⁶¹ yaqu' -TO LOOK (§ 3); -is durative (§ 69); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²⁶² a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -nxan exclusive plural (§ 24).

²⁶³ hī's GOOD; -nxan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

²⁶⁴ haū- TO MAKE; -aītx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§§ 83, 8).

²⁶⁵ See § 98.

²⁶⁶ ha'ūs READY, DONE; -ime passive (§ 38).

²⁶⁷ s^Ea'na HE, THAT ONE (§ 115); -tc adverbial (§ 90).

²⁶⁸ Līū- TO APPROACH; -īsūtne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

²⁶⁹ meq'lyū- TO DANCE; -ūu nominal (§§ 97, 8).

²⁷⁰ ha'q SHORE (§ 119); -aītc modal (§ 94); -ya local (§ 93).

²⁷¹ mīl'tc- TO BURN (§ 12); -īxmī intransitive exhortative (§ 63); -ī future passive (§§ 56, 9); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

²⁷² wusī- TO FEEL SLEEPY; -aī verbalizing (§ 75); -st inchoative (§ 66); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²⁷³ asu- TO SLEEP (§§ 12, 108).

²⁷⁴ tc!hacu- TO BE GLAD (§ 12); -īsūtne durative passive (§ 59).

²⁷⁵ cīl'x- TO SHAKE, TO MOVE; -īsūtne durative passive (§ 59).

²⁷⁶ cīl'x- TO MOVE, TO SHAKE; -īl negative (§ 53).

²⁷⁷ qaa- TO ENTER; -xam present passive (§ 55).

²⁷⁸ Lī'wī- TO BOIL (§§ 112, 7); -āwī nominal (§§ 97, 9).

²⁷⁹ kwī's- TO WAKE UP; -īl negative (§ 53).

²⁸⁰ anx- TO LET ALONE; -aūtsatcī direct object of first and second persons YOU-ME (§ 29, Table, p. 473, and §§ 24, 4).

²⁸¹ līyax- A WHILE (§§ 126, 135); -awax intentional (§ 70); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²⁸² asu- TO SLEEP (§ 12); -awax intentional (§ 70).

u ¹	wàn ²⁹	cí'n'xyaxam ²⁸³	s ^E atsi'tc: ⁶¹	"Qa ¹ ²⁸⁴	wàn ²⁹	a ^u 'stūx. ²⁸⁵	285
Then	now	it was thought	thus:	"Let	now	he sleep shall."	
Ła'qwis ²⁸⁶	ants ⁶⁰	ts!a ⁿ L ⁱ yaxa ^{ū'wi} ²⁷⁸	Atsi'tc ⁷³	waa'xam, ⁶⁵	"Qa ¹ ²⁸⁴		284
Boils con- tinually	that	pitch	boiled.	Thus	it is said,	"Let	
wàn ²⁹	a ^u 'stūx. ²⁸⁵	Ha ¹ 'qa ⁱ tcya, ²⁷⁰	ts'íl·mū't. ²⁷⁰	Kū ⁱ ¹⁵¹	cí'l·xīl. ²⁷⁶	u ¹	
now	he sleep shall.	Shore, manner, from,	friend."	Not	he moves not.	Then	
wàn ²⁹	xū'n.						
now	he snores.						
Ha ⁱ 'mūt ²⁰⁵	L ^a 'ai ⁴	te'q ¹²⁰	lokwi'xam. ²⁸⁷	Teĩmtca'mi ²⁸⁸	lokwi'xam. ²⁸⁷		
All	many	something	is seized.	Axes	are seized.		
Kā'st'itūx, ²⁸⁹	u ¹	txū ¹¹³	teĩmtca'myate ²⁹⁰	xawa'a ^u ²⁷	u ¹	wàn ²⁹	xū'n.
Get up will he,	then	just	ax with	killed he will be.	And	now	he snores.
Łk!a'atc ²⁹¹	Laa'	xū'n.	u ¹	wàn ²⁹	haū'tx ²⁹²	hītū'u ²³	Tsi'k'ya ³
Open his	mouth	he snores.	Then finally	quit (pl.)	people.	Very	
tcĩmā'nīsū'nē. ²⁹³	"L ⁱ xmīya'yūnanl. ²⁹⁴	S ^E a's ^E n ²⁹⁵	k ⁱ 'xa'yūts, ²⁹⁶	u ¹			
he is watched	"Kill him will we.	He	us kills he-us,	80			
constantly.							
s ^E a'tsanl ²⁹⁷	L ⁱ xmīya'yūn. ²⁹⁸	Lokwi'xam ²⁸⁷	wàn ²⁹	ants ⁶⁰	L ⁱ yaxa ^{ū'wi} ²⁷⁸		
thus we	kill will him."	Is seized	now	that	boiled (pitch).		
"Ha ¹ 'qa ⁱ tcya ²⁷⁰	ts'íl·mū't,	mīl'te'xmīnx. ²⁷¹	Kum'ntc ³⁸	cí'l·xīl. ²⁷⁶			
"Shore-like, from	friend,	mayest get burned thou."	Not	he moves not.			
u ¹	wàn ²⁹	xwākī'tc ²⁹⁹	tī'xam ²⁴⁷	ants ⁶⁰	L ⁱ yaxa ^{ū'wi} ²⁷⁸	Tc!ha ^u cū' ^{wi} ³⁰⁰	
So	now	head on	is placed	that	boiled (pitch).	Glad are (pl.)	
ants ⁶⁰	L ^a 'ai ⁴	S ^E a ⁶⁶	ata's ³⁰¹	ants ⁶⁰	maq! ⁱ nūtne. ³⁰²	Hūya'ūltx ¹²⁸	
those	many.	He	only	that	it is danced for.	Is changed on	
			(one)			him his	

²⁸³ *cínxi*- TO THINK (§ 4); -*yax* past (§§ 74, 8); -*xam* present passive (§§ 55, 15).

²⁸⁴ Exhortative particle (§ 129).

²⁸⁵ *asu*- TO SLEEP (§ 12); -*tūx* future (§ 73).

²⁸⁶ *laqu*- TO BOIL; -*is* durative (§§ 69, 8).

²⁸⁷ Instead of *lakwi'xam* (§§ 11, 14); *laku*- TO TAKE; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*xam* present passive (§ 55).

²⁸⁸ See § 109.

²⁸⁹ *kast*- TO GET UP; -*tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136, 4).

²⁹⁰ *tcĩmtca'mi* AX (§ 109); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8); -*tc* adverbial (§ 90).

²⁹¹ *lk!aa*- TO OPEN ONE'S MOUTH; -*tc* possessive 3d singular (§ 88).

²⁹² *haū*- TO QUIT; -*tx* plural (§ 80).

²⁹³ *tcĩmān*- TO WATCH; -*isū'nē* durative passive (§ 59).

²⁹⁴ *L'xmī*- TO KILL; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -*yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 8); -*nī* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

²⁹⁵ *s^Ea's* HE (§ 115); -*nī* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

²⁹⁶ *k!iz*- TO DISAPPEAR; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, and § 8).

²⁹⁷ *s^Ea'tsa* THUS (§§ 121, 96); -*nī* inclusive plural (§ 24).

²⁹⁸ *L'xmī*- TO KILL; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -*yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 9).

²⁹⁹ *xwākī'* locative form of *xwā/ka* HEAD (§ 86); -*tc* local (§ 90).

³⁰⁰ *tc!hacu*- TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); -*ūwī* plural (§ 79).

³⁰¹ Restrictive particle (§ 130).

³⁰² *maq!i*- TO DANCE; -*ūtnē* verbal (§§ 81, 9); -*ūtnē* passive (§ 58).

ha ¹	s ^a 'a'tsa. ³	S ^a 'a'tsa ⁸	ants ⁶⁰	meq!yū ^u 269	L!a'ai. ⁴	u! wàn ²⁹	skwaha'. ³⁰³
mind	thus.	Thus	those	dance (pl.)	many.	Then finally	he stands up.
Lokwī'xam ²⁸⁷	ants ⁶⁰	L!iyaxa ^ū /wi. ²⁷⁸	u!	stīm ²⁴²	skwaha ^ū /wi ³⁰⁴	L!a'ai ⁴	
Is seized	that	boiled (pitch).	And	there	stand (pl.)	many	
ha'ūmūt ²⁰⁵	ants ⁶⁰	tcīmtcī'mya. ³⁰⁵	Wa ⁱ 204	yā'a'xa ⁱ 118	te'q, ¹²⁰	u!	
all	those	axes with (are).	Although	much	something,	still	
pī'ūme. ³⁰⁶	u!	kumī'ntc ³⁸	kwī'si!. ²⁷⁹	"Qwa'nyūx ³⁰⁷	temà' ³⁰⁸		
noise is made with it.	Still	not	he wakes up not.	"Pour it	it is better		
Laaya'tc!'' ³⁰⁹	u!	wàn ²⁹	qū'nī'xamīme. ³¹⁰	Txū ¹¹³	mī'tcīstx ³¹¹	Laa'.	
mouth into!''	So	now	it is poured into (his mouth).	Just	begins to burn his	mouth.	
Stīm ²⁴²	L!a'ai ⁴	ma'q!is. ³¹²	Mī'tcīst ³¹³	ants ⁶⁰	hītc.	Mī'tcīstx ³¹¹	
There	many	keep on dancing.	Begins to burn	that	man.	Begins to burn his	
ha'ūmūt ²⁰⁵	hī'qū ⁱ .	Stīm ²⁴²	wàn ²⁹	yāk!i'tcyaxam ³¹⁴	xwā'katc ³¹⁵		
all	hair.	There	finally	was cut into pieces	head his		
tcīmtca'myate. ²⁹⁰	Stīm ²⁴²	tqū'nīs ³¹⁶	ants ⁶⁰	mī'k!a	hītc.	Xa'wī'-	
ax with.	There	diffuses smoke constantly	that	bad	man.	Killed	
xamyax ³¹⁷	te ³³	mī'k!a	hītc.				
was	this	bad	person.				
Sqa ^{ik} 237	wàn ²⁹	ata's ³⁰¹	hawa ⁱ '. ³¹⁸	Kū ⁱ 151	nàts ¹⁸²	s ^a 'a'tsa ³	
There	now	only	it ends.	Not	if	thus	
xa'wa ^a xa ^ū tne, ³¹⁹	u!	nàts ¹⁸²	tsī'k!ya ³	mī'k!a	L!a'ai. ⁴	S ^a 'a'tsa ³	
he had been killed,	then	conditional	very	bad	world.	Thus	
xa'wī'xamyax ³¹⁷	mī'k!a	hītc.	S ^a atsī'tc ⁶¹	wàn ²⁹	ata's ³⁰¹		
was killed	bad	man.	Thus	finally	only		
wā'nwītsaxax ³²⁰	nīctcīma ^e mū. ³²¹	Sqa ^{ik} 237	wàn ²⁹	smīt'ū ⁱ '. ³²²			
old-timers (of)	custom.	There	finally	it ends.			

³⁰³ skwa'- TO STAND (§§ 3, 112).³⁰⁴ skwa'- TO STAND (§ 3); -āwī plural (§ 79).³⁰⁵ tcīmtca'mī AX (§ 109); -a locative case (§§ 86, 12, 8).³⁰⁶ pū- TO MAKE NOISE; -ūme passive (§§ 33, 9).³⁰⁷ qū'n- TO POUR (§§ 7, 112); -yūx imperative with indirect object of third person (§ 43).³⁰⁸ Exhortative particle (§ 129).³⁰⁹ Laaya' locative form of Laa' MOUTH (§ 86); -tc local (§ 90).³¹⁰ qū'n- TO POUR; -ī (-a^t) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -xam present passive (§ 55); -īme passive (§ 38).³¹¹ Contracted from mī'tcīst^etx (§ 15); mītc- TO BURN (§ 3); -st inchoative (§§ 66, 4); -tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).³¹² maq!i- TO DANCE; -is durative (§§ 69, 9).³¹³ mītc- TO BURN (§ 3); -st inchoative (§§ 66, 4).³¹⁴ Contracted from yāk!i'tcyaxam (§ 15); yāk!- SMALL; -ītc modal (§ 94); -yax past (§ 74); -xam present passive (§§ 55, 57).³¹⁵ xwā'ka HEAD; -tc possessive 3d singular (§ 88).³¹⁶ tqū'nī' SMOKE (§ 98); -īs durative (§§ 69, 9).³¹⁷ xai- TO DIE; -a^t verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 8, 11); -xamyax past passive (§ 57).³¹⁸ haū- TO END, TO FINISH; -a^t verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).³¹⁹ Evidently for xa'ūyaxa^ūtne; xai- TO DIE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -āūne passive (§ 58).³²⁰ wā'nwīts LONG AGO (§ 120); -ax nominal (§§ 101, 108).³²¹ See § 103.³²² smūt'- TO END, TO FINISH (§ 12); -ūⁱ verbalizing (§ 75).

[Translation]

(It happened) long ago. The world was very bad long ago. Everywhere it was so, and this was the cause of it: A bad person was devouring (the people). Grizzly Bear was devouring them long ago. Whenever a man went out hunting, he would kill and devour him. Many people felt sorry because of that. So one day the people came together and tried to devise some remedy. (They all agreed that Grizzly) must be killed. For that reason they came together. Then the chiefs of that region said, "We feel very sorry, but how are we going to kill him? He can not be killed by means of arrows: hence we don't want to kill him with an arrow." Then finally someone suggested to go and see how Grizzly lived, and to invite him (to come to the meeting-place). So one man went in search of him. And (when the messenger) came to Grizzly's residence, (he said,) "You, too, are invited to come to the play-grounds." But Grizzly Bear was not willing to go: hence the messenger went back, and, upon returning, related thus: "He does not want (to come)." (In the mean while) the people who had assembled had lots of fun. (Then after a while another messenger was sent), and the man who was about to go was told thus: "We won't give up. When he is dead, then we will give up." Thus it was repeatedly asserted.

Then finally the man was ordered to go. He was a very poor man. "Speak to him carefully, don't tell him anything bad. Tell him thus: 'We want you to come here. We are going to have lots of fun.' Thus you shall tell him. Don't tell him anything bad. He is shrewd and very bad." Then that man started out, thinking (a great deal) to himself, for he was very much afraid (of Grizzly). (And when he came to Grizzly, he said,) "I come here as a messenger." (He then told him his mission and departed. Not long afterwards Grizzly's friends came to visit him and inquired about the messenger's mission). One of them said, "What did the man tell you who came (here)?"—"He said nothing (of importance). I was simply informed that I am invited (to some games). Thus he told me: 'People want you to come very much. For that purpose I came here as a messenger.'" (After a while another messenger was sent to Grizzly, requesting him to come at once.) Then (Grizzly) said thus (to the messenger): "Will anything be given to me, if I come?"—"Nothing was said (about that). People

are just playing, and that's why you are invited to come." (Then Grizzly said), "You tell them thus: 'He wants something. If something be given to him, then he will come.' Thus he says to you."

(The messenger went back to his people and told them what Grizzly said). And he (furthermore) said, "He is shrewd. He thinks (of not coming), because he has killed (so many) people. That's why he is shrewd." Thus the messenger said. "He was (evidently) told (by some friend) that a dance had been arranged for the purpose of changing his (mean) disposition, and that everybody dislikes him. That's why he replied, 'If something be given to him, then he will come.' That's why he told me (so)."

Then another messenger went to Grizzly. "You tell him thus: 'A knife will be given to you.' Thus tell him. 'You shall start right away, you are invited to come. Many people are playing (there), and it is desirable that you should come.' Thus you tell him." And that messenger kept on thinking, "I will speak to him. I know what to tell him, so that he will start right away." Then the messenger started. "I will speak to him, and he will start right away." Thus he was thinking as he kept on going. Finally he came to (Grizzly, and said), "A messenger I come. You are wanted very much. Pretty soon the games will come to an end, and for that reason I was told (to come here). You are my relative. Why don't you want to go?" And (Grizzly) answered him thus: "I am wise, that's why I don't want to go. It seems to me that I am simply wanted (there) to be killed. That's why I am wise."—"Not so, they want you to see (the fun). For that purpose (only) you are wanted. Their intentions toward you are good. A present will be given to you. For that reason you are invited. You are my relative, hence I (came to) fetch you. That's why I came quickly. A knife will be given to you, because you are invited. I came right away, since you are my relative. The reason why I came to you is because I want you to have some fun. That's why I came to you. I don't think that anything bad will happen to you. That's why I was sent." (And Grizzly answered,) "Yes, you are a bad man. They want to kill me, that's why I don't want (to go)."—"I don't think (it will be) thus. (Not) for that purpose I was sent. If it were as you say, I should not have been sent. Will you go now?"—"I shall go. You will have to take

good care of me." And (the messenger) said thus to (Grizzly): "All right, I don't think that anything bad will happen (to you) on the part of those who play (there)."—"All right, I will go. I don't care, even if I die." Thus said (Grizzly) as he started. "I don't think (it will be) as (bad as you imagine). Are you coming?" Thus said (the messenger) to him. "I should very much like to have you, too, at these games." Finally (Grizzly) said, "I will go." So he started. And the man who came to fetch him was thinking continually. He was thinking thus.

Now they two kept on going; and when they were almost there, the two (chiefs) were told, "They two are coming. He is bringing that bad man." So everybody was glad; and when he arrived, people assembled about him. "It's very good that you came, O friend! We shall have a great deal of fun." Thus everybody said (to him). Many people assembled (around him). Although there were many of them, still they all went there (to Grizzly), shouting, "It's very good that you came. We will play a great deal. We two will play." (Then Grizzly would say,) "All right."—"You shall watch (us). You sha'n't sleep. We will play a great deal." Thus he was constantly told. (Everything) had been made ready long ago. It had been decided to kill him with pitch during his sleep. Thus it had been agreed upon. "Friend, don't sleep! we two will play." Thus people kept on telling him. "For that reason you were invited." Thus he was told. "People who live here know different kinds of games, and you will witness all kinds of fun. For that purpose you have been invited. We are well disposed (towards you). No mishap will befall you." Thus he was constantly told. Whoever came in would tell him thus. "It's very good that you came, O friend! You will see, they will play for a long time." And he would (also) be told, "That's why we invited you. There is going to be a great deal of fun."

At last he was taken to the play-grounds. A fire was started in the house, which, although very large, was nevertheless full of people. Grizzly Bear was looking there. "Here we play, those who have invited you." He was seated near the fire, which consisted of pitch. "It seems to me I see (too) many people." Thus Grizzly was thinking. And the fire in the house kept burning. "Don't sleep, O friend! (Not) for that purpose we asked you to come (here)."—"All

right! I am glad. I intend to watch the fun." Thus Grizzly was saying, seated close to the fire. He was constantly watched.

(After a while) he began to feel sleepy. Then people kept on approaching him, (saying,) "Don't sleep, look on! For that purpose we invited you. We have abandoned all our hatred." (Again) he began to feel sleepy, (and again) he was constantly watched. The pitch with which he was going to be killed was made ready; while many dancers went to him, (saying,) "Move away from the fire, you may get burned, friend!" Thus they were telling him. "Don't sleep, friend!"—"I feel sleepy." People kept on dancing, while he began to fall asleep. "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" Everybody was glad, because he was going to be killed. At last he began to sleep. Then people kept on shaking him, saying to him thus: "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" But he did not move. So the boiling pitch was brought in, while the people kept on dancing (and saying), "Move away from the fire, friend!" But he did not get up. He was very sleepy, and (merely) said, "Leave me alone! I intend to sleep a while." So the people thought thus: "Let him sleep." And while the pitch kept on boiling, they said, "Let him sleep. Move away from the fire, O friend!" But he did not move, and (soon) commenced to snore.

Then people took hold of all kinds of things. They seized axes, (because it had been decided that as soon as) he should wake up, they would kill him with an ax. He was snoring, keeping his mouth wide open. Then the people got ready. They watched him closely. "We will kill him, because he has killed (so many of) us." Then the boiling pitch was seized, (and one man shouted,) "Move away from the fire, friend, you may get burned!" But he did not move. Then they held the boiling pitch over his head, and everybody was glad, for the dance had been arranged with the purpose in view of getting rid of (the consequences of) his mean disposition. For that purpose so many people had been dancing. Finally (one man) stood up and took hold of the boiling pitch. And around Grizzly there were standing many armed with axes. They made noise with all kinds of implements, but he did not wake up. (Then one man said,) "Better pour it into his mouth!" So it was poured into his mouth, which began to burn (right away). And the people kept on dancing,

(as Grizzly Bear) was consumed (gradually) by the fire. His hair got burned, and then his head was cut into pieces with an ax. And while suffering death, he was constantly diffusing smoke.

Here (the story) ends. If (Grizzly Bear) had not been killed, this would have been a very bad place. Thus that man was killed. Such was the custom of people living long ago. Here at last it ends.

INVOCATION OF RAIN¹

Klu ^x wîna ^{i'} tx ²	L!a ^{'ai} . ³	Yā ^{a'} xa ⁱ	ū ^{'lti} . ⁴	L!ayū's. ⁵	Nā ^{'qutyax} ⁶		
Ice (has on) its (body)	world.	Much	snow	ground on.	Cold became		
L!a ^{'ai} . ³	klu ^x wîna ^{i'} . ⁷	L!a ^{'ai} . ³	Kū ⁱ . ⁸	nī ^{'ctca} . ⁹	qa ^{'tcwîl} . ¹⁰	ants ¹¹	L!a ^{'ai} . ³
universe,	ice has	world.	Not	how	drink not	that	crowd.
Pā ^{'l-ū} . ¹²	ata ^{'s} . ¹³	ū ^{'l} . ¹⁴	qatecū ^{'i} txa ^ū tnē. ¹⁵	Haya ^{'mūt} . ¹⁶	hī ^{'yàte} . ¹⁷	qatecū ^{'i} -	
Well	only	then	it is drunk from.	All	people	drink	
txa ^ū n. ¹⁸	Wa ^{'i} . ¹⁹	yā ^{a'} xa ⁱ	hītc, ū ^{'l} . ¹⁴	sqa ^{'k} . ²⁰	qatecū ^{'i} tx. ²¹	Tei ^{'wa} . ²²	ū ^{'l} . ¹⁴
(from) it.	Although	many	people, still	there	drink (pl.).	Water on	then
k!u ^x wîna ^{i'} . ⁷	Kū ⁱ . ¹⁸	nī ^{'ctca} . ⁹	tcaītei ^{'tc} . ²³	nī ^{'ctcīl} . ²⁴	ants ¹¹	tīyū ^{'wi} . ²⁵	
ice appears.	Not	manner	where manner	go not	those	inhabitants.	
Qa ^{'u} xa ^{'i} x. ²⁶	k!u ^x wînīyū's ²⁷	qate ^ē natū ^{'u} . ²⁸	ants ¹¹	hītc	L!a ^{'ai} . ³	ū ^{'l} . ¹⁴	
Top along	ice on	go (pl.)	those	people	many.	Then	
vān ²⁹	texmīl ^{'a} mī ³⁰	l!xū ^{'yūn} . ³¹	ants ¹¹	wā ^{'nwītsaxax} . ³²	nīctēīma ^{'mū} . ³³		
now	people old	know it	that	long ago people	custom.		

¹ See Leo J. Frachtenberg, *Lower Umpqua Texts* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. IV, pp. 76 *et seq.*)

² *k!u^xwîn*- ICE (§ 12); -*aitx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

³ Particle (§ 133).

⁴ See § 98.

⁵ *L!a^{'ai}* GROUND (§ 133); -*ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 9, 8).

⁶ *naqut*- TO BE COLD; -*yax* past (§ 74).

⁷ *k!u^xwîn*- ICE (§ 12); -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75).

⁸ Particle of negation (§ 131).

⁹ Particle (§ 131).

¹⁰ *qatcū*- TO DRINK; -*īl* negative (§§ 53, 8).

¹¹ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

¹² See § 97.

¹³ Restrictive particle (§ 130).

¹⁴ Conjunction (§ 125).

¹⁵ *qatcū*- TO DRINK; -*ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -*tx* plural (§ 80); -*aūtnē* passive (§ 58).

¹⁶ Discriminative form of *ha^{'mūt}* ALL (§§ 111, 124).

¹⁷ Discriminative form of *hītc* PERSON (§§ 111, 7).

¹⁸ *qatcū*- TO DRINK; -*ūi* verbalizing (§ 75); -*tx* plural (§ 80); -*aūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

¹⁹ Particle (§ 128).

²⁰ Local adverb (§ 119).

²¹ *qatcū*- TO DRINK; -*ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -*tx* plural (§ 80).

²² *tē* WATER (§ 88); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

²³ Particle (§§ 131, 94, 108).

²⁴ *nī^{'ctca}* MANNER (§§ 131, 135); -*īl* negative (§§ 53, 9).

²⁵ *tai*-, *tī*- TO LIVE (§ 2); -*ūwi* nominal (§§ 97, 8).

²⁶ *qawx* HIGH, TOP (§ 119); -*ai^x* local (§ 92).

²⁷ *k!u^xwî^{'nī}* ICE (§§ 98, 12); -*ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

²⁸ *qatcū*- TO GO (§ 4); -*t* present (§§ 72, 4); -*ūu* plural (§ 79).

²⁹ Temporal particle (§ 126).

³⁰ Discriminative form of *texmīl^{'mā}* (§ 111); *texm* STRONG; -*ū^{'mā}* augmentative (§ 84).

³¹ *L!xū*- TO KNOW; -*ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

³² *wā^{'nwīts}* LONG AGO (§ 119); -*ax* nominal (§§ 101, 108).

³³ See § 103.

u ¹⁴	tqūh'yūsne ³⁴	ants ¹¹	tcīxni'ne,	u ¹⁴	tqūh'yūsne ³⁴	a'l'dū ³⁵	ants ¹¹
Then	is shouted at constantly	that	Raccoon,	and	is shouted at constantly	also	that
tsxu'nplī. ³⁶	lānatl'yūsne, ³⁷	"Tcīxni'ne,		tcīxni'ne,	hī'n ^ε k lītsx ³⁸		
Coyote.	He is called constantly,	"Raccoon,		Raccoon,	to rain cause thy		
L!a'ai! ³	Wa'a's ³⁹	te ⁴⁰	mō'luptsīnī'sla! ⁴¹	Hī'n ^ε k lītsxats ⁴²	L!a'ai! ³		
world!	Tell to	this	Coyote!	To rain cause ye two your	world!		
Nākwa'yatyanxan, ⁴³	neqū'txanxan ⁴⁴	yā'a'xa." ⁴⁵	u ¹⁴	wān ²⁹			
Poor we	cold our (bodies have) we	muchly."	Then	now			
lānatl'yūsne: ³⁷	"Tcīxni'ne,	tcīxni'ne,	hī'n ^ε k lītsx ³⁸	L!a'ai! ³			
he is called continually:	"Raccoon,	Raccoon,	to rain cause thy	world!			
Mō'luptsīnī'sla, ⁴¹	hī'n ^ε k lītsxats ⁴²	L!a'ai!" ³	u ¹⁴	wān ²⁹	hī'n ^ε k!ya ⁱ ⁴⁶		
Coyote,	to rain cause ye two your	world!"	Then	finally	begins to rain		
L!a'ai. ³	Haya'mūt ¹⁶	hī'yātē ¹⁷	ha'nīnīt!ūn. ⁴⁷	S ^E a'tsa ⁴⁸	u ¹⁴ la ^u x ⁴⁹		
universe.	All	people	believe it.	Thus	and they two		
tqūh'yūsne, ³⁴	u ¹⁴	wān ²⁹	hī'n ^ε k!ya'tx ⁵⁰	L!a'ai.	S ^E a'tsa ⁴⁸	u ¹⁴	
are shouted at continually,	then	finally	causes to rain its (body)	world.	Thus	then	
tqūh'yūsne, ⁵¹	ants ⁵²	tkwa'myax ⁵³	ants ¹¹	īnq!a'a! ⁵⁴			
it is shouted,	when	closes up	that	river.			
Sqa'k ²⁰	wān ²⁹	hawa'! ⁵⁵	Smīt'ū' ⁵⁶	wān ²⁹	sqa'k. ²⁰	Tā'kīn ⁵⁷	
There	now	it ends.	It ends	finally	there.	This I	
L!xū'yūn. ³¹							
know it.							

³⁴ tqūh- TO SHOUT; -a' (-i) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -ūsne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

³⁵ Conjunction (§ 125).

³⁶ See § 98.

³⁷ lā- TO CALL; -atī frequentative (§ 68); -ūsne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

³⁸ hī'n^εk!- TO RAIN; -a' (-i) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 9); -tsx imperative (§ 47).

³⁹ waa- TO SPEAK; -a's transitive imperative (§§ 62, 9).

⁴⁰ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

⁴¹ Alsea term for COYOTE.

⁴² hī'n^εk!- TO RAIN; -a' (-i) verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); -tsx imperative (§ 47); -ts 2d person dual (§§ 24, 4).

⁴³ nākwa'yat- TO BE POOR; -nzan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4, 8).

⁴⁴ Contracted from neqūh'yāt'xanxan (§ 15); naqut- TO BE COLD (§ 12); -ū' verbalizing (§ 75); -tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33); -nzan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

⁴⁵ yāx- MUCH; -a modal (§ 96).

⁴⁶ hī'n^εk!- TO RAIN; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

⁴⁷ hanīnīt!- TO BELIEVE; -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).

⁴⁸ Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

⁴⁹ u¹⁴ THEN (§ 125); -ux 3d person dual (§ 24).

⁵⁰ hī'n^εk!- TO RAIN; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33).

⁵¹ tqūh- TO SHOUT; -ū'ne passive (§ 58).

⁵² Particle (§ 131).

⁵³ tkūm- TO SHUT, TO CLOSE (§§ 7, 112); -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136).

⁵⁴ See § 98.

⁵⁵ haw- TO END; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

⁵⁶ smīt- TO END (§ 12); -ū' verbalizing (§ 75).

⁵⁷ tāk THIS (§§ 115, 12); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[Translation]

(When in former days the) ground was covered with ice, much snow (lay) on the ground, and it became very cold, then the people had no way of drinking (water freely). From one well only could they drink, and all people drank from it. Although many were the people, still they all drank there. (And when) ice began to appear on the water (of the rivers), then all inhabitants could not go anywhere. They were forced to go along the surface of the ice. Then (at such times there would always be some) old man who knew that (ancient) custom of the people of long ago. (He would then tell it to his people.) And Raccoon would be invoked, and Coyote likewise would be invoked. He would be called by name, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! Speak to Coyote! Cause ye two your rain (to flow)! We are in straits, we are very cold." Then (once more Raccoon) would be invoked, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! (You and) Coyote cause ye your (dual) rain (to flow)!" Then at last it would rain. All people believed in (the efficacy of this formula). For that reason they two would be invoked, (until) it would commence to rain. Thus people were shouting whenever (ice) closed up the rivers. Now there it ends. It is the finish. (Thus) I know it.

CHUKCHEE

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The following grammatical sketch of the Chukchee group of languages is based on a manuscript by Mr. Bogoras, in which all the main facts presented here are contained. Since the principal object of the series of sketches presented in this Handbook is an elucidation of the grammatical categories found in the present condition of each language treated, I thought it best to re-arrange the material on the basis of an analytical study. I am therefore responsible for the essential form of arrangement and presentation here given. The re-arrangement was, however, made in consultation with Mr. Bogoras, the final form being given to the description of the grammar in accordance with his criticisms and suggestions. The references to the Chukchee and Koryak Texts have also been added by me in order to prove the statements contained in the grammar. These also were revised, supplemented, and corrected by Mr. Bogoras. Finally I have added sample texts with explanatory notes. These have also been revised by Mr. Bogoras.

It seemed important to add the Chukchee to the sketches contained in the Handbook, because it proves conclusively that those features which are most characteristic of many American languages are found also on the Asiatic continent. It seemed essential, furthermore, to present material for determining the position of the Eskimo language in relation to all its neighbors.

The war has delayed the publication of this work beyond expectation, and the final revision had to be made by the editor.

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, *December, 1921.*

CHUKCHEE

By WALDEMAR BOGORAS

INTRODUCTION

The material for the following study was collected by me in 1895-97, when I was a member of the Sibiryakov Expedition of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society; and in 1900-01, when I was engaged in anthropological researches for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History.

The group of languages treated in this sketch includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of these, the first two are closely related, while the Kamchadal shows markedly divergent forms. Its phonetics are more complicated than those of the other two languages, and it seems to have preserved some ancient traits. Its morphology, however, is obscured by the recent process of Russianization, which has had a marked influence upon the language of the people.

Since I spent several years among the Chukchee on the Kolyma and Anadyr, and attained full command of the language in a practical manner, my Chukchee material is much fuller and also more accurate than that collected in the other languages. The work on the Chukchee is also facilitated by the fact that the language has no dialects, the dialect of the maritime Chukchee of the Pacific coast being almost identical with that of the reindeer-breeders of the Kolyma river.

Besides grammatical and lexicographic data, I have collected a large number of texts. I have also collected texts from the Asiatic Eskimo,¹ with literal translation into Chukchee, made by natives and carefully revised with their aid, as a means of avoiding inexactness in the translation of the Eskimo material.

¹ Some of these have been published in my paper, "The Eskimo of Siberia" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, part III). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1913.

My work on the Koryak was done during the months from December, 1900, to March, 1901. While Mr. Waldemar Jochelson studied the ethnology of the Koryak on behalf of the Jesup Expedition, the morphological study of the language was assigned to me on account of my familiarity with the Chukchee. I left the Anadyr in November, 1900, joined Mr. Jochelson at Kamenskoye, and spent about a month with him. From there I proceeded to Kamchatka and studied the Kamchatka Koryak and the Kamchadal. On account of the necessity of devoting some time to the Eskimo of Indian Point, I could not devote more time to the study of these dialects.

The Koryak is spoken in a number of dialects, which may be classed in two groups, the western and the eastern. The western group includes the maritime villages on Penshina Bay of the Sea of Okhotsk,¹ some of which are the largest of the Koryak settlements, and the reindeer breeders on the rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Here belong, for instance, the villages of Qa'yılın, Čimi'tqa, and Po'qač.² The eastern group includes all the maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the villages of the Pacific shore, mainly around Alutor Bay. The Kerek may form a third group, which, although situated farthest to the east, is more closely related to the western branch.

I shall call the western group "Koryak I;" the eastern group "Koryak II." Since the majority of the former group are reindeer breeders who live north from the maritime villages, and, along the northern border of the country, come into contact with the Chukchee, I have elsewhere called the Koryak I the northern group; the Koryak II, the southern group.

The bulk of my Koryak material and all the texts are principally from the village Kamenskoye on Penshina bay, and also from Paren, 50 miles farther to the west. I have marked this material, respectively, "Kor. Kam." and "Kor. Par." All words and forms marked simply "Kor." are common to the various dialects. The chief difference between the dialects of Kamenskoye and Paren—both members of the eastern branch—lies in the rules governing the harmony of vowels. My material on the Koryak of Kamchatka is not extensive.

¹ See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Ibid., vol. vi), pp. 437 et seq. Leyden, E. J. Brill.

² Ibid., p. 440. See also map at end of volumes vi and vii of the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

The Kamchadal material that I have been able to collect is not very full. The study of this dialect is at present very difficult on account of its corruption by the introduction of Russian elements.

In Krasheninnikoff's time there were three dialects of the Kamchadal—a southern, an eastern (spoken on the Kamchatka river), and a western. The first two are extinct, the language of the natives having been replaced by Russian. The eastern dialect is spoken in 13 villages on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The largest of these is Kharghiusova (Kamchadal, Plǒ'xǒn), where I stayed 20 days. Another dialect is spoken in the village Sedanka, on the upper course of the Tighil river. Apart from phonetic differences, the chief features of this dialect are due to a strong Koryak influence. This, however, is also quite strong in the dialect of the Sea of Okhotsk. During the last 50 years, Koryak reindeer breeders have been living on the tundras of the eastern part of Kamchatka. The Kamchadal visit them, and purchase from them reindeer meat and skins for clothing. These Koryak are not Christianized, and speak only their own language. Thus it happens that the Kamchadal of the eastern shore, as far south as the village Kol, speak more or less the western Koryak dialect (I); and that among the half-Russianized Kamchadal, remnants of Koryak have almost completely replaced the old, native Kamchadal. In a few folk stories, fragments of which I was able to collect, the Kamchadal names have been forgotten, and Koryak names have taken their places. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with Kamchadal or with Koryak terms. In the Sedanka dialect the influence of Koryak is felt even more markedly. The people are in the habit of using whole Koryak sentences, or begin a sentence in Kamchadal and end in Koryak. The dialect that has influenced the Sedanka people is the Kamchatka Koryak II.¹ Besides, there is a strong intrusion of Russian into both dialects. The Kamchadal has lost many of its numerals, several pronouns, and a considerable number of nouns and adjectives, all of which have been replaced by Russian terms. These have not been assimilated so as to conform with the morphology of Kamchadal, but remain unaltered. A Russianization may also be observed in the grammatical structure.

Nevertheless the Russian spoken by the Russianized natives of Kamchatka also bears evidence of the influence of the Kamchadal.

¹ Sedanka Kamchadal *g'ava'tel'kal* THEY PERISHED (-*ik* inchoative in Koryak II, -*ñivo* in Koryak I)
sqq'titi HE WILL FREEZE TO DEATH (*sq-* future prefix Koryak II, *yq-* in Koryak I).

The Russian suffixes for case and gender do not occur, and all nouns and adjectives are used in the nominative singular masculine. All vowels are strongly marked as long, short, or obscure.

In the following study I have confined myself to the main points of the morphology. The description is based mainly on Chukchee and on a comparison of Chukchee and the western Koryak of Kamenskoye. Kamchadal has been utilized only so far as to indicate the peculiar characteristics of this dialect.

Notes on the Koryak are indicated by a single, those on the Kamchadal by a double marginal vertical rule. Examples without reference are taken from field notes.

All references for the Chukchee indicated by page and line (for instance, 21.3) are to my Chukchee texts contained in the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition; those marked R, followed by page and line (for instance, R 23.5) are to my collection of texts published by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. All references to Koryak (marked, for instance, Kor. 27.6) are to my Koryak Texts published by the American Ethnological Society. The following previous publications on this family of languages may be mentioned:

L. RADLOFF, Ueber die Sprache der Tschuktschen (Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1861, Series VII, vol. III, No. 10).

В. Г. Богоразъ, Образцы материаловъ по изученію чукотскаго языка и фольклора, собранныхъ въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Оттискъ изъ Извѣстій Императорской Академіи Наукъ Т. X. No. 3 (Мартъ 1899).

[WALDEMAR BOGORAS, Sample Text for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District. Reprint from the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, vol. X, no. 3 (March, 1899).]

Материалы по изученію чукотскаго языка и фольклора, собраніе въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Изданіе Императорской Академіи Наукъ. В. 1. С.-Петербургъ 1900.

[Materials for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District, Part I. Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1900. Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, Part I). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1910.

Koryak Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. V). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1914.

IGNACY RADLINSKY, Ze zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiiego. Słowniki Nazzeczy Ludów Kamczackich, 5 parts, Kraków, 1891-94.

С. Крашенинниковъ Описание земли Камчатки. С.-Петербургъ 1819. Т. 1. II. [S. KRASHENINNIKOFF, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. I and II. St. Petersburg, 1819.]

В. Н. Туюшовъ, По хзападному берегу Камчатки, С. П. Б., 1906.

[W. N. TUSHOFF, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka. St. Petersburg, 1906.]

PHONETICS (§§ 1-24)

Chukchee (§§ 1-13)

§ 1. Vowels

The vowels of the Chukchee language may be divided into three classes:

(1) Weak vowels: *ɛ i e ä u*

(2) Strong vowels: *ê a œ o*

(3) Neutral vowels: *ɪ ɛ ʌ ʏ*

The vowels of the first and second classes are always long.

i, e, u, have their continental values.

ä is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.

ɛi is a glide from *e* to *i*, with long, accented *i*. It is always combined with a glottal stop.

ê is the open *e* of *hell*, but long.

a has its continental value.

o like *o* in *nor*.

œ a *u* with very slight rounding of lips, with the acoustic effect of a sound between *o* and *u*.

ɪ, ɛ, ʌ, obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.

ʏ an *i* with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian *ы*.

Unusual length or shortness of vowels is indicated by the macron and breve respectively (*ā, ă*).

Diphthongs are formed by the combination of any of the vowels with following *i* and *u*:

ai like *i* in *hide*.

au like *ow* in *how*.

ei like *ei* in *vein*.

eu like *eu* in Italian *leucojo*.

oi like *oi* in *choice*.

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs belong to the neutral vowels. Combinations of the vowels with the weak vowels *i* and *u* do not form diphthongs.

The *i* and *u* of true diphthongs must be considered as voiced consonants, because, in all intervocalic positions where they are not lost, and in proper position before certain consonants, they have consonantic character; and because they often modify following consonants in the manner of the preceding consonants *y* and *w* (see §§ 5, 9).

Generally the accent of diphthongs is on the first vowel, although it is often placed on the second vowel.

qailo'qim indeed *ūpa'u'ma* while drinking

When the diphthong is followed by a consonantic cluster, the terminal vocalic sound of the diphthong is lengthened. This gives the effect of an accent on the first vowel.

ūpa'urkin thou drinkest

Before vowels, the *u* of the diphthong becomes *w*.

nɾpa'w-ē-ūm I am drinking (stem *ūpau*)

NOTE.—In many cases *i* neutral, which does not form diphthongs, originates from contraction of *yr* (see § 10).

Doubled vowels are also of frequent occurrence, particularly

ii in *ti'rkiir* (male pronunciation¹) sun

ee in *ē'ek* lamp

uu in *mtu'ulpir* son-in-law

ēē in *ēē'thūpū* from the skin intended for clothing

aa in *pa'arkin* thou ceasest

oo in *ro'olqal* food

ii in *taiñr'irgin* sinful action

After the loss of *z*, *y*, or *g*, between two vowels (see § 10), clusters of three repetitions of the same vowel may appear.

mrya'aa^k < *mrya'aga^k* I will use

A comparison with Koryak suggests that whenever two vowels appear in contact, an elision of a consonant has occurred. Examples of this are given in § 16, no. 18, p. 670. It would seem that in all these cases the Chukchee has the tendency to assimilate the vowels (see § 13, p. 665).

§ 2. Consonants

	Stop		Affricative		Nasal		Continued.	Lateral			Trill
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Sonant	Surd		Affricative		Continued	
								Surd	Sonant		
Labial . .	<i>p</i>	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	—	<i>v</i>	—	—	—	—
Alveolar .	<i>t</i>	— [<i>d</i>]	(<i>š</i>), <i>č</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	—	<i>ʟ</i>	<i>ʟ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i> , <i>ʃ</i>
Palatalized alveolar	<i>t'</i>	— [<i>d'</i>]	<i>č'</i>	<i>ʃ'</i>	<i>n'</i>	—	<i>s'</i>	—	—	—	—
Palatal . .	<i>k</i> , <i>wkw</i> ²	—	—	—	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Velar . . .	<i>q</i>	<i>g</i> <i>q(u,o)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal . .	—	<i>ʔ</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

h, *w*, *y*

¹ See § 13.

² Written *kw* before and after *u*.

p, m, as in English.

v bilabial.

t as in English.

š like *z* in German *Zeit*, used only in female pronunciation.

č like English *ch* in *choice*.

ǰ like English *j* in *joy*.

n as in English.

ɮ stop produced by the tip of the tongue touching the upper alveoli, back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate, and sudden lateral release with slightly continued stricture.

ɮ like *ɮ*, but sonant.

l as in German.

r as in French (hard trill, *roue*).

ř dental *r* with weak trill.

ṭ, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, *ǰ̣*, *ṇ*, the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized, similar to *ty*, *dy*, *sy*, *ǰy*, *ny*.

č̣ strongly palatalized, intermediate between *ṭ* and *č*, but weaker than either.

k as in English.

wkw labialized *k*.

ñ like *n* in *singing*. Voiceless *ñ* is always terminal, and appears after terminal *ɮ, ɛ*.

q, g } velars corresponding to *k* and *g*; *g* in this combination
g (*u, o*) } is often labialized.

h, w, y, consonantic, as in English. Initial *w* is sometimes pronounced nasally, as in *wo'tqan* THIS ONE. In my Russian publications I have indicated this nasalization; but it has not been indicated here, since it is not morphologically significant, and seems to be a characteristic feature of the sound, which appears, however, of varying strength.

d and *ḍ*, which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear only as the development of a strong palatalization of *ṇ*, as in

ta'nd'an < *ta'n-yan* a good one

In only one case is initial *ḍ* found,—*ḍi'ndin* FIRE (from stem *yɪn*; compare *gay'nlaʎn* THE ONE THAT HAS FIRE). The reduplicated form *yɪnyɪn* changes to *yɪnḍ'm*, from which develops—by assimilation, *ḍ'inḍ'm*; and by intensification of the obscure vowel, *ḍi'ndin*.

NOTE.—Examples of the importance of the glottal stops are—

iʎ'rirkin he comes across

reʎ'tirkin he rejoices

yoʎ'rkɪn thou overtakest

yeʎ'tirkin the sky becomes
overcast

čəʎ'čəʎ cold

əʎ'čə'pürkin it shows itself

i'rirkin he hits

re'tirkin he brings

yo'rkɪn thou putttest in

ye'tirkin thou comest

čə'čə lengthwise

əčə'pürkin it grows damp

The consonants *l* and *č* are intimately related, and frequently replace each other, sometimes with a slight change of meaning (see § 122).

vêčā'rkin and *vêlā'rkin* (from *vêt-la'rkin*, see § 7, no. 17, p. 654),
he stands

vilu^s'ttim and *viču^s'ttim* (from stem *vilu-* ear) ear-bone

čei'wurkin he walks; *lei'wurkin* he wanders about

lä^s'leñ winter; *čü^s'čeñ* cold

Initial *ti* is sometimes replaced by *či*.

tili-tto'oča > *čičičo'oča* in front of the entrance

NOTE.—In words borrowed from the Russian, the following substitutions occur:

For Russian б (*b*), Chukchee *v* is substituted.

For Russian ф (*f*), Chukchee *p* or *g* is substituted.

For Russian х, Chukchee *k* or *q* is substituted.

For Russian с, ш (*s, sh*), Chukchee *č* is substituted.

For Russian ц (*s*), Chukchee *t* is substituted.

Examples:

Chukchee	Russian
<i>čai'van</i>	сайба (storehouse)
<i>Apo'n</i>	Афонька (Athanasius)
<i>Gč'čhan</i>	Федька (Teddy)
<i>ča'qar</i>	сахаръ (sugar)
<i>čol</i>	соль (salt)
<i>trč'n'non</i>	средне (middle)

§ 3. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by *^*, the strong ones by *o*. A word, simple or compound, must contain only strong vowels and neutrals, or only weak vowels and neutrals, or only vowels of one of the three classes. When, in composition, weak vowels and strong vowels come together in the same word, the former are changed by the ablaut into strong vowels.

eⁱ and *iⁱ* into *ê*
ē and *ā* into *ā*
u into *ô* or *ə*

The sound *g* differs in origin, therefore, from *ā*, the latter being the ablaut of *ē* or *ā*. This process is not confined to preceding or following vowels, but pervades the whole word. Elements containing only weak vowels are combined without ablaut. The same is true of elements containing either neutral vowels alone or neutral and weak

vowels. A polysyllabic stem which contains a single strong vowel must have all its vowels strong.

Examples of such compositions are—

Weak vowels or weak vowel and neutral vowel:

<i>pîrî-rîkin</i> he takes	<i>äqäinî-trîrîkin</i> the weather grows
<i>tēñ-tēkî'ēkin</i> good meat	warm
<i>mēi'ñi-trîmkîtrîm</i> great	<i>pîñē'pî</i> snowstorm
hummock 145.1	<i>nû'nûn</i> blade of knife
<i>iul-u'ttuut</i> long wood	

Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:

<i>pêrē'yô</i> (from <i>pîrî-yô</i>) taken	
<i>pēñä'îpü</i> (from <i>pîñē-îpü</i>) from a snowstorm	
<i>nōñō'îpu</i> (from <i>nû'nû-îpü</i>) from the blade of knife	
<i>äqäinē'nma</i> (from <i>äqäinî-mä</i>) while the weather is growing	
warm	
<i>äwkwä'tiñôk</i> (from <i>äwkwet-ñô</i>) at the beginning of leaving	
<i>ēu'lu-wä'lat</i> (from <i>iul-väla</i>) long knives 15.2	
<i>tāñ-māñi-mē'mil</i> good, big seal	
<i>gîlē'-äqä'ñ-qôr</i> greedy ¹ right-hand driving-reindeer	

There are a number of words with neutral, probably auxiliary vowels (see § 8), which produce the ablaut, as *tîm* TO KILL; and quite a number of suffixes of the same phonetic character that have the same effect. In these cases it is therefore conceivable either that a strong vowel has been lost or that the phonetic effect is primarily due to other reasons. I give here a list of strong stems of this character:²

<i>im</i> rising of water	<i>wurg</i> dwarf birch
<i>in</i> glue	<i>wukw</i> stone 68.36
<i>ipriñ</i> first dawn	<i>pitv</i> doubled
<i>yip</i> to put on 37.8	<i>prîl</i> (- <i>mñil</i>) news 78.4
<i>yit</i> (- <i>gtr</i>) to get	<i>pîlîl</i> ripples, to bubble 41.1
<i>yin</i> fire	<i>pîlvint</i> iron, metal
<i>yinr</i> steep bank	<i>pîlm</i> darkness produced by a
<i>yikîrg</i> mouth 18.12	storm
<i>yiggî</i> bountiful	<i>pîlhîrr</i> flat, flattened 84.25
<i>wüt</i> leaf	<i>püg</i> float of sealskin
<i>wülh</i> thin, with short hair	<i>pügl</i> large, round, wooden
102.12	bowl
<i>wulhîp</i> to fling	<i>mîng</i> hand
<i>wur</i> branching	<i>mîl</i> nimble

¹ Greedy for urine given in a small vessel. See W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, VII, 85).

² Forms preceded by a hyphen are those in which stems appear when in medial position (see § 12)

miliñ five 107.23
tim (-*nm*) to kill 23.5
timg (-*mg*) to choke
timli to get near to 44.1
tinp to stab
tıl door
tirk testicle
tuw (-*tu*) word, promise 49.6
-tkim to crouch
čimy bitter
čuw bruise
lip neck (bone)
lim something kept in reserve, spare material
ligüp deadfall (trap)
luw to vanquish
-lpinř (*pinř*) to give
-lpıl (*pıl*) to drink
riñıl bridge of nose.
rinn tusk, antler R 3.31
rinnim gums
ring shy
rinñ to whittle (moving knife toward body)

rił (-*ı*) to enter the sleeping-room
riłh finger 22.7, 47.2
rir to hunt down; (*rir* [-*rrı*] TO UNTIE has a weak stem)
rirrit sinew-thread
rig hair
riggit to be too narrow, to have no room.
ruv (-*nv*) to scrape; (*ruv* [-*nv*] TO PUSH OFF is a weak stem)
-rkıpl (*kıpl*) to strike 45.12
kit hard
kıtır to hatch (eggs)
kılt middle part of sternum
kırg dry
kırgıl fibrous
gıt thin, sparse
gıt lake
gılh skin
qıml (*kıml* 33.12) marrow
ñinñ stanchion of sledge
ñıl smoke R 32.38
ñırkıl shame.

Prefixes of the same character are—

ım- all
kıt- (-*gıtı*-) much, strongly

There are also a number of suffixes with neutral vowel, that are strong:

-gıtı, *-ğıtı*, *-wtı*, allative (§ 41)
-ıpğ, *-ğpğ*, *-gıpğ*, ablative (§ 42)
-lıñ(in), *-lıññ(in)*, substantival suffix (§ 52)
-çlıñ(in), *-çlıññ(in)*, substantival suffix (§ 53)
-ğñ-, *-ğññ*, augmentative (§ 98, 1)
-gırg(in) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)
-tkın surface (§ 101, 19)
-s'q, *-s'qğn* over, top of (§ 101, 20)
-nv, *-n*, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(ı)ng allative of personal nouns (§ 41)
-ngğ ablative, adverbial (§ 43)
-gğ augmentative, (§ 98, 3)
-lqañın, *-lqaññın*, space of, (see § 101, 20.)

- liño* diminutive (§ 98, 7)
- ga*—*ma* comitative (§ 100, 15)
- măĕr* comitative (§ 100, 17)
- qăĕ*, -*qăĭ*, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
- yanv*, -*yan*, provided with (§ 104, 38)
- yoĕh*, -*yoĕh*, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
- yo* passive participle (§ 107, 47)
- ñño*, -*ño*. inchoative (§ 110, 63)
- ĕhat*, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols \wedge and \circ have been used wherever clearness seemed to require the exact statement of the character of the vowels. Wherever the character of the vowel is irrelevant or the changes due to harmony of vowels are obvious, the symbols have been omitted.

In a few words, *i* is apparently a neutral vowel; as in

- ya'tirgin* (stem *ye't*) the act of coming
- kañka'ĕirgin* (stem *kenkel*-) the act of descending

In these cases the *i* has originated through palatalization of the preceding consonant and the elision of *g*, which, after *t* and \circ , has hanged to *h* (see §§ 7 and 10).

- ya'tirgin* < *ya't*-*hrgin* < *ya't-girgin*
- kañka'ĕirgin* < *kañka'ĕ*-*hrgin* < *kañka'ĕ-girgin*

In pronunciation, *e*, and \hat{e} , \hat{e} , differ very little. The pronunciation of the last two is, of course, identical. The manner in which the ablaut occurs with *e*, while it is absent in \hat{e} , demonstrates, however, their etymological difference.

- elere'rkim* he feels dull
- alara'ma* while feeling dull } (stem *elere*)
- mêrêmêr* tear
- mêrê'gti* to a tear } (stem *mêrê*)
- piñe'pil* snowstorm
- pêna'ĭpũ* from a snowstorm } (stem *piñe*)
- kêto'rkim* (stem *kêto*) he remembers

In most cases *ä* precedes or follows *q*, or is followed by the glottal stop ϵ , which has probably originated through a loss of *qe*. With few exceptions, *ä* is a weak vowel.

- ä'qă'-mă'mil* bad water, brandy
- ä'qălpə* quick! hurry!
- qăvũ'* fawn
- ä'lqə'p* nail
- ä'mu'lm* workingman

This *ä* is probably developed from *ɛ* under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes *ä* appears without connection with *q* or *ɛ*.

vɪlu'tä by means of an ear

vəla'tä by means of a knife

In a few cases *ä* belongs to the group of strong vowels, and is probably derived from *ê* under the influence of the glottal stop.

äɛ'lo' day

äɛ'ttwêi'-ñan interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

In several compounds *ä* appears as connecting vowel instead of *i*. This happens also generally before or after *q*. The sound of *ä* in these cases is short, and it belongs to the neutral vowels.

In the words *äɛ'ttin* DOG, *äɛ'ttim* BONE, the *äɛ* replaces the weak *äɛ*, and is therefore also weak.

u of diphthongs is generally a nequivalent of *w*, vocalized when preceding a consonant. Therefore it is neutral, even if the accent is on the first part of the diphthong, which increases the vocalic character of the *u*.

tɛrkɛ'urkin he wrestles

tɛrikaulɛ'pɿ from the wrestler

äpɛ'urkin he drinks

In other cases *u* is by origin vocalic, and therefore changes to *o* or *ə*.

äɪ'urkin it thaws

êo'mə while thawing

but consonantic

ä'urkin he speaks

êu'mə while speaking

This *äɪ* may be explained as originating from *i'yɪ*, where, according to the rule, the intervocalic *y* dropped out, strengthening at the same time *i* to *i*.

Consonantic *w*, especially when initial, requires a *u* preceding it. This *u*, which is simply a strong glottal intonation, is neutral, and drops out after prefixes.

uwɪ'urkin he cooks

čuwɪ'urkin he cuts it off

luwə'urkin he can not

uwɛ'mə while cooking

čuwɛ'mə while cutting

gɛ'čvilin he cut it

galvəulɛn being unable to do something

Russian loan-words also conform to the rules of vocalic harmony.

vi'kken fork (Kor. Kam. *vi'lka*); stem *vi'lkε*; Russian *вилка*
č'u'men bag (Kor. Kam. *č'u'ma*); stem *č'umε*; Russian *сума*
kōmā'k paper; stem *kōmāk*; Russian *бумага*
mu'lemul soap (Kor. Kam. *mu'la*); stem *mule*; local Russian *мыло*,
 instead of *мыло*

yeku'tilin Yakut; stem *yekut*; Russian *Якут*

prêkə'čik commercial agent (Kor. *preka'ssek*); Russian *прикащик*
 (Kor. Kam. *čai'n'ek*) teakettle;¹ Russian *чайник*

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles *elo'n* and *nan* enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: *emiLo'n* < *emī elo'n* where is he? *euñā'n* < *ēun nan* so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative *emīLongūñin* ?where is he then? 43.6.

In *pičə'g-tuwa'rkin* THOU TAKEST OFF THE BOOTS, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In *čēq-ā'mniñēn* IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms *čiq* and *emninin* would be expected.

The separate words of the sentence are not affected by these rules.

§ 4. Initial and Terminal Consonants

All sounds occur in initial position, except the consonants *l*, *l̥*, *č̣*, *č̣̇*, which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

l < *t+l*

č̣̇ < *ṭ+y*

l̥ < *l+l* or *r+l*

č̣̇ < *ḍ+y*

All sounds occur as terminals except

l̥, *l̥̇*, *ṭ̇*, [*ḍ̇*], [*ḍ̇̇*], *č̣̇̇*, *č̣̇̇̇*, *č̣̇̇̇̇*, *wkw*, *ř*

v, *h*

I presume the absence of the former group is due to the fact that they are by origin double consonants (see § 5).

Voiceless *n* and *ñ* appear only as terminal sounds after *l* and *ε*.

No clusters of more than two consonants occur. Terminal consonantic clusters are not admissible, and are broken either by the introduction of an obscure vowel or by being placed in medial position by the addition of a terminal obscure vowel. It is important to note that the glottal stop does not count as a consonant in these clusters. It always follows a long vowel.

¹ Chukchee *pi'lhukuk* throat-kettle.

Terminal \tilde{n} , particularly after r , becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

keñu'neñ STAFF ends in voiceless \tilde{n} , but in the plural *keñu'neñit* the \tilde{n} is voiced

This may account for the slight nasal character of unaccented terminal r .

§ 5. Medial Consonantic Clusters

The following consonants never appear in clusters:

$\text{ɬ}, \text{ɮ}, \text{t}', {}^1 [\text{d}], [\text{d}'], {}^2 \text{č}, \text{ǰ}, \text{ǰ}', \text{wkw}$

This proves again that all of these must be considered as double consonants (see § 4).

Besides this, the following do not occur as the first member of a medial cluster:

$k, {}^3 q, {}^4 \text{ř}, h$.

The medial cluster *tr* occurs in some derivations of the loan-word *trê'n·non* (Russian *среде*).

gatrê'n·nonta'len they went to Sredne Kolymsk

The following do not occur as second member of a cluster:

$s', n', {}^6$

The consonantic medial clusters that have been found are contained in the following table, in which dashes indicate inadmissible clusters.

	p	t	k	q		č	m	n	ñ	v	l	r, ř	y	w	h
p	pp	pt	pk	pq	pǧ	pč	—	—	—	—	pl	pr	py	—	—
t	—	tt	tk	tq	tǧ	tč	—	—	—	tv	—	(tr) —	ty	tw	th
q	—	qt	qk	qq	qǧ	qč	—	qn	—	—	ql	qr	qy	—	—
č	—	čt	čk	čq	čǧ	čč	—	čn	—	čv	—	—	—	—	čh
s	sp	—	sk	sq	—	—	—	sn	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
m	mp	mt	mk	mq	mǧ	mč	mm	mn	mñ	—	ml	mr	my	mw	—
n	np	nt	nk	nq	—	nč	nm	nn	—	nv	nl	(nr) nř	ny	—	—
n'	n'p	—	n'k	n'q	n'ǧ	—	n'm	—	n'ñ	n'v	—	—	—	—	—
ñ	—	—	ñk	ñq	ñǧ	—	—	—	ññ	—	—	—	—	—	—
l	lp	lt	lk	lq	—	—	lm	—	—	lv	—	—	ly	lw	lh
r	—	—	rk	—	—	—	—	—	—	rv	—	rř	—	rw	—
y	yp	—	—	yq	—	—	ym	—	yñ	—	—	—	—	—	—
w	wp	wt	(wk)	wq	wǧ	—	wm	wn	—	—	—	wr	—	wv	—

¹ Except t'h.

² Except nd'.

³ Except kk, and in one case kr, which is probably an affricative q.

⁴ Except qq.

§ 6. *Vocalic Contraction*

When sounds that form inadmissible combinations come into contact through composition, phonetic changes occur.

(1) Of two weak or strong vowels in contact, the first one is elided.

qal-aa'êêk < *qalê'-aa'êêk* lazy boy
ä^εq-u'ttut < *ä^εqä-u'ttut* bad wood

(2) Obscure *i, e, ü, a, ä, a^ε*, following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

añqa-nna'n < *añqa'-enna'n* sea-fish
gagpa'len < *ga-üpa'ulên* he drank
ê'ri^εl < *ê'ri-ä^εlêl* muddy snow
ñeu^εttin < *ñe'u-a^εttin* female dog

§ 7. *Medial Consonantic Processes*

When two consonants come into contact, certain changes occur. The consonants given on the left-hand side form, when followed by the consonants at the head of the columns, the following combinations:

	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>p</i> forms with					<i>mn</i>						<i>mñ</i>			
<i>v</i> forms with											<i>wñ</i>			
<i>w</i> forms with			<i>wkw</i>	<i>wkw</i>				<i>wg</i>					{ <i>wkw</i> <i>wg</i> }	
<i>t</i> forms with		<i>nm</i>			<i>nn</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>L</i>			<i>nñ</i>		{ <i>th</i> <i>ly</i> }	
<i>n</i> forms with						<i>nd</i>	{ <i>nr</i> <i>nt</i> }				<i>nñ</i>		<i>n'g</i>	
<i>č</i> forms with	<i>s'p</i>	{ <i>s'm</i> <i>nm</i> }			{ <i>tt</i> { <i>s'nn</i> <i>nn</i> }			<i>rr</i>	<i>L</i>		<i>s'k</i>	<i>čñ</i>	<i>s'q</i>	<i>čh</i>
<i>y</i> forms with					<i>gl</i>	<i>gn</i>	<i>gč</i>	<i>gr</i>	<i>gl</i>					
<i>r</i> forms with					<i>tt</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>tč</i>	<i>č</i>	{ <i>l</i> <i>l</i> }					
<i>l</i> forms with							{ <i>ly</i> <i>ly</i> }		<i>rr</i>	{ <i>l</i> <i>l</i> }		<i>lh</i>	{ <i>lq</i> <i>s'q</i> }	
<i>k</i> }	form with	<i>wp</i>	<i>wm</i>	<i>wkw</i>	<i>wkw</i>	<i>gt</i>	<i>gn</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>gr</i>	<i>gl</i>	<i>gk</i>	{ <i>gñ</i> <i>ññ</i> }	<i>gq</i>	<i>wkw</i>
<i>ñ</i> forms with		<i>mp</i>	<i>wm</i>	<i>mv</i>	<i>mw</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>gn</i>	<i>nč</i>	{ <i>nd</i> { <i>nr</i> <i>ny</i> <i>nt</i> }					
<i>q</i> forms with		<i>εp</i>	<i>εm</i>	<i>εv</i>	<i>εw</i>	<i>εt</i>	<i>εn</i>	<i>εč</i>	<i>εy</i>	<i>εr</i>	<i>εl</i>	<i>εk</i>	<i>εñ</i>	(<i>εq</i>) <i>εg</i>

These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

- (1) Voiceless labial and dental stops before nasals become nasals.
- (2) *k* and *g* before labials become *w*; with *v* and *w*, they form a labialized *k*.
- (3) *k*, *g*, and *y* before dentals become *g*.

- (4) *q* before consonants becomes *ε*; only *qq* occurs.
 (5) *ñ* before labials becomes *m*; before dentals, *n*.
 (6) *č* before labials, palatals, and *n*, becomes *s*. When *l* replaces *č*, it is treated in the same manner.
 (7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.
 (8) *w* with following *v*, *w*, and sometimes also with *g*, forms labialized *k*.
 (9) *y* following *v*, *w*, and *g*, becomes *g*.
 (10) *t* (*č*), and *r* with following *y*, form *č*.
 (11) *l* with following *y* forms *ǰ*, or *ly*.
 (12) *t*, *č*, and (*r*) with following *r* form *rr*.
 (13) (*t*), *č*, and *r* with following *t* form *tt*.
 (14) *ñ* with following *n* and *ñ* forms *gn* and *gñ*.
 (15) *n* and *ñ* with following *y* form *nd*.
 (16) *n* and *ñ* with following *r* form often *nř*.
 (17) *t*, *č*, *r*, and *l* with following *l* form *L*. The last two with following *l* also form *L*.
 (18) *l* with following *r* forms *rr*.
 (19) *l* with following *ñ* forms *lh*.
 (20) *r* with following *n* forms *nn*.
 (21) *r* with following *č* forms *tč*.
 (22) *k* with following *k* and *q* form *gk* and *gq*.
 (23) *k* and *g* with following *ñ* form *ññ*.
 (24) *k* with following *g* forms *gg*; with following *gu*, *wkw* (*u*).
 (25) *g* with following *q* forms *gq*.
 (26) *l* and *t* with following *g* form *lh*, *ly*, and *th*, *ty*.

Examples:

- pn* > *mn* (1) *gemne'lin* whetted < *ge-pne'-lin*
valamna'lin < *vala-pna'lin* the knife-whetter
 44.4
rimnē'pū from the inner skin (*ri'pin* inner skin)
pn > *mñ* (1) *gitte'mñew* < *gitte'p-ñew* clever woman
namñilo'a'n < *na-pñilo'a'n* they asked him
 66.24
tm > *nm* (1) *min'i'nmik* < *min-i't-mik* let us be! 57.1
ni'i'lqān-muri < *ni-yi'lqāt-muri* we slept
na'nmoa'n < *na-tmu-ā'n* they killed it 8.2
mne'wkwēnmik < *mn-e'wkwēt-mik* let us go
 away! 17.8
tn > *nn* (1) *ε'i'miñnin* < *ε'i'mit-nin* he took it 117.9
tñ > *nñ* (1, 7) *re'i'lqān-ñit* < *re-yi'lqāt-ñit* they will sleep
gen-ñi'u'lin < *ge-tñi'u'-lin* he sent it 104.10 (cf.
 19.1; 104.3)
kp > *wp* (2) *mūwpe'nvel* < *mūkpe'nvel* many two-year-old
 reindeer-bucks

<i>km</i> > <i>wm</i> (2)	<i>mūwmog'oggor</i> < <i>mūk-mog'oggor</i> many pack-reindeer
<i>kv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>pičawkwa'glrñm</i> < <i>piča'k-wa'glrñm</i> boot-grass (i. e., grass insole)
<i>kw</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>mūwkwê't'hau</i> < <i>mūk-wê't'haw</i> (too) many words
<i>gp</i> > <i>wp</i> (2)	<i>êw-pêrə'rkin</i> < <i>êg-pêrə'rkin</i> he looks wolf-like
<i>gm</i> > <i>wm</i> (2)	<i>ēlē'w-mi'tqāmīt</i> < <i>ēlē'g-mi'tqāmīt</i> sweet blubber (honey)
	<i>čē'wmak</i> < <i>čēg-mak</i> egg-shell
<i>gv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>āLā'wkwə'ngau</i> < <i>āLā'g-wə'ngau</i> chewing-gum (lit. sweet gum)
<i>gw</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>ālawkwê't'hau</i> < <i>ālag-wê't'hau</i> sweet talk
<i>kt</i> > <i>gt</i> (3)	<i>ūwī'g trmñē'n</i> < <i>ūwī'k trmñē'n</i> she killed herself 72.27
<i>kn</i> > <i>gn</i> (3)	<i>mūg-nē'nnet</i> < <i>mūk-nē'nnet</i> many otter (skins)
<i>kr</i> > <i>gr</i> (3)	<i>mūg-rē'w</i> < <i>mūk-rē'w</i> many whales
<i>kl</i> > <i>gl</i> (3)	<i>mūg lī'glīg</i> < <i>mūk-lī'glīg</i> many eggs
<i>yt</i> > <i>gt</i> (3)	<i>čəg-tai'ōčhyn</i> < <i>čəi-tai'ōč-hyn</i> tea-bag
<i>yn</i> > <i>gn</i> (3)	<i>mā'gni</i> < <i>māi-ni</i> property piled up outside of house.
	<i>ñē'gni</i> < <i>ñei-ni</i> mountain
<i>yč</i> > <i>gč</i> (3)	<i>vē'g-čū'rmin</i> < <i>vē'i-čū'rmin</i> grass border
<i>yr</i> > <i>gr</i> (3)	<i>və'gran</i> < <i>və'i-ran</i> grass house
<i>yl</i> > <i>gl</i> (3)	<i>vā'glñm</i> < <i>vā'i-lñm</i> grass
<i>q</i> before consonants > ^ε (4)	<i>narkə'gūpū</i> < <i>nērkuq-gūpū</i> from the swan
	<i>g'ņē'pū</i> < <i>g'qn-ē'pū</i> from the fish-hook
	<i>mā'mē'ipū</i> < <i>māqmē-ipū</i> from the arrow
	<i>gē'lī'keLm</i> < <i>gē-qlī'ket-lm</i> he has married

A few stems, when preceding consonants, change *q* to ^ε, and their vowels become subject to ablaut.

tē^ε < *tiq* to cast metal

yē^ε < *yiq* quick

mē^ε < *miq* small

For instance:

ti'qirkin he casts metal

tē^εnin he has cast it

ñp > *mp* (5) *tampêra'ê* < *tañ-pêra'ê* he appeared well

gēmpē'līn < *gē-ñpē'-līn* they landed 12.9

ñv > *mv* (5) *tām-vā'irgin* < *tañ-vā'irgin* good being, good state of things

ñw > *mw* (5) *tām-wāñē'irgin* < *tañ-wāñē'irgin* good work

ñt > *nt* *rāntō'a^εt* < *ra-ñtō'-a^εt* they went out 56.8

ñč > *nč* *tān-čəi* < *tañ-čəi* good tea

<i>ñy</i> > <i>ny</i>	<i>tele'n-ye'p</i> < <i>tele'n-ye'p</i> long time ago
<i>ñr</i> > <i>nr</i>	<i>tele'n-remkin</i> < <i>tele'n-re'mkin</i> ancient people
	<i>tan-ra'n</i> < <i>tañ-ra'n</i> a good house; but <i>tan-roglgal</i> < <i>tañ-ro'olgal</i> good food
<i>ñl</i> > <i>nl</i>	<i>ten-le'ut</i> < <i>teñ-le'ut</i> good, clever head
<i>ẽp</i> > <i>s'p</i> (6)	<i>mas-pa'gẽ</i> < <i>mač-pa'gẽ</i> he seemed to cease
<i>ĩm</i> > <i>s'm</i> (6)	<i>mẽs'-kirpi's-mič</i> < <i>mẽs'-kirpi'č-mič</i> of about the size of a cake of brick tea; but also <i>mẽs'-kirpi'n-mič</i>
<i>ẽn</i> > <i>s'n</i> (6)	<i>mes-ni'mpäqin</i> < <i>meč-ni'mpäqin</i> somewhat slow; but also <i>menni'mpäqin</i>
<i>ěk</i> > <i>s'k</i> (6)	<i>kirpi's'kin</i> < <i>kirpi'čkin</i> belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from <i>va'ẽnqač</i> THERE is derived the adjective <i>va'ẽnqa'tkẽn</i>
<i>ěq</i> > <i>s'q</i> (6)	<i>kirpi's'qäi</i> < <i>kirpi'č-qäi</i> small piece of brick-tea (see 29.8)
<i>nñ</i> > <i>n'ñ</i> (7)	<i>qun-ñe'ekik</i> < <i>qun-ñe'ekik</i> single daughter (see, however, <i>qun-ñe'ekik</i> 29.8)
<i>ng</i> > <i>n'g</i> (7)	<i>qon-gitka'ta</i> < <i>qon-gitka'ta</i> one-legged
<i>lq</i> > <i>s'q</i> , when <i>l</i> replaces a <i>č</i>	<i>wu's'quus</i> < <i>wu'lquul</i> darkness
<i>wv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (8)	<i>raaṇawkwā'irgin</i> < <i>raa'naw-vā'irgin</i> straight acting
	<i>lau'laukwā'irga</i> < <i>lau'lau'-vā'irga</i> by mischievous being 117.21
<i>ww</i> > <i>wkw</i> (8)	<i>ñawkwāñẽ'irgin</i> < <i>ñaw-wgñẽ'irgin</i> female work
<i>wg</i> > <i>wkw</i> (8)	<i>timgrā'wkwā'k</i> < <i>timargu'-gā'k</i> I quarreled
	<i>ẽime'wkwĩ</i> < <i>ẽime'u-gĩ</i> it approached 9.12
<i>vy</i> > <i>vg</i> (9)	<i>nuvgẽ'ntogqẽnat</i> < <i>n-vyi-ñto-qĩnet</i> their breath went out 34.6
<i>wy</i> > <i>wg</i> (9)	<i>awgō'lika</i> < <i>ā-wyōl-kā</i> without assistant 124.5
	<i>ñā'wgẽl</i> < <i>ñaw-yẽl</i> female cousin
<i>gy</i> > <i>gg</i> (9)	<i>ẽgga'ilhin</i> < <i>ẽg-g-ya'ilhin</i> wolf's paw
	<i>āḷā'ggan</i> < <i>āḷā'gyan</i> the sweet one
<i>ty</i> > <i>č</i> (10)	<i>yilqāč.ān</i> < <i>yilqat-yan</i> the sleeper
<i>ry</i> > <i>č</i> (10)	<i>ko'č'o</i> < <i>ko'r-yo</i> the one bought
<i>ly</i> > <i>ǰ</i> or remains unaltered (11)	<i>a'lkirǰ'o</i> < <i>a'lkilyo</i> the one recognized. The unaltered form occurs also.
<i>tr</i> > <i>rr</i> (12)	<i>gir-ra'ttam</i> < <i>git-ra'ttam</i> thin curried reindeer-skin
<i>čr</i> > <i>rr</i> (12)	<i>marra'ẽñki</i> < <i>mač-ra'ẽñki</i> somewhat back of you
<i>čt</i> > <i>tt</i> (13)	<i>mat-torẽ'tu-wā'lin</i> < <i>mač-torẽ'tu-wā'lins</i> somewhat crazy
	<i>ma'ñẽngat-tāč</i> < <i>ma'ñẽngāč-tāč</i> in what direction he moved on

<i>rt</i> > <i>tt</i> (13)	<i>tut-tei'kik</i> < <i>tur-tei'kik</i> newly made
<i>ñn</i> > <i>gn</i> (14)	<i>teg-ne'lhın</i> < <i>teñ-ne'lhın</i> good skin
<i>ññ</i> > <i>gñ</i> (14)	<i>teg-ñe'us'qät</i> < <i>teñ-ñe'us'qät</i> good woman 62.13
<i>ny</i> > <i>nd</i> (15)	<i>mind'i'lgänmık</i> < <i>minyi'lgänmık</i> let us go to sleep!
	<i>ä's'ndilhä'n</i> < <i>ä'nyılhä'n</i> let us give it to him!
<i>ñy</i> > <i>ñd</i> (15)	<i>tand'a'n</i> < <i>tañ-ya'n</i> a good one
<i>nr</i> > <i>nr̥</i> (16)	<i>ñu'nr̥i</i> < <i>ñu'nr̥i</i> there (to the right or to the left side from the speaker)
<i>tl</i> > L (17)	<i>gɛ'lgäLın</i> < <i>gɛ'-lgät-lın</i> he departed
<i>ɛl</i> > L (17)	<i>maLü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> < <i>mač-lü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> some-what lazy
<i>rl</i> > L (17)	<i>tuLw̥'k</i> < <i>tur-lw̥'k</i> just on seeing it
<i>ll</i> > L (17)	<i>a'tto'ol'a'ut</i> < <i>a'tto'ol-la'ut</i> front head (the star Arcturus)
	<i>gɛnɛ'Lın</i> < <i>gɛ-ne'l-lın</i> he has become 116.21
<i>lr</i> > <i>rr</i> (18)	<i>gırğo'r-ra'mkın</i> < <i>gırğo'l-ra'mkın</i> "upper people" (i. e., the beings supposed to live in the world above)
<i>lñ</i> > <i>lh</i> (19)	<i>gɛ'lhılın</i> > <i>gɛ'lñılın</i> (auxiliary verb, active)
<i>rn</i> > <i>nn</i> (20)	<i>tun-ne'lhın</i> < <i>tur-ne'lhın</i> new skin
<i>rč</i> > <i>tč</i> (20)	<i>tɛt-čgı</i> < <i>tɛr-čgı</i> new tea
	<i>walka'tčiñın</i> < <i>walka'r-čiñın</i> the jaw-bone house 59.8
<i>kk</i> > <i>gk</i> (22)	<i>măg-kuke'ñı</i> < <i>măk-kuke'ñı</i> numerous kettles, a number of kettles
<i>kq</i> > <i>gq</i> (22)	<i>măg-qora'ñı</i> < <i>măk-qora'ñı</i> a number of reindeer
<i>kñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23)	<i>pé'êčvañ-ñ'a'lvıl</i> < <i>pé'êčvak-ñ'a'lvıl</i> one-year reindeer-herd
<i>gñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23)	<i>čėñ-ñıto'rkm</i> < <i>čėg-ñıto'rkm</i> egg goes out; i. e., young bird hatches
<i>kq</i> > <i>wkw</i> (24)	<i>măkwu'gun</i> < <i>măk-gu'gun</i> many block-houses
<i>kq</i> > <i>gq</i> (24)	<i>măg-ga'LE</i> < <i>măk-ga'LE</i> many birds
<i>gq</i> > <i>qq</i> (only in suffixes) (25)	<i>ei'gqäi</i> < <i>ei'g-qäi</i> little wolf; but <i>ei'g-quli'qul</i> wolf's voice
<i>lq</i> > <i>ly</i> (26)	<i>ne'lyi</i> it became 9.11
<i>tq</i> > <i>ty</i> (26)	<i>ri'tyä</i> thou shalt be

§ 8. Auxiliary Vowels

(1) When clusters of more than two consonants are formed by composition, the clusters are broken up by an auxiliary vowel, ordinarily *i*.

Before *w*, *v*, the auxiliary vowel is *u*.

Before or after a *p* which forms part of a consonantic cluster, the auxiliary vowel is *ü*.

Before or after *q*, the auxiliary vowel is *ä*.

ti'mk-i-le'ut (*ti'mkɪlgi-le'ut* R 278) hummock-head

i'tē-i-pilvi'ntin precious metal (i. e., gold)

gēl-i'-tkin-i-k on the top of the sea-ice 9.1

ñä'lvül-i-čhin the herd 79.6, see also *ñä'lvüličhin* 32.11

ēlēu't-i-kä without head 47.8 (< *ē-lēwt-kä*)

i'tē-u-wil precious ware

ēul-u-wg'lat long knives 15.2 (< *iwl+vg'lat*)

n-i'-np-ü-qin old one

n-ü-plu'qin small one 10.2

lêlqnping'čhäqai eyes (had) the small old man

n-i'tē-ä-qin heavy, dear

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like *L*, *l*, *kw*, *d*, *d'*, *t*, *č*, *ǰ*, *ǰ'*—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

mu'Limul blood 117.12

ti'l-i-til the entrance 105.15

mingi'Linin hand 57.10

ga'Lilên he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22

ge'wkulîn they have tied him up 20.10 (< *ge-wkut-lin*)

(3) When two consonants forming a cluster come to stand in final position, an auxiliary vowel is introduced.

pi'nil news

pü'kil big bowl

evi'rit dresses 7.8

In some cases, however, there is a terminal obscure vowel, which is derived from an older, stronger vowel.

ga'LE bird (stem *galhə*)

ri'rki walrus (stem *rrrkə*)

ve'LE raven (stem *velvə*)

ki'rni buck, male (stem *kirñə*)

§ 9. *u*, *w*

Short, obscure *u* may change to *w* or *v*.

ty'urkin thou sayest

ty'wtuw word

ga'tvilên he has said

ru'urkin thou splittest

ru'wgo the split one

ga'rvilên he has split

ry'urkin thou scrapest

ru'wgo the scraped
one

ga'nyilên he has
scraped

ru'urkin thou displacest

ru'wgo displaced

ge'nyilîn he has dis-
placed

ro'orkin thou pluckest

ro'wgo plucked

geigo'lên he has
plucked

§ 10. Intervocalic Elision

(1) Intervocalic *w*, *y*, (*ɨ*), and *g* are either much weakened or drop out altogether. This happens particularly when the vowels preceding and following these sounds are alike. After an elision, the two vowels are often assimilated.

ñe'ekik < *ñew-ekik* daughter

gaḡaḡa'lên < *gaḡaḡaḡa'lên* he has passed by

gaḡ'lhilên < *gaḡa'lhilên* he has moved away

muwa'qəaḡk < *muwa'qəgaḡk* let me sit down!

ya'ilhin and *ya'g'ilhin* foot

miti'nmuat < *mit-i-tmü-git* we killed thee 10.12

pe'gtu-u'rḡirḡin < *pe'gti-wu'rḡirḡin* runner-noise 32.10

čime'erkın < *čime'tırkın* thou creakest

(2) *i* + *y* followed by a vowel, and *y* + *i* preceded by *e* and *i*, form neutral *i* (see § 2, p. 644). The preceding *i* is assimilated by this neutral *i*.

gɛ'iɬin < *gɛ'yɬin* given

tiḡ'lhın < *tiyḡ'lhın* vein

qıḡ'lhın and *qıya'lhın* heel

gɛ'i'lqälın < *gɛ-yi'lqälın* he slept

mi'ilhit < *mi'yilhit* I will give thee

§ 11. Phonetic Influences between Words

The changes described in §§ 6–10 occur not only in word composition, but also between the end and beginning of words that form parts of a syntactic unit.

gümni'n ewkwewkwala'ê < *gümni'n ɛ'wkwew gaḡa'ê* my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by

ya'ran mu'ri nan'ñênai'prü-mə'rê < *ya'rat mu'ri* we grew too angry (*ya'rat* too much; *mu'ri* we; *an'ñênai'prü* to become angry)

enne'n' ñm ä'lqə'm ñitḡ'ê < *ä'lqə'p ñito'ê* a nail went out (*enne'n'* one; *ä'lqə'p* nail; *ntḡ*, *-ñitḡ* to go out; *-i'ê* 3d per. sing.)

ni'mnimij'-a'lhitya'et < *ni'mnimit ya'lhityä'et* the neighboring camp moved away

Sometimes *ñ* or *t* is inserted between two vowels—one terminal, the next initial—that come together in a sentence.

tele'g-vi'etä-ñ-i'irkin gradually dying he is

Such insertions, as well as the assimilation of sounds belonging to different words, are used with a great deal of freedom.

§ 12. Initial Consonantic Clusters

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

Initial sound	Second sound					
	ð	m	n	ñ	r	l
p	pð		pn	pñ	pr	pl
t			tn	tñ	tr	
k		km			kr	kl
q				qñ	qr	ql
g					gr	
m			mn	mñ	mr	ml
n					nr	
ñ						ñl

It appears from this table that the stops and nasals, with following nasal *r* and *l*, are the only admissible classes of initial clusters, and not all the combinations of these are found. The combination *pç* seems exceptional in this series. Combinations which occur in initial but not in medial position are printed in italics.

Examples:

- pr* interjection 88.17
pre'rem meat pudding
plägi' that is all 107.21
pla'kilhin boot
pçëgtuwa'rkin thou takest off the boots
pnë'rkin thou whetttest it
pño'rkin thou imbibest
tni'rkin thou sewest
tñairgç'ti to the dawn 135.16
traya'aa'en shall I use it? 93.19
trenni'ke'wkwä'en I shall do to it 99.10
km'i'ñägäi small son 126.11
kri'tkin upper course of a river
kloka'lhin a kind of berry
gra'qu to the disowning 94.30
gres'qi'wkwis *git* enter! 102.35
qla'ulqai little man 9.6
gró'ë she brought forth 104.8
mle'rkin thou breakest
mñe-eñe'ñilin sacrificing-shaman 42.5
mne'wkwenmik let us go away! 17.8
mra'gtia'k I shall go home 99.2
mra'yo'ñin shall we visit him? 108.10

nre'q-i-grt what dost thou want? 125.6
ñle'n·ñlet flame
*qñāunra'gtatyê*⁶ take wife home 115.8

Since many stems consist of consonantic clusters that are not admissible either medially or initially, a great number of very curious phonetic changes of stems occur, either by consonantic assimilation or dissimilation, or by the insertion of auxiliary vowels. Since these changes are not so frequent in Koryak, the latter dialect often shows the original form of the stem, which can not be recognized from the Chukchee forms alone. I will give here examples of a series of phonetic changes of this type.

(1) Medial modifications.

Initial cluster of stems		
Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
<i>pn</i>	* <i>pn</i>	<i>mn</i>
<i>tn</i>	* <i>tn</i>	<i>nn</i>
<i>tñ</i>	* <i>tñ</i>	<i>n·ñ</i>
<i>km</i>	* <i>km</i>	<i>wm</i>
<i>ql</i>	* <i>ql</i>	<i>el</i>

(2) In the second group the stem, when in initial position, loses the first sound of the consonantic cluster.

Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
<i>k</i>	* <i>rk</i>	<i>rk</i>
<i>p</i>	* <i>lp</i>	<i>lp</i>
<i>k</i>	* <i>lk</i>	<i>lk</i>
<i>q</i>	* <i>lq</i>	<i>lq</i>
<i>l</i>	* <i>tl</i>	<i>tl</i>
<i>k</i> and <i>tlk</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tk</i>
<i>w</i>	* <i>wkw</i>	(<i>wkw</i>)
<i>v</i>	* <i>lv</i>	(<i>lv</i>)

(3) In a few cases a substitution of sounds occurs, partly due to the phonetic laws described before.

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
<i>r</i>	* <i>r</i>	<i>n</i> ¹
<i>q</i>	* <i>q</i>	<i>h, y</i>

¹ Not in all cases.

(4) In a great many cases an auxiliary vowel is introduced between the members of the cluster.

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
<i>pr</i> and <i>pir</i>	* <i>pr</i>	<i>pr</i>
<i>pūk</i>	* <i>pk</i>	<i>pk</i>
<i>pīñ</i>	* <i>pñ</i>	<i>mñ</i>
<i>v</i> and <i>tuw</i>	* <i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i>
<i>titt</i>	* <i>tt</i>	<i>tt</i>
<i>k</i> and <i>tik</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tk</i>
<i>tl</i>	* <i>tl</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>kīt</i>	* <i>kt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>yīt</i>	* <i>yt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>kīy</i>	* <i>ky</i>	<i>gg</i>
<i>tīm</i>	* <i>tm</i>	<i>nm</i>
<i>gīt</i>	* <i>gt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>mūk</i>	* <i>mk</i>	<i>mk</i>
<i>ñip</i>	* <i>ñp</i>	<i>mp</i>
<i>ñit</i>	* <i>ñt</i>	<i>nt</i>
<i>ño</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>ng</i>
<i>rig</i>	* <i>rg</i>	<i>rg</i>
<i>gīt</i>	* <i>gl</i>	<i>gl</i>
<i>tr</i> or <i>rīr</i>	* <i>rr</i>	<i>rr</i>
<i>qīy</i>	* <i>qy</i>	<i>ey</i>
<i>vū(i)</i>	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vg</i>
<i>vīy</i>	* <i>vy</i>	<i>wg</i>
<i>lil</i>	* <i>ll</i>	<i>L</i>
<i>yu</i>	* <i>yg</i>	<i>ig</i>
<i>čuw</i>	* <i>čv</i>	<i>čv</i>
<i>līñ</i>	* <i>lñ</i>	<i>lh</i>

Stem			
* <i>pne</i>	<i>pnē'rkīn</i>	t h o u	<i>nīnemne'qīn</i> she whetted it 44.4 whettest it
* <i>tni</i>	<i>tni'rkīn</i>	thou sew- est it	<i>ge'nnīlin</i> he sewed
* <i>tñi</i>	<i>tñi'urkīn</i>	t h o u	<i>gen'ñiu'lin</i> he sent it sendest it
* <i>kmiñet</i>	<i>kmīñe'tirkīn</i>	s h e	<i>gewmī'ñelīn</i> she brought forth brings forth
<i>gli'kkin</i>	twenty (lit., that of a man)		<i>ēlikkeu'kēlin</i> nineteen (lit., one lacking to a man)
* <i>rkile</i> or } * <i>rkele</i> }	<i>kile'nnīn</i> he fol- lowed them 50.8		<i>gerkele'lin</i> she followed him 37.1
* <i>rkur</i>	<i>ku'rirkīn</i>	t h o u	<i>ge'rkuḷīn</i> he bought buyest it
* <i>rkīpl</i>	<i>kī'plīnēn</i>	s h e	<i>ga'rkīplīlēn</i> he had struck 86.7 struck her 86.5
* <i>lprīñ</i>	<i>pī'nñirkīn</i>	t h o u	<i>galpī'nñīlēn</i> he gave givest to him
			<i>nīlpī'nñīgēnāt</i> they gave them 14.3

Stem		
* <i>lpinît</i> or }	<i>pini'irkin</i> t h o u	<i>nelpini'tyän</i> they bound him 8.1
* <i>lpinît</i> }	bindest him	
* <i>lqät</i>	<i>qä'tyi^ε</i> he left	<i>ge'lqälin</i> he left 59.1
	100.16	
* <i>lqäin</i>	<i>qäineu'nin</i> he shot	<i>nrlqäineu'nin</i> they shot 78.10
	at it 78.13	
* <i>tku</i>	<i>ku'rkin</i> thou con-	<i>ge'tkulin</i> he consumed it 7.2
	sumest it	
* <i>wkut</i>	<i>wuti'lhin</i> t y i n g	<i>ge'wkuLin</i> they had tied him 20.10
	stick 104.24	
* <i>tva</i>	<i>va'rkin</i> he is 125.2	<i>gatva'rkin</i> stay! 57.3
* <i>tvëtäa</i>	<i>vëtäa'rkin</i> he	<i>gatvë'täälên</i> he stood
	stands	
	<i>wëtäa'lin</i> standing	<i>nrtvë'täagên</i> he stood 48.1
	48.3	
* <i>pr</i>	<i>pr'rgäⁿ</i> thou hast	<i>ge'prilin</i> plucked out
	plucked it	
	<i>pri'rkin</i> he tears	<i>ne'priäⁿ</i> they tore off 30.7
	out	
* <i>pkir</i>	<i>püki'rgä^t</i> t h e y	<i>ge'pkälin</i> he came 8.6
	came 64.2	
* <i>pñlo</i>	<i>pñlo'nên</i> he asked	<i>namñilo'aⁿ</i> they asked him 66.24
	him 80.3	
* <i>tvu</i>	<i>ty'wnên</i> she prom-	<i>ga'tvylên</i> he promised 101.21
	ised it 49.6	
* <i>ttu</i>	<i>tttu'rkin</i> he blows	<i>gettu'lin</i> he blowed
* <i>tle</i>	<i>tilë'ä^t</i> t h e y m o v e d	<i>minlë'git</i> let me move thee! 89.7
	64.9	
* <i>tkê</i>	<i>tikê'rkin</i> t h o u	<i>ga'tkêlên</i> he smelled
	smellest of	
* <i>yto</i>	<i>yrtö'nên</i> he pulls it	<i>gagto'lên</i> he had been pulled out
	out 45.2	42.8
* <i>kyeu</i>	<i>krye'wkwi^ε</i> h e	<i>geggeu'lin</i> he awoke 55.3
	awoke 55.8	
* <i>tñ</i>	<i>tñnê'n</i> h e k i l l e d	<i>na'nmuaⁿ</i> they killed him 8.2
	him 43.11	
* <i>gtiñ</i>	<i>giti'n-lu'lqäl</i>	<i>nrtiñqin</i> he is pretty
	pretty face	
* <i>mk</i>	<i>mü'kičm</i> m o r e n u -	<i>nü'mkäqin</i> numerous 12.7
	merous 12.3	
* <i>ñpe</i>	<i>ñipe'ä^t</i> t h e y c a m e	<i>gempe'lin</i> they landed 12.9
	ashore 7.8	
* <i>ñto</i>	<i>ñito'ë^ε</i> h e w e n t o u t	<i>ganto'lên</i> he has gone out 8.4
	56.4	

Stem		
* <i>nt</i>	<i>ñiri'rkín</i> it de- taches itself	<i>ge'ntilin</i> it has detached itself
* <i>ñvo</i>	<i>ño'orkín</i> he begins	<i>gamgø'lên</i> he has begun
* <i>rg</i>	<i>ri'girkín</i> he digs out	<i>ge'rgilin</i> he has dug out
* <i>g'lo</i>	<i>gilo'lên</i> the onesor- rowing 27.12	<i>niglo'qên</i> she sorrowed 27.10
* <i>rr</i>	<i>ri'rig</i> unt ying 63.12	<i>nerri'net</i> they were untied 63.11
* <i>rrl</i>	<i>rirri'lin'kin</i> he puts down <i>rirri'lnin</i> he let him go 121.33	<i>gerri'lin</i> he has put down <i>nerri'lhâ'n</i> they set him free 8.2
* <i>vya</i>	<i>vãia'arkín</i> he lets go (an animal)	<i>gavga'lên</i> he has let go
* <i>wyo</i>	<i>wi'yowi</i> sling	<i>gawgo'ta</i> with a sling
* <i>llep</i>	<i>lile'pgi</i> he looked 7.6	<i>qãle'pgi</i> look! 79.11 (stem <i>liłe</i> eye; -p to put on)
* <i>ygu</i>	<i>yu'urkin</i> thou bitest it	<i>ge'igulin</i> he has bitten it
* <i>evi</i>	<i>ëwvi'pit</i> piece cut off 72.19	<i>nine'ëvigin</i> they cut it 72.18
* <i>lñ</i>	<i>li'ñrkin</i> he has him as	<i>ti'llhigt</i> I have you as 15.8

The change from initial *r* to medial *n* occurs only in transitive verbs:

	<i>re'urkin</i> thou pier- cest it	<i>geneu'lin</i> he pierced
	<i>ru'rkin</i> thou eatest it	<i>genu'lin</i> he ate
but	<i>riñe'rkin</i> he flies	<i>geri'ñelin</i> he flew

Initial *ti* is sometimes replaced by *çi* (see § 2, p. 646).

çi'çi-ëo'oça before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of
ti'li-tto'oça.

In a number of cases stems seem to be reduplicated when initial, and lose this reduplication in medial position.

<i>më'rĩnře</i> slow	<i>nĩ'nřegin</i> the slow one (stem <i>nře</i>)
<i>yãgã'ñi</i> house	<i>gãgã'lên</i> having a house (stem <i>gã</i>)
<i>yãgã'ñi</i> sleeping-room	<i>gãgã'lên</i> having a sleeping-room (stem <i>gã</i>)

Perhaps the initial *y* of the last two examples is derived from *r*, as in Koryak it replaces *r*.

Irregular is—

i'rerkin he arranges a rein-deer driving-match. *geri'lelin* he has arranged a rein-deer driving-match

When a stem consisting of a consonantic cluster stands alone, auxiliary vowels are introduced after the initial and before the terminal consonant.

pi'ñil news (stem *pñl*)
ku'kil one-eyed man (stem *kkl*)

§ 13. Pronunciation of Men and Women

The pronunciation of the women¹ differs from that of the men. Women generally substitute *š* for *č* and *r*, particularly after weak vowels. They also substitute *šš* for *rk* and *čh*. The sounds *č* and *r* are quite frequent; so that the speech of women, with its ever-recurring *š*, sounds quite peculiar, and is not easily understood by an inexperienced ear. Women are quite able to pronounce *č* and *r*, and when quoting the words of a man,—as, for instance, in tales,—use these sounds. In ordinary conversation, however, the pronunciation of men is considered as unbecoming a woman.

Examples are—

Men's pronunciation	Women's pronunciation	
<i>ra'mkičhin</i>	<i>ša'mkiššin</i>	people
<i>Pa'rkala</i>	<i>Pa'ššala</i>	by Parkal
<i>čümña'ta</i>	<i>šümña'ta</i>	by a buck
<i>Čaivu'urgn</i>	<i>Šaivu'uššin</i>	(a name)

The men, particularly in the Kolyma district, drop intervocalic consonants, principally *n* and *t*. In this case the two adjoining vowels are assimilated.

nɪtva'qaat < *nɪtva'qênat*
gei'miLeet < *gei'miLinet*
tɪ'rkiir < *tɪ'rkitir*

¹An example of woman's pronunciation is given in my Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, VIII, pp. 144, 145); and more fully in my Chukchee Materials pp. 121-126, Nos. 26, 27, 28.

It would seem that this process of elimination of intervocalic consonants has been very important in the development of the present form of the Chukchee (see § 10).

Among the maritime Chukchee, the men use both the fuller and shorter forms. Among all the branches of the tribe, women use only the fuller forms.

Koryak (§§ 14-18)

§ 14. Vowels

The system of vowels of the Koryak is considerably reduced. Corresponding to the Chukchee, we may distinguish three classes of vowels:

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|----------|
| (1) Weak vowels | <i>i</i> | <i>ä</i> | <i>u</i> |
| (2) Strong vowels | <i>e</i> | <i>o</i> , <i>ø</i> | |
| (3) Neutral vowels | $\left\{ \begin{array}{ccc} & a & \\ i & e & a \end{array} \right.$ | | |

In this series, *ø* and *ü* are rare

ø is generally replaced by *o*

ü is generally replaced by *i* or *a*

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the Chukchee vowels shows that the glide *i* is missing, *e* has taken the place of *ê*, and *a* neutral that of *e* weak and *a* strong (see § 3).

Diphthongs formed with terminal *i* and *u* occur, but the *u* of the Chukchee is often replaced by *w* or *v*.

Kor. Kam. *ap̄a'vekin* Chukchee *äp̄a'urkin*

In the dialect of the Kerek, *i* often replaces strong *e*, and is a strong vowel.

Kor. Kam.	Kerek	Chukchee
<i>me' mil̄</i> thong-seal	<i>mi' mil̄</i> thong-seal	<i>mê' mil̄</i> spotted seal
<i>taññê'ti</i>	<i>taññî'ti</i>	<i>taññê'ti</i> to a <i>taññin</i>

I have observed that the Asiatic Eskimo, when speaking Chukchee, also have a tendency to replace *ê* by *i*. They say—

mi' mil̄ instead of Chukchee *mê' mil̄* spotted seal

tirga'arkin instead of Chukchee *têrga'arkin* he cries

I do not know whether this peculiarity of the Eskimo is related to that of the Kerek.

§ 15. Consonants

	Stop		Affricative		Nasal		Continued	Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant			
Labial	<i>p</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	—	—
Alveolar	<i>t</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>n</i>	<i>s, c</i>	(<i>L l</i>) <i>l̥ l</i>	—
Palatalized alveolar	<i>t'</i>	<i>d'</i>	—	—	—	<i>n'</i>	<i>s', č</i>	—	—
Palatal	<i>k</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>ñ</i>	—	—	—
Velar	<i>q</i>	<i>g</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>x</i>	—	—
Glottal	—	<i>ʔ</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

h, w, y,

§ 16. Comparison with Chukchee

The principal differences between this system and that of the Chukchee are found in the series of affricatives, laterals, and trills. The laterals and trills are absent in the Koryak of Kamenskoye.

(1) *č* is often replaced by *c* (in Kor. II, pronounced like English *sh*).

Koryak II *oid'kocik* Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee *uwa^εqočé'gti* Kor. 95.6)

ora'cek Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I *oya'ček* Kor. 101.1)

(2) *č'* and *č'* are replaced by a strong and long *yy*.

ko'yyon the one bought (Chukchee *ko'č'o*)

(3) As in Chukchee, *l̥* is closely related to *č*, *s'*, *s*, (see § 2).

la'xlañ winter *čE'xčex* cold

gayr'sqata sleep! Kor. 31.8 *tryayr'lqatñ* I will sleep Kor. 31.8

pip'i'kalñin mouse Kor. 58.7 *pip'i'kča-ñaw* Mouse-Woman Kor. 23.3

va'vi'mtıla^εnañ to Raven-Man Kor. 12.4 *va'čvi-ña'ut* Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4

Correspondences of Koryak *l̥* and Chukchee *č*, *s'*, *s*, and *vice versa*, are also not rare.

Koryak *yalqı'wikın* he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee *resqi'wkwı^ε* 11.2)

vos'qe'tı to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee *wu'lqık* 126.1)

(4) Koryak *l̥* is pronounced almost like Polish *ł* (Russian *л*), the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the posterior part of the back of the tongue being depressed at the same time. The tip of the tongue is a little farther back than in the corresponding Polish sound. This sound may be recognized even preceding an *i*.

gavi^εyalin he has died (Chukchee *gevi^εlin*)

The ordinary post-alveolar *l* is also found.

ñaw'anp'il little woman.

milya'qp'il small shell Kor. 23.8

(5) The Chukchee *z* and *ʒ* are replaced by a sonant sound produced by contact between the tip of the tongue and the upper teeth and between the back of the tongue and the palate. The sound is continued, and accompanied by a slight trill of the back of the tongue. Although this sound replaces both *z* and *ʒ* of Chukchee, I have retained for it the second Chukchee symbol, *ʒ*.

(6) The Chukchee *r* is replaced in Koryak I by *y*, which, with preceding vowels, forms diphthongs.¹

The *y* of the Koryak is always pronounced with a raising of the tip of the tongue, which gives it a somewhat sibilant, strongly aspirated effect. In Paren it sounds sometimes almost like *ʃ*.

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
<i>koi'ñin</i>	<i>koi'ñin</i> cup
<i>va'ykin</i> Kor. 13.10	<i>va'rkin</i> there is
<i>nito'ykin</i> Kor. 12.5	<i>ñito'rkin</i> he goes out
<i>yalq'wikin</i> Kor. 13.9	<i>resqi'wkwi</i> ^ε 11.2, 19.3 he entered
<i>ya'qykin</i> Kor. 66.14	<i>re'qärkin</i> 18.6 what has happened to you?
<i>tryayai'tiñ</i> I'll go home	<i>ra'gtië</i> ^ε he goes home 122.7
Kor. 30.5	
Paren	
<i>ye'li</i> Kor. 60.1., 64.14	<i>če'li</i> there
<i>ya'lvüñnen</i>	<i>če'lvüñnin</i> he will vanquish him; but <i>ya'lvuñnen</i> Kor. 92.20

In a number of cases *r* is replaced by *s*, *ʃ*, *t*, or *č*.

Koryak	Chukchee
<i>gayi'ččalin</i> Kor. 17.3	<i>geyrre'lin</i> 96.21 it was full
<i>ga'ččrlin</i> Kor. 15.10	<i>ge'lhrlin</i> 64.4 he had him for
<i>grëgolai'ti</i> to a high place	<i>girqo'lqên</i> 124.1 from above
Kor. 20.1	
<i>ñacñin</i> Kor. 60.9	<i>ña'rgin</i> 49.7 outside
<i>gapr's'qalin</i> Kor. 84.11	<i>gepr'qilin</i> she fell down
<i>yi'ssik</i> Kor. 39.2	<i>ri'rik</i> to untie something
<i>gr'ssa</i> Kor. 18.7	<i>qir</i> thou
<i>ina'ssinañ</i> Kor. 24.10	<i>ine'rrine</i> marline spike, awl (instrument to untie with)
<i>wu'ssrñ</i> Kor. 30.3	<i>wü'rrı</i> on the back
<i>-gitiñ(in)</i>	<i>-girq(in)</i> abstract noun
<i>palqa'thitiñ</i>	<i>palqa'tingin</i> old age

¹ I have written the *č* corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with *č*, while for the sound corresponding to *r* I have retained *y*.

The sound *r* appears in Koryak I folk-lore as characteristic of several monsters and evil spirits. It is also used in Russian loan-words.

ka'rman pocket (from карманъ)

preka'ssek commercial agent (from прикащикъ)

ča'qar sugar (from сахаръ)

In the last of these the *r* is palatalized.

(7) In Koryak II, *r* is used in the same way as in Chukchee, and also sometimes replaces the *ʃ* of Koryak I.

ka'mak-ru (village Reki'nnok) } small image of a guardian
ka'mak-lu (Kamenskoye) }

In other cases *r* is replaced by *t*, *s*, *č*, as in Koryak I.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Voyampolka, Kamchatka
<i>t'i'rkıtir</i> sun	<i>t'i'ykıtiy</i> Kor. 19.3	<i>t'i'tkıtiť</i>
<i>e'ñer</i> star	<i>a'ñay</i>	<i>e'ñer</i>
<i>mu'ri</i> we	<i>mu'yi</i> (dual)	<i>mu'ri</i> (dual)

(8) The Chukchee *ř* is replaced by *y* or by palatalization of the preceding consonant in Koryak I, by *t* in Koryak II.

Koryak I, *gape'nyriľen* he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee *pě'nřiněn* Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, *gape'ntiľen*, Kor. 96.26)

(9) In the dental series, *s* appears chiefly in place of Chukchee *r*; *č* sometimes replaces *y*; *tč* often replaces *tk*.

missaa'łomı we shall hear (Chukchee *mirraa'łomı*)

čr'lıľ tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee *yı'liľ* 7.10)

gıťa't legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee *gıťka't* 51.4)

qıľu'tçu drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee *qıľu'tkuiť*)

(10) *y* often replaces Chukchee *g*.

yıkča'vekın he makes haste (Chukchee *gıiđa'urkın*)

tayyeñırvı'ykın he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee *tęgqı* 102.35)

(11) *v* often replaces Chukchee *w*. Initial *v* is much more frequent than initial *w*.

valı'm Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee *walo'm* 32.7) to hear.

(12) *ä* of the Kamenskoye dialect is analogous to the same sound in Chukchee, and appears after palatalized *n*.

Kor. Kam. *ñaw-r'nd'uľa'ñ* < *ñaw-r-nyu-ľa'ñ* the one serving for a wife (stems *ñaw* woman; *nyu* to watch the herd)

Chukchee *ñeund'u'lin* < *ñeu-nyu-lin* (stems *ñęw*, *-nyu* [*riü*])

The Paren *n* in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word *ñewr'nn'uł^an*.

In the same way,—

Kamenskoye *ñā'nd'en*, or even *ñā'nžen* (from *ñā'nyen*)

Paren *ñā'n'en* that one

(13) *h* is almost a velar continuant, and after consonants sounds similar to *g*.

palqa'theñin and *palqa'tgeñin*

qıya'thi Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee *qäye'tyi^ε* 15.11)

(14) *wg* or *g^u* (labialized *g*) replaces Chukchee labialized *k*, (*wkw*).

Koryak

Chukchee

yiwgıč'i'ta Kor. 32.1

iwkuč'i'tä 37.3 drinking

gawgu'lin Kor. 23.4

ga'wku'lin 20.10 they tied him

qakya'wgi Kor. 28.9

qägg'e'wkwı^ε 75.31 wake up!

(15) *x* often replaces Chukchee *q*.

(16) In place of the glottal stop of Chukchee, when due to the elision of *q*, the older *q* is often retained or replaced by *x*.

čE'xčex cold (Chukchee *čä^ε'čeñ*)

ma'qmit arrows (dual) (Chukchee *mä^ε'mit*, plural)

The glottal stop of Koryak is always stronger than the corresponding sound of Chukchee, and has a tendency to lengthen the preceding vowel.

yō^ε'ekin he overtakes (Chukchee *yo^ε'rkın*)

(17) ' indicates a pause (glottal stop), which does not occur in Chukchee. *upın'ali'nin* he kicked him

(18) The marked tendency of Chukchee to lose intervocalic consonants like *y*, *g*, and *w* — a tendency which in the men's speech affects also *n* and *t* — is absent in Koryak; and consequently many fuller forms occur which presumably explain the frequent vocalic clusters of Chukchee. In all those cases in which the Chukchee loses intervocalic consonants, these are found in Koryak.

Kor. Kam. *tyō^ε'ga^εan* I overtook him (Chukchee *tyo^ε'a^εn*)

Other words that retain no trace of the intervocalic consonant in Chukchee have it in Koryak.

vai'am river (Chukchee *ve'em*)

yawa'ykin he uses it (Chukchee *ya'arkın*)

a^ε'la^ε'l axe (Chukchee *a^ε'al*, but also *a^ε'lha'tti*, *a^ε'l-ga'tti*, *ga'tti* hatchet)

uyič'vat to play Kor. 32 7 — kchee *wuč'vet* 43.3)

These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren <i>ei'ek</i> lamp	<i>intu'welpry</i> son-in-law
Kor. Kam. <i>a'ak</i>	<i>intu'ulpry</i>
Chukchee <i>e'ek</i>	<i>intu'ulpir</i>

The Chukchee cluster *lh* is replaced by *lñ* in Kamenskoye.

Kor. Kam. *ke'nmiññin* root (Chukchee *kê'nmiłhin*)

§ 17. Vocalic Ablaut

The range of the ablaut is more restricted in the Koryak of Kamenskoye than in Chukchee.

i changes into *ɛ*,

u changes into *o*;

gi'wlinat they said Kor. 21.2 *ge'wñivg'len* he said Kor. 14.4
nu'tanut country, land *ya'nya-nota'lo* foreigners

but *a* as ablaut of *e* does not occur, both sounds being represented by a neutral *a*. The Chukchee *ê* is replaced by *ɛ*, the same sound that represents the ablaut of *i*.

The neutral *a* is exemplified in the following words of the Kamenskoye dialect:

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
<i>kal'i'ykin</i> (stem <i>kal'i</i>)	<i>keli'rkin</i> (stem <i>keli</i>)
<i>nu'tanut</i> land (stem <i>nu'ta</i>)	<i>nu'tenut</i> (stem <i>nu'te</i>)
<i>a'kkat</i> sons (stem <i>a'kka</i>)	<i>ɛ'kket</i> (stem <i>ɛkke</i>)
<i>aima'wikin</i> thou approachest (stem <i>aima</i>)	<i>ɛime'urkin</i> (stem <i>ɛimeu</i>)
<i>kama'ña</i> dish (stem <i>kama</i>)	<i>keme'ni</i> (stem <i>keme</i>)

Since *a* is neutral, these stems are also combined with weak vowels. For instance,

i'tër-kama'ña heavy dish (from *itër* heavy, dear)

There are, however, cases in which the *a* represents the type *a*, which requires the ablaut,

ɛ'vil-ta'mtəm goitre, long tumor (stems *i'vil* long, *ta'mtəm* tumor); Chukchee *ta'mtəm*

qatə'p-ɛ'mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems *qatə'p* fish for winter use; *im̥t* load); Chukchee *qata'p-ɛ'mit*

An example of the occurrence of *ɛ*, corresponding to Chukchee *ê*, is—

m̥e'yem̥e tear (stem *m̥e*); Chukchee *m̥ê'r̥em̥ê* (stem *m̥êr̥ê*)
gape'nyilen she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem *p̥eny*); Chukchee
p̥e'n̥rin̥en Kor. 95.10 (stem *p̥en̥r̥*)

Since the vowel-pair ϵ - a , and the vowels $\hat{\epsilon}$ and a of Chukchee, are much more common than the i and u groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of i and u is not as rigidly required as in Chukchee. Particularly in word composition the weak vowels often remain uninfluenced by the strong vowels with which they come into contact. We find, for instance,—

napelg'-mu'yū instead of *napelg'-mo'yo* we are left.

The weak i of Chukchee, which is due to the contraction of *thi* and *chi* into *ti* and *ci*, does not occur, since the consonantic cluster remains unchanged.

palqa'thitñin or *palqathe'ñin* old age (compare Chukchee *palqa'tirgin* < *palqa'thirgin*)

Initial u inserted before w , labialized k (*wkw*), and y , occurs here as in Chukchee, and is neutral.

Koryak	Chukchee
<i>wwa'tikin</i> he kisses (stem <i>wwat</i>)	<i>ukwe'ērkin</i> (stem <i>ukwet</i>)
<i>uyä'quč</i> husband (stem <i>uya'quč</i>)	<i>wwä'quč</i> (stem <i>wwä'quči</i>)

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels ϵ and $\hat{\epsilon}$. These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

Kor. Kamenskoye <i>gatai'kilin</i>	(stem <i>taiki</i>)	} he has made
Kor. Paren <i>gete'kilin</i>	(stem <i>teiki</i>)	
Chukchee <i>gete'kilin</i>	(stem <i>teiki</i>)	

§ 18. Other Phonetic Processes

Lack of Vocalic Contraction.—When two vowels come together, contraction rarely occurs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>añqa'-nna'n</i> < <i>añqa'-Enna'n</i>	<i>añqa'-Enna'n</i> sea-fish
<i>ñeu'ttin</i> < <i>ñeu-a'ttin</i>	<i>ñaw-a'ttin</i> she-dog

Medial Consonantic Processes.—The alveolars t and ϵ are not palatalized by following g or h (see § 7, 26).

Chukchee	Koryak
<i>palqa'ti-rgin</i> < <i>palqat-girgin</i>	<i>palgath-e'-ñin</i> old age

\tilde{n} generally remains unchanged before other consonants.

Chukchee	Koryak
<i>tam-pera'rkin</i> < <i>tañ-pera'rkin</i>	<i>tañ-peye'ykin</i> he looks well
<i>qinere'mpei</i> take meat out of kettle for me (stem <i>mpe</i>)	<i>kokañpalai'ke</i> they take meat out of kettle Kor. 27.5

k before other consonants occurs.

Chukchee
nigtägên < *nî* < *kt-qên*

Koryak
niktü'qen hard

The medial clusters *km*, *pñ*, *pn*, which are absent in Chukchee, occur in Koryak.

Chukchee
gewmiñe'lin < *ge-kmiñel-lin*

Koryak
gakmi'nalin she brought forth
 a child

amñilka < *a-pñl-ka*

apñilka no news

namñila'tinat 78.4 < *na-pñl-atinat*

gapñil'añvo'lenau they told
 about Kor. 26.1

Auxiliary Vowels.—The most frequent auxiliary vowel is *i*; but *a*, which replaces Chukchee *ä*, also occurs.

Chukchee
yara'ñi
nitčäqin

Koryak
yaya'ña house
ni'tčaqin heavy

The terminal vowel *i* in Koryak often assumes a more perceptible nasalisation than the corresponding Chukchee sound (see § 2, p. 645).

eé'ti and *eé'tiñ* to the sky Kor. 14.9, 10.

(Compare Chukchee *añqa-čormê'ti* to the seashore 67.17)

Initial Consonantic Clusters.—I have found the following initial clusters in the Koryak of Kamenskoye:

Initial sound	Second sound						<i>v</i>
	<i>č</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>p</i>	<i>pč</i>		<i>pn</i>	<i>pñ</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>pl</i>	<i>tv</i>
<i>t</i>			<i>tn</i>	<i>tñ</i>	<i>ty</i>		
<i>k</i>		<i>km</i>			<i>ky</i>	<i>kl</i>	
<i>q</i>					<i>qy</i>	<i>ql</i>	
<i>g</i>							
<i>m</i>						<i>ml</i>	
<i>n</i>						<i>nl</i>	
<i>ñ</i>							

It will be seen that this table agrees well with the corresponding table in Chukchee (*r* being throughout replaced by *y*), except that *tv* occurs, which is impossible in Chukchee.

Kor. Kam.
tvî'tikın he stands
čottai'nik-tvê'tekın he stands
 on the outer part of the
 house Kor. 43.5

gatvi'lin he stood

Chukchee
vêtč'a'rkin (stem *-tvêtča*)
gatvê'tčalên

However, *va'ykin* Kor. 13.10 < *tva-ykin* loses its initial *t*.

The changes that occur in consonantic stems in medial and initial position are quite analogous to those of the Chukchee, except that *k* appears with following consonant in initial position. Other differences are shown in the following table:

Chukchee			Koryak		
Initial	Stem	Medial	Initial	Stem	Medial
<i>pn</i>	* <i>pn</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>pn</i>	* <i>pn</i>	<i>pn</i>
<i>km</i>	* <i>km</i>	<i>wm</i>	<i>km</i>	* <i>km</i>	<i>km</i>
<i>k</i> or <i>tik</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>k</i> or <i>tik</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tē</i>
<i>k</i>	* <i>rk</i>	<i>rk</i>	<i>k</i>	* <i>yk</i>	<i>yk</i>
<i>q</i>	* <i>lq</i>	<i>lq</i>	<i>q</i>	* <i>lq</i>	<i>lq</i>
<i>v</i> or <i>tuw</i>	* <i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i>	<i>v</i> or <i>tv</i>	* <i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i>
<i>piñ</i>	* <i>pñ</i>	<i>mñ</i>	<i>piñ</i>	* <i>pñ</i>	<i>pñ</i>
<i>ño</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>mg</i>	<i>ñiv</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>nv</i>
<i>riq</i>	* <i>rg</i>	<i>rg</i>	<i>sh</i> or <i>yig</i>	* <i>sh</i>	<i>sh</i>
<i>tr</i> or <i>rIr</i>	* <i>rr</i>	<i>rr</i>	{ <i>yly</i>	* <i>yy</i>	<i>yy</i>
			{ <i>yiss</i>	* <i>ss</i>	<i>ss</i>
<i>vũ</i> (<i>i</i>)	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vg</i>	<i>vly</i>	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vy</i>
<i>yu</i>	* <i>yq</i>	<i>iq</i>	<i>yig</i>	* <i>iq</i>	<i>iq</i>

Examples:

pna'ikin he whets
tñi'ikin thou sewest it
tñi'vikin thou sendest it
kmiñā'tikin she brings forth

ku'yikin thou buyest it
pinye'kin thou givest to him
qati' you left Kor. 18.5
ku'ikin thou consumest it
ki'plik striking Kor. 62.4

va'ikin he is
vañvo'ykin he begins to stay
 Kor. 13.6

tvit'ikin he stands
tve'tik to stretch Kor. 38.8

pyr'ikin thou tearest it out
piñlo'ikin thou askest him
tittu'ikin he blows
tīla'ikin he moves

tike'ikin thou smellest of

gapna'lin he has whetted
ganni'lin he has sewed it
ganñiu'lin he has sent it
gakm'iñalin she has brought forth

gaiku'ylin he has bought it
galpr'nyelen he has given
ga'lqalin he has left Kor. 17.3
ga'tēulin he has consumed it
qaykrla'gītā strike him! Kor. 23.8

ga'tvalen he has been
gatvañvo'lenau they began to stay Kor. 23.1

ga'tvilin he stood
ga'tvelen they stretched it Kor. 38.8

gapyr'lin he has torn it out
gapñilo'len he has asked
gettu'lin he has blown
ga'la'lin he has moved Kor. 14.9

ga'ttēlen he smelled of

yɪto'ɪkɪn he pulls out
tɪm'e'kɪn thou killest it

ñɪto'ykɪn he goes out
ñɪvo'ɪkɪn he begins

yɪgɪ'kɪn or *ʃɪr'kɪn* he digs out
yɪ'y'kɪn thou untiest it
yɪ'ssɪk to untie Kor. 39.2

yɪssɪ'l'ikɪn thou puttest down
vɪy'a'tekɪn he lets go (an animal)

vuyalanñɪvo'ykɪn a snow-storm set in Kor. 13.10

yɪgɪ'kɪn thou bitest it
y'a'wɪkɪn thou piercest it
yɪ'kka to eat Kor. 57.1
yɪ'ɪkɪn he eats
yɪ'ña'ɪkɪn he flees

ɭelapɪtɕoñvo'ykɪn he looks up Kor. 42.8

Irregular is—

ɪy'a'ɪkɪn he arranges a reindeer driving-match

g'aɪto'len he has pulled out
g'a'nmɪlen he has killed it
 Kor. 43.6

g'aɪto'len he went out Kor. 48.6
g'anvo'l'en he has begun Kor. 48.3

g'a'shɪlɪn he has dug out
g'ayyɪ'lin he has untied it
nassɪ'ñvoɣum they are untying me Kor. 39.3

g'assɪ'lin he has put down
g'avya'len he has let go

g'awya'lyolen there was a snow-storm Kor. 13.1

g'aɪgɪ'lin he has bitten
g'ana'wɪn he has pierced it
g'anu'linat they have eaten (transitive) Kor. 57.2
g'ayɪ'ñalɪn he has fled (intransitive)

agaɭapñvo'ykɪn he looks bad Kor. 13.8

Dropping of Suffixes.—It may be mentioned here that all dialects of the Koryak tend to drop the last syllables or sounds—mostly suffixes—when these are not accented

Kor. Kam. *mɪnɪ'lqanmɪk* or *mɪnɪ'lqat* (Chukchee *mɪnɪ'lqänmɪk*)
 let us go!

Kor. Kam. *gaa'ɭɪn*, Kor. II (village Qare'nɪn) *geye'ɭɪn* or *geye'ɭɪ* (Chukchee *ge'eɭɪn*), he has come

Kor. Kam. *vi'tvitpɪɭ*, Kor. II (village Voyampolka) *vi'tvitpɪ*,
 small seal

Kamchadal (§§ 19–23)

§ 19. Vowels

- (1) Weak vowels *ĩ i e u ü Ė*
 (2) Strong vowels *ě ê a o ô ǫ v*
 (3) Neutral vowels *Ī E I ä A ũ*
 a o u

The symbols designate the same sounds as those in Chukchee.

i almost like a diphthong *ie*, long; a glide from long *i* to long *o*.

ë like English *a* in *make*, long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

ĕ French *eu* in *beurre*.

ö German *ö* in *öffnen*.

ü French *u* in *lune*, but harder; more like the Yakut *ij*.

ø English short *o* in *not*.

υ English *u* in *hut*.

ũ as in Chukchee.

α, *ο*, *υ* indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in *k!tæ^αl kôj^υu'ï^εn*.

Unusual length and shortness are expressed by the macron and breve respectively.

§ 20. Consonants

	Stop			Affricative		Nasal	Continued		Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Fortis	Sonant	Surd	Fortis		Surd	Sonant		
Labial.....	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>	—	—
Alveolar.....	<i>t</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>l l</i>	<i>r</i>
				<i>č</i>	<i>č'</i>		<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>		
Palatized alveolar.....	—	—	—	—	—	<i>n'</i>	<i>s'</i>			
Anterior palatal.....	—	—	—	—	—		<i>x'</i>			
Palatal.....	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	—	—	—	<i>ŋ</i>	—	—		
Velar.....	<i>q</i>	<i>q'</i>	<i>g</i>	—	—	—	<i>x</i>			
Glottal.....			<i>ə, 'ə</i>							

w, y, h

f is rather rare; for instance, in *flič* a fish of the genus *Coregonus*.

x German *ch* in *Bach*.

x' German *ch* in *ich*.

j French *j* in *jour*, but with a weak preceding trill, somewhat like Polish *rz* in *rzeka*.

z sonant *s*, as in French *rose*.

l as in Koryak.

w, y, always consonantic.

ε, 'ε, glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in *vi'l'vi'l*.

l', č', n', are pronounced with strong initial aspiration.

j, *c*, *č*, are often pronounced with the tip of the tongue in dental position, so that they attain a lisping character,—

j between *z'* and *z*

c between *s'* and *s*

č between *š'* and *š*

I am inclined to attribute this mannerism, which is affected by many individuals, to the influence of the speech of the Russian creoles and half-bloods, who have this peculiarity in the whole area between the Kolyma and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Krasheninnikoff's records there are only slight indications of this tendency.

It may be, however, that some of the older dialects had this tendency. Thus Krasheninnikoff writes (in my transcription)—

<i>cemt</i> (Western dialect)	} earth, ground
<i>semt</i> (Southern dialect)	

At present in the western dialect, the only one surviving, the word is pronounced both *cimt* and *simt*.

§ 21. Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak

(1) Chukchee *r*, Koryak I *ṛ*, *č*, *s*, or *t*, is replaced in most cases by *j*,

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
<i>ḡrt</i> , <i>ḡr</i>	<i>kr'ja</i>	thou
<i>mu'ri</i>	<i>mu'ja</i>	we

(2) Chukchee and Koryak *g* is replaced by *k* or *x*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
<i>ḡm</i>	<i>ḡm</i>	<i>kr'mma</i>	I
<i>ḡ'iṅgi</i>	<i>yḡr'ngin</i>	<i>x'i'ligin</i>	fish-net

(3) Initial *g* of the comitative and verbal prefix (see §§ 48, 64, 66) is replaced by *kl*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
<i>geñe'wānā</i>	<i>gañ'a'wana</i>	<i>kl'ñe'čum</i>	with a wife
<i>ḡenu'lin</i>	<i>ḡanu'lin</i>	<i>kl'nu'kl'ñin</i>	he has eaten

(4) Chukchee *gw* (Koryak *gv*) is replaced by *xv*.

xo'xval thence

(5) Chukchee and Koryak *w* and *v* are replaced by *hv*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
<i>watta'p</i>	<i>vata'p</i>	<i>hvata'pč</i>	reindeer-moss
<i>va'lē</i>	<i>va'la</i>	<i>hvalč</i>	knife
<i>wi'ut</i>	<i>viut</i>	<i>hivt</i>	whalebone
<i>vi'n'vi</i>	<i>vi'nva</i>	<i>hvi'nve</i>	secretly

(6) The glottal stop following the initial vowel of Chukchee and Koryak is often replaced by *x* or *k* preceding the vowel.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>eʲe'tin</i>	<i>iʲe'nnrin</i>	<i>xe'i'ten</i>	neck
<i>eʲe'ni</i>	<i>iʲe'gir, eʲe'gri'lñin</i>	<i>xe'i'hini</i>	wolf
<i>ä'e'läl</i>	<i>a'e'läl</i>	<i>ko'loł</i>	snow
<i>eʲe'leʲl</i>	<i>alä'e'al</i>	<i>ke'e'läl</i>	excrement

(7) Chukchee *ɮ* and *ɭ* are replaced by *tl* and *tš*.

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
<i>tiɮe'äʲk</i>	<i>tšek</i>	I entered
—	<i>tle</i>	there!

(8) In Kamchadal, *l*, *č*, *c*, and *j* often replace one another (see § 2, p. 646).

<i>čhič</i> thou art	<i>l'ič</i> thou wert
<i>təcjin</i> I strike him	<i>talin</i> I struck him

(9) In the Sedanka dialect, *c* changes to *j*; *s* changes to *z*; and sometimes *k*, *k'* change to *q*, *q'*.

Examples:

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
<i>cuncjč'iʲn</i>	<i>juncjč'iʲn</i>	they live
<i>sönk</i>	<i>zönk</i>	into the wood
<i>ci'la-tumæ</i>	<i>zla-tomæ</i>	brother
<i>köñi'ñ</i>	<i>qüñi'ñ</i>	one
<i>k!ö'lkriñin</i>	<i>q!ö'lkriñin</i>	he has come

(10) In the Sedanka dialect there is also a tendency to drop the last syllables of suffixes. Not as many auxiliary vowels occur as in other dialects, and of double consonants one is always omitted.

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
<i>a'tinñm</i>	<i>a'tnom</i>	village
<i>te'vsæicjk</i>	<i>te'vsæis</i>	I ascend
<i>ki'mma</i>	<i>kima'</i>	I

(11) Instead of the pure *n*, we find an *n* with somewhat lateral pronunciation.

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
<i>E'nu</i>	<i>E'lnu</i>	then

§ 22. *Vocalic Ablaut*

In Kamchadal the ablaut affects almost all the vowels, which are much more numerous than those of either Chukchee or Koryak.

<i>ï</i> changes to <i>ë</i> .	<i>u</i> changes to <i>o</i> .
<i>î</i> changes to <i>ê</i> or <i>ä</i> .	<i>û</i> changes to <i>ô</i> .
<i>ë</i> changes to <i>ä</i> .	<i>ü</i> changes to <i>ö</i> or <i>ȳ</i> .

Examples:

kɨ'stɛnk at the house*kɛ'stɛnk* to the house (stem *kɨst* house)*sɨnk* in the wood*sɔnk* to the wood (stem *sɨn*)*tɔɨ'ɨnk* by them*tɔɔ'ɔnkɛ* to them (stem *ɨtɔ*)*kɛ'pɔ'ɛnk* in the trough*kɔ'pɔ'ɔnk* to the trough (stem *kɛpɔ*)*kɨ'x'ɛnk* in the river*kɛ'x'ɔnk* to the river (stem *kɨx*)*kɔkɛ'-hɨmnɨn* he cooked it*kɔkɔ-jɔ-hɨmnɨn* he began to cook it

The obscure vowels *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *ɔ*, *ʊ*, are neutral, as are also *e*, *a*, *ø*. In this respect Kamchadal differs from Chukchee, in which dialect vowels that are hard or weak never appear as neutral.

In Kamchadal the initial vowels of suffixes, and auxiliary vowels, are also subject to the ablaut, their form being determined by the vocalic character of the stem, which is generally monosyllabic. Thus a system develops which is somewhat similar to the vocalic harmony of the Ural Altaic languages.

kɨ'stɛnk at the house*kɛ'stɛnk* to the house (stem *kɨst*)*kɔ'ɨ'xɔnk* at the lake*kɛ'pɔ'ɛnk* at the trough(stem *kɔ'ɨ'x*)*kɔ'pɔ'ɔnk* to the trough (stem *kɛpɔ*)

tɨsɨnɨlɔ'tɨjk I always live in the woods (*tɨ* I; *sɨn* wood; *ɨ* auxiliary vowel; *lɔ* to live; *t* always; *-jk* I)

§ 23. Other Phonetic Processes

Consonantic Clusters.—In Kamchadal consonantic clusters are of frequent occurrence. I have found, for instance, *ktɔt*, *tɔɔj*, *tɔɔjh*, *tɔtɔ*, *ntɔɔjh*, *kɨlkɨn*.

Sometimes auxiliary vowels are inserted, or some of the consonants have a decided vocalic resonance, but more often the clusters are free from vocalic elements. The peculiar consonantic character of pronunciation may be observed also among the Russianized Kamchadal; and the natives are taunted by the Russian creoles, and even in the intercourse of various villages, on account of this peculiarity of their speech. Nevertheless not all consonantic clusters are admissible.

ɨl changes to *nl*.

ko'lɔl (absolute form), *ko'lɔ'nl* < *ko'lɔl-l* (instrumental), snow

ɛ'thɨn (absolute form), *ɨnl* < *ɨl-l* (instrumental), ear (pl. *ɨ'ɛl*)

Note, however,

lül (absolute form), *lüle'l'* < *lül-l'* (instrumental), eye

Auxiliary Vowels.—Auxiliary vowels are introduced to avoid consonantic clusters originating by composition, although the corresponding clusters may be admissible in the stem itself. All neutral vowels perform this function. Although *i* is more frequent than all the others, *ü*, *ɛ*, *ɛ*, (*a*), are also found rather often.

lüle'l' < *lül-l'* eye

tveta'tij̥k < *tveta't-j̥k* I work

Initial Clusters.—The prefix *k'* is omitted before *k* and *k'*

k'ö'lkriñin he has come

The prefix *k* before initial *k* and *k'* changes to *æ*.

æke'jæɕik accept him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped before verbal stems with initial *t*.

tælin < *ttælin* I struck him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular changes to *ɕ* before verbal stems with initial *ɕi* or *ɕi*.

ki'mma ɕiɕi'niñij̥k < *t-ɕiniñ-j̥k* I sew

Compare also

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>ɕ' tqiñ</i>	<i>a' ɕɕiñ</i>	<i>ɕ' ɕkeläx</i>	the bad one
<i>wuwɕélka'lh̥in</i>	<i>ɕetɕe'lñin</i>	<i>ɕi' xɕax</i>	shrew

Stems with the initial clusters *lk* and *rk*, when appearing at the beginning of a word, add a preceding vowel.

i' lkarujc < *lk-r-jc* (Chukchee *qätr'rk̥in* < *lqät-rk̥in*) he leaves

In other cases the Chukchee *l* or *r* of these clusters is replaced by *ɕ* and *c* respectively.

ckla'ujk < *cklau-jk* (Chukchee *kila'urk̥in* < *rk̥ilau-rk̥in*) e runs

§ 24. Accent

In all three languages the accent usually recedes to the beginning of the word, even as far as the fourth or fifth syllable from the end.

Chukchee *pa' riliñin* shoulder-blade

Kor. Kam. *nɕe'shiqenat* those two that have been bought

Kamchadal *k'ta'tilkajukñan* they began to perform the ceremonial

To give emphasis to the word, the accent may be thrown upon the last syllable, the vowel of which then changes to *o*.

Chukchee	<i>tipênŋ'irko'n</i>	<	<i>tipê'nŋ'irkin</i>	} I attack him
Kor. Kam.	<i>tipenn'eko'n</i>	<	<i>tipé'nn'ekin</i>	
Kamchadal	<i>tipenci'o'n</i>	<	<i>tipé'ncijin</i>	

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25-129.)

§25. Morphological Processes

The Chukchee group of languages uses a great variety of morphological processes for expressing grammatical relations. The unity of the syntactic group which forms a close unit is maintained by a law of vocalic harmony which requires that if one vowel of the unit is strong, all the others, that may be either weak or strong, must also take the strong form. This law does not act in any particular direction; but whenever a strong vowel appears in any part of the word, it strengthens all the other preceding and following vowels. In the present condition of the language, this law is not quite strictly confined to certain vowels; but a few stems and endings that have no vocalic element except auxiliary vowels are always strong. It may be, of course, that here strong vocalic elements have been lost.

Stems appear almost always with morphological affixes. Only particles and a number of nouns occur as independent members of the sentence in the form of the simple stem, their independence being indicated by their failure to modify their weak vowels in conformity with the strong vowels of those words with which they are most closely associated. The general occurrence of nominal affixes, and the restriction of stem forms occurring independently to certain phonetic types of nouns, make it plausible that we are dealing here also with a loss of older affixes. If this view should be correct, there would be no forms of nouns or verbs and related classes of words without affixes. Either the stems consist of consonantic clusters or they are monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Only predicative stems consist of consonantic clusters. Denominative stems have fuller phonetic values. In all polysyllabic stems a certain symmetry of form is required by the laws of vocalic harmony; so that in the same stem we find, besides neutral vowels, only strong vowels or only weak vowels.

Owing to the inadmissibility of extended consonantic clusters, and to the avoidance of initial consonantic clusters, stems undergo important changes due to the insertion of auxiliary vowels, to elision of consonants, or modification of consonants, according to the position and connections of the stems in the word.

Composition of stems is of extended use; and we find many types of composition of denominative, predicative, and of denominative with predicative stems, which form firm units. Owing to the significance of some of these stems, they never appear outside of such compounds, and therefore take on the aspects of elements that are no longer free, although their phonetic character and general appearance are such that they might appear as independent elements. Certain particles are also incorporated in the word complex. The stems which are united in such synthetic groups influence one another according to the laws of vocalic harmony and by contact phenomena, which often modify the terminal sound of the first member of a compound, and the initial sound of the following member, or cause the introduction of auxiliary vowels. Although ordinarily these compounds originate by a simple juxtaposition of stems, there are cases in which certain formative elements may be recognized.

The function of a simple or compound nominal or verbal unit in the sentence is further determined by reduplication, prefixes, and suffixes.

Reduplication is confined to denominating concepts, and is of peculiar character, the first part of the stem being repeated at the close of the stem as far as the first consonant following the first vowel. This gives the impression of a partially suppressed repetition of the stem: for instance, stem *orgo* SLEDGE, reduplicated *orgo-or*.

Both prefixes and suffixes are numerous. The same phonetic laws that cause a differentiation of the forms of the stem cause differentiation in the manner of joining affixes to the stems or to the compounds. In some cases a distinction between compounds and words with affixes is difficult to draw, neither is it possible to carry through a rigid distinction between nominal and verbal affixes. There is great freedom in the use of stems for either predicative or denominative purposes.

In the Chukchee language nominal concepts are classified as common nouns and proper names. A nominal singular and plural occur, but in Koryak we find besides these a dual. As in many

American languages, the relation between subject and predicate is conceived differently in the case of the transitive and of the intransitive verb.

The relation between noun and verb is expressed by inflection of the noun. A subjective form of the noun expresses the subject of the transitive verb and an absolute form designates the subject of the intransitive and the object of the transitive verb. The subjective form is primarily instrumental. It expresses also the object which is used in the performance of an action as: COOKING (WITH) MEAT. It would seem that the transitive verb has primarily a passive significance, but this view does not satisfactorily explain many of the forms.

Locative ideas—in, at, towards, from—are expressed by means of nominal postpositions. These are given extended meanings and are applied to express a variety of relations between verb and indirect object. The genitive relation is not ordinarily expressed by postpositions and is not analogous to a case form, but is rather expressed by derivatives which signify, PERTAINING TO, BELONGING TO. These elements are even added to the personal pronoun to express possessive relations. The characteristic American incorporated possessive pronoun is not found. Demonstrative ideas are expressed with great nicety particularly in the Chukchee dialect. The syntactic forms of the personal demonstrative and indefinite pronouns are analogous to the corresponding forms of proper names.

In the predicate are expressed singular and plural, (in Koryak also dual), tense and modality. There is no distinction made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. Declarative and interrogative have the same forms. Among the tenses only the future is derived from the verb theme in a manner analogous to the formation of modes. A continuative is expressed by a derived form, the verbal theme being expanded by the suffix-*irkin*. Other temporal concepts are expressed by nominal derivatives, and temporal subordination is often expressed by syntactic forms of the verbal noun. Other modes are a subjunctive, expressing conditional and other subordinate clauses—which, however, is very rarely used,—an exhortative and an imperative.

The verb complex consists of pronominal prefixes which enter into combination with temporal and modal prefixes. These are followed

by the verbal theme which takes additional temporal and modal suffixes. The end of the verbal complex is a pronominal suffix. In the transitive verb, the pronominal prefix designates the subject, the pronominal suffix the object. There is a strong tendency to express the predicate in the form of a predicating noun analogous to a relative clause. For instance, instead of I KILL THE REINDEER, the Chukchee will say, THE REINDEER ARE THE ONES WHOM I KILLED. These forms receive a treatment different from that of the true verb.

Stems may be developed by affixing subordinate elements. There are a number of attributive elements of this class such as LARGE, SMALL, NUMEROUS. Furthermore, we find locative terms such as, WHAT IS ON, WITH, ON TOP OF, NEAR, INSIDE OF SOMETHING ELSE and also, WHAT IS SIMILAR TO, WHAT IS USED FOR, WHAT IS PROVIDED WITH SOMETHING, A RECEPTACLE FOR SOMETHING. Nominal forms derived from verbs are abstract nouns, results of actions, instruments. The verb is developed by adverbial suffixes expressing for instance, reciprocity, a desiderative, single action, intensity, beginning, duration, causation, negation and also ideas like, TO FEEL LIKE SOMETHING or the bad temper of the speaker. Verbs derived from nouns are TO BRING, TAKE OFF, LOOK FOR, CONSUME SOMETHING. Prefixes are quite numerous and are largely of an attributive or adverbial character as, A LITTLE, QUITE, ALL, ENTIRELY, MERELY, SOMEWHAT, TRULY, NOT.

Furthermore, words may be compounded quite freely, adverbs with verbs, verbal stems among themselves, nouns among themselves. Nouns are also incorporated in the verbal complex, both as the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. Such incorporated themes are used both for habitual and single actions.

§ 26. Comparison of Dialects

The chief differences between Chukchee and Koryak lie in the lesser amount of consonantic decay of stems in Koryak, the modification of stems due to phonetic processes being considerably less extended in the latter dialect; in the lesser extent of the occurrence of the ablaut in the Koryak; and in the substitution of other consonants for the Chukchee *r*, which process is more pronounced in Koryak I than in Koryak II. Besides this, Koryak I is characterized by the restriction of the forms of the Chukchee plural to the dual, while a distinct form

is used by all the Koryak dialects, even those that have no dual for expressing the plural.

Chukchee and Koryak are so much alike, that the languages, are mutually intelligible at least in part. On the northern border of the Koryak territory a considerable amount of lexicographic borrowing may be noticed, which extends even as far as the Anadyr country. Thus we find—

- Kolyma Chukchee *tegge'ñirkin* he desires
- Anadyr Chukchee *tegge'ñirkin* or *gaima'tirkin*
- Koryak, Kamenskoye *tajja'ñikin* or *gaima'tekin*

Of these words, the first one is common to Chukchee and Koryak, while the second is Koryak and is borrowed from them by the Anadyr Chukchee.

- Kolyma Chukchee *wêtha'urkin* he speaks
- Anadyr Chukchee *wêtha'urkin* and *vanava'tirkin*
- Koryak, Kamenskoye *vetha'vekin* and *vanava'tekin*

The lexical differences between Koryak and Chukchee are considerable. Still certain Chukchee words that do not occur in the Kamenskoye dialect re-appear in other dialects, some even in remote villages in the valleys of Kamchatka.

	AGAIN	NEGATION (refusal)	WHALE
Chukchee	<i>lä'mña</i>	<i>garê'm</i>	<i>re'w</i>
Koryak, Kamenskoye	<i>gü'mla</i>	<i>gaye'm</i>	<i>yu'ñi</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>)
Koryak II Qare'ñin .	<i>i'nnik</i>	<i>i'hut</i>	<i>yu'ñi</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>)
Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka). . .	<i>ligr'mmen</i>	<i>gate'mmı</i>	——
Kerek	——	——	<i>ya'w</i>
Kamchadal	——	——	<i>yu'ñyu</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>)

On the whole, however, all branches of the Koryak, even in their most distinct dialects,—like those of the Kerek near Cape Anannon on Bering Sea, and of Voyampolka on the Sea of Okhotsk,—are much more closely related among themselves than to the Chukchee.

In the pronunciation of men of the Kolyma district many intervocalic consonants are dropped (see § 13). This is not so common among the men of the Anadyr Chukchee, who use both the fuller forms and those with dropped consonants. Among the Kolyma people the difference between the pronunciation of men and that of women is so regular that the use of the fuller forms by the eastern people lays them open to ridicule as using the speech of women.

Nouns (§§ 27-55).

§ 27. *General Remarks*

The noun appears in a number of forms and with a number of suffixes, the interpretation of which is not easy. A few of these have clearly purely syntactic meaning, while others appear rather as post-positions which are somewhat loosely connected with the noun. Some elements of this group seem to form compound nouns, while I suspect that others may have a verbal character.

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—

(1) The absolute form, which expresses the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb.

(2) The absolute form, plural.

(3) The subjective form, which expresses the subject of the transitive verb, and the instrument with which an action is performed. In several cases our indirect object appears as direct object, while our direct object appears as instrument, somewhat as in the two expressions I GIVE IT TO HIM and I BESTOW HIM WITH IT. In Kamchadal this form is not used for the subject of the transitive verb, but the locative-possessive. In Koryak sometimes the one form is used, sometimes the other.

(4) The locative possessive expresses the place where an event happens or where an action is performed. With terms designating living beings it expresses possession.

Suffixes which express the allative and ablative form a second group. These are not so distinctively syntactic forms, but give the impression of post-positions, particularly since they appear sometimes in composition with syntactic forms of the first group.

A third class, quite distinct from the first two in form as well as in function, comprises derivations of nouns and verbs which express WHAT BELONGS TO, WHAT PERTAINS TO, THAT WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF SOMETHING, THE POSSESSOR OF, THE MEASURE OF BEING IN A CERTAIN CONDITION. These are frequently used to express the relations between two nouns or between an adjective and a noun.

The fourth class expresses mainly various types of emphatic forms of the noun.

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.

The Absolute Form (§§ 28-32).

§ 28. ABSOLUTE FORM EXPRESSED BY STEM

The absolute form of the noun serves to express the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. It shows a great variety of formations.

The absolute form is expressed by the nominal stem. This form can occur only in those cases in which the terminal sound is a vowel or a single consonant. Since no ending occurs, the stem has no ablaut. Examples are—

(1) Stems with terminal vowels:

kitve'yu old walrus 8.12, 14

ELA' mother 30.6

qe'li cap

lɔ'lɔ penis 45.1

rɪ'lu carcass 65.14

ä's'qe'ku a barren doe 97.17

veñke'nřu a mother doe

(2) Stems or compounds with single terminal consonant (including diphthongs in *i* and *u*). To this class belong words ending in *y*, *w*, *p*, *m*, *t*, *n*, *k*, *č*, *r*, *q*, *l*.

ELɔ'qai little mother 35.5

ñi'ngai little child 37.14

mɪ'rgew a suit of armor 116.24

re'w whale 73.4

ɪnpiñe'w old woman 19.5

tim'p blue fox 96.17

re'lup quid

ve'em river 37.3 (Koryak *ve'-yem*, *va'yam* Kor. 17.6, according to dialect)

rêt trail 37.1

le'ut head 44.11 (Koryak *la'-wut* Kor. 82.11)

ñe'wän wife 36.3 (Koryak *ña'-wan*)

Ai'wan the Ai'wan 7.1

na'ngan belly 43.9

uwä'quč husband 105.12

ke'per wolverene 78.2, *qe'per* 92.21 (*ke'perä* 78.11) (Koryak *qapay*)

kri'mqor three-year-old doe 117.9

wañqa's'qor two-year-old doe 117.10

č'har polar fox 92.19

intu'ulpir son-in-law 80.6

u'nel thong-seal 70.7

pe'nvel two-year-old buck 117.12

mč'mıl seal 96.4 (Koryak *me'-mıl* Kor. 90.6)

lɪ'mıl story 61.5

pe'kul butcher-knife 85.23 (Kor. *pa'qul* Kor. 78.23)

ñe'lvul herd 49.3

qe'ptiril backbone 51.3

qla'ul man 43.1 (Kor. *qla'wul* Kor. 17.4)

uwi'k body 35.11 (Kor. 32.5)

ka'mak evil spirit 61.6 (Kor. 35.5)

ai'mak carcass 81.17

gɪnni'k game 84.28 (Koryak *gr'ynik* Kor. 61.8)

e'ek lamp 68.12, 106.18

pu'req white whale 96.9

o'Laq sea-lion 65.16

(3) Stems ending in two consonants generally insert a vowel in the terminal consonantic cluster.

qe'pɪl football (stem *qepl*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pɪl*; Kor. Par. *qepɪl*)
mä'e'qɪm arrow 75.23
lo'ñɪl walrus-blubber 47.4
pr'ñɪl tidings 61.5
če'ñɪl trunk 96.3

§ 29. REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some stems are reduplicated.

(1) Monosyllabic stems are doubled. When the contact between the last consonant of the repeated word and of the stem form an inadmissible cluster, the usual changes occur.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
<i>nɪm</i>	<i>nɪ'mnɪm</i> settlement 7.7
<i>kêr</i>	<i>kê'rkêr</i> combination-suit 37.8
<i>ɣɪn</i>	<i>dɪ'ndɪn</i> ¹ fire 39.11
<i>e'ɛl</i>	<i>e'le'ɛl</i> excrement 80.11; (<i>e'lu</i> 81.12)
<i>lɪg</i>	<i>lɪ'glɪg</i> (Kor. <i>lɪglɪg</i>) egg
<i>rɪg</i>	<i>rɪ'grɪg</i> hair
<i>om</i>	<i>o'mom</i> (Kor. <i>o'mom</i>) heat
<i>liñ</i>	<i>li'ñli</i> heart (see § 31, 3)
<i>poñ</i>	<i>po'mpo</i> fly agaric (see § 31, 3)
<i>tuw</i>	<i>tu'wtuw</i> word
<i>oč</i>	<i>o'čoč</i> chief
<i>čot</i>	<i>čo'tčot</i> bag-pillow 29.5
<i>wüt</i>	<i>wü'twüt</i> leaf
<i>gil</i>	<i>gilgil</i> sea ice 8.14 (<i>ɛi'e'tit</i> Anser segetum)

Koryak:

<i>kił</i>	<i>ki'łkił</i> navel string Kor. 63.10
<i>pił</i>	<i>pi'pɪp</i> comb Kor. 78.9
<i>vił</i>	<i>vi'tvit</i> ringed seal Kor. 17.12
<i>nai</i>	<i>nai'nai</i> mountain Kor. 42.2
<i>wɪy</i>	<i>wɪ'ywɪ</i> breath Kor. 33.8

(2) Stems ending in a consonantic cluster always insert an auxiliary vowel (§ 8), and therefore appear in dissyllabic form. The reduplication consists in the repetition of the beginning of the word at the

end, including the initial consonant, vowel, and the first consonant following the first vowel.

Stem

*pīlh**qêrg**tirk**têrg**tirg**tumg**mitk*(Kor.) *ye'lk**muL* 19.3**wilq***qêrg* (Kor. Kam. *qesh*)*vryl* (Kor. *vyil*)

Reduplicated absolute form

pi'lhripil famine*qê'rgiqêr* light*tî'rkitir* sun*tê'rgitêr* crying 20.12*tr'rgitir* meat 48.8*tu'mgitum* companion 103.35*mi'tkämrit* blubber 47.4*ye'lkryel* pudding Kor. 34.2*mu'zumul* 25.3 blood*wil'quul* 22.7 coal (Kor. Kam.*wü'lkvul*, cf. Kor. 31.9)*qê'rgiqêr* light (Kor. Kam.*qeshiqes*)*vr'yilvryil* image (*vr'yilvryil*

Kor. 32.3)

A number of words of this group, particularly those beginning with a vowel, repeat the stem vowel before the repeated syllable.

Stem

*org**omk**wus'q* (Kor. Kam. *vus'q*)*el**il**yäq*(yil) *yi'liil* language 7.10*yir*

Related to this group are—

*eiv**Enn*

Reduplicated absolute form

o'rgoor sledge*o'mkoom* 79.5 willow*wu's'quus* (Kor. *vu's'quvus*
cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness*e'leel* summer (Kor. Kam.*a'laal*)*i'liil* rain (Kor. Kam. *mu'qamuq*){ *yäqä'q* }
{ *yäqa'aq* } nose*yi'riri* a full one 86.29*ei'veei* part of meat given to
neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam.
ai'vaai cf. Kor. 63.12)*ennē'n* fish (Kor. Kam. *ennā'n*)

(3) Some bases which end in inadmissible sound-clusters have initial or terminal reduplication, and insert auxiliary vowels.

Stem

iml (Kor. *iml*)*mlū* (Kor. *mlū*)*elv*, *ilv* (see *elvé'tulä* 89.32; *qel-*
vulin 88.1)

Reduplicated absolute form.

mi'mil water (Kor. *mi'mil*)*mū'mil* louse (Kor. *mū'mil*;*mi'mič* Kor. 55.1)*ilvilu'* wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor.
Kam. *ilhu'lu*, *elhu'lu*)

(4) Dissyllabic words repeat the first syllable at the end of the word:

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
<i>mêrê</i>	<i>mê'rêmêr</i> tears 116.8
<i>qo^llê</i> 41.5	<i>qo^llê'qo^l</i> snuff 41.4
<i>yîle</i> (see 90.2)	<i>yî'leil</i> marmot 89.33
<i>yîli</i> (Kor. <i>êrl</i>)	<i>yî'liil</i> tongue 48.8 (Kor. <i>êr'li</i>)
	Kor. 56.4)
<i>quli</i>	<i>quli'qul</i> voice 44.7
<i>nute</i>	<i>nu'tenut</i> land
<i>yî'lqâ(t)</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>yîlqa[t]</i>)	<i>yî'lqâil</i> sleep (Kor. Kam. <i>yî'l-qayîl</i>)

Koryak:

<i>mi'tqa</i>	<i>mi'tqamîr</i> oil Kor. 90.17
<i>qanga</i>	<i>qa'ngaqan</i> fire Kor. 30.8
<i>ki'lka</i>	<i>ki'lkakil</i> shell-fish Kor. 70.2

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

êñe'neñen southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

<i>o'mlax</i> warm	<i>o'mom</i> heat
<i>a'tæ^alax</i> bright	<i>a'tæatæ</i> light
<i>tæu'nlâx</i> dark	<i>tæu'ntæu</i> darkness
<i>tpilhe'tijik</i> I suffer from hunger	<i>pî'lhîpîl</i> and <i>pê'lhêpêl</i> famine

Other Kamchadal forms of duplication and reduplication for the absolute forms are:

<i>êv'xêux</i> rain (stem <i>êux</i>)
<i>pa'lapal</i> leaf (stem <i>pal</i>)
<i>kö'mloköm</i> marrow (Chukchee <i>ki'mîl</i> ; Kor. Kam. <i>ki'mîl</i>)
<i>lu'ñuluñulê</i> heart (Chukchee <i>li'ñli</i> ; Kor. <i>li'ñliñ</i>)

NOTE 1.—A number of stems which in Koryak form their absolute form by duplication have different forms in Chukchee.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>go'pki</i> elk	<i>ve'pkavêp</i>
<i>ri'rki</i> walrus	<i>yî'ykayîk</i>

Presumably the Koryak has retained here the older forms.

NOTE 2.—In a few cases the reduplicated or doubled form is used not only in the absolute form, but also with other suffixes and in composition.

kê'rkêr combination-suit (stem *kêr*); Kor. I *key'key* (stem *key*) ;
kêrkê'rgüprü and *kê'rgüprü* from the combination-suit; *kê'rkêrik*
 in the combination-suit

ñä'wêkêr woman's suit

nimnî'mgüprü from the settlement 10.12

gêlgêli'tkinik on the ice fields 7.3; *gêli'tkinik* on the sea-ice 9.2

mêmlî'tkinik on top of the water 9.3

NOTE 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

<i>yara'ñî</i> house	} (see § 30)
<i>yorô'ñî</i> sleeping-room	
<i>ya'rar</i> drum	

contain reduplicated stems in which the initial *r* has changed to *y*.

§ 30. SUFFIXES *-n*, *-ñî*

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffixes, in Chukchee *-n*, *-ñî*, in Koryak *-ñe*, *-ña*, according to dialect.

Iu'metun name of a spirit 22.6

kuke'ñî kettle (*ku'kek* 75.13); Kor. Kam. *kuka'ña*; Kor. Par.

kuke'ñe

yorô'ñî sleeping-room 107.9

yara'ñî house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. *yaya'ña* Kor. 22.4)

keme'ñî dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (*kama'gîr* to a dish 88.24) (Kor.

kama'ñî Kor. 64.3)

qora'ñî reindeer 51.6

ripe'ñî stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. *yipa'ña* Kor. 43.2)

é'énî wolf 78.2, 96.28

špa'ñî broth (Kor. *ipa'ña* Kor. 28.6)

Stems ending in two consonants, or in consonants that can not form clusters with the terminal *n*, take the ending *-n* with a connective vowel, *î*, *é*; after *q* the connective vowel is *ä* (Kor. Kam. *a*).

poi'gîn spear 97.27 (*poi'gø* 117.29) (Kor. *poi'gîn*)

na'ngan belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. *na'ngän*)

riggo'lgîn cellar 36.8 (*riggolgê'tî* to the cellar 36.10)

re'mkîn people 8.8, 10 (*re'mku* 107.20) (Kor. *ya'mkîn* Kor. 39.7)

tu'mgîn companion 38.12 (*tu'mgä* 37.7)

gî'thîn lake 37.4 (*gî'thik* in a lake 37.5)

špa'lhîn tallow 87.4 (*špa'lha* 86.23)

gî'lhîn skin 23.9

gêla'rgîn gray fox 96.14

é'én fat (Kor. *a'én* Kor. 15.4)

êli'gîn father 73.10 (stem *l*)

ke'ñiɕvin boy 11.7
kopa'lhin walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'łha* 14.11)
y'i'lgın month 7.2
a'ttin dog 135.20 (*a'ttu* 135.20) (Kor. *a'tta°n* Kor. 48.8)
keiñin brown bear 78.3 (*keiñu* 136.20) (Kor. Kam. *kai'ñin*)
rêłoi'ñin big old carcass 136.19
koka'i'ñin big kettle 33.10
i'rin fur shirt 83.24 (*i'ru* 116.26)
wu'kwun stone (stem *wukw* R 3.19) (Kor. *vu'gvın*)
ñi'łhin thong 41.10 (Kor. *ñi'łñin* Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings *-łhin*, *-yñin*, *-čhin*, *-gırgın*, *-yırin* *-lin* (see § § 52; 53; 98; 1,99,8; 106, 44).

§ 31. ABSOLUTE FORM WITH LOSS OF PHONETIC ELEMENTS

(1) Stems ending in a vowel weaken their terminal vowel or lose it entirely. Those ending in *ɛ* often change it to *ɪ* slightly nasalized.

va'łɛ knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem *va'la*)
ri'rki walrus 8.5
ke'łɛ an evil spirit 61.6
čũ'mñi buck (stem *čumña*)
krim'i'nti three-year-old buck 117.11
u'mki bear 110.11
wi'ur scraping board (stem *wiuri*)
e'wič small bag (stem *ewiču*)

In case the loss of terminal vowel results in an inadmissible terminal cluster, auxiliary vowels are introduced:

e'kik son (stem *ekke*)
e'rim, *e'rem* chief (stem *erme*)
ku'kil one-eyed (stem *kuwle* < **kukle*)
lu'kil driving-reindeer, not properly broken in; (stem *luwle* < **lukle*?)

(2) Stems ending in *-nv* lose their terminal *v*.

č'wgan incantation 129.18 (stem *čwganv*)
č'tin master 122.38 (stem *čtinu*)

(3) Stems ending in *ñ* with preceding vowel drop the terminal *ñ* or at least reduce its pronunciation to a voiceless *ñ*. This occurs particularly in Chukchee.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>êna'nvina</i> scraper (stem <i>êna'n-vina'ñ</i>)	<i>ena'nvina</i> (stem <i>enanvinañ</i>)
<i>keñu'ne</i> staff (stem <i>keñu'neñ</i>) 101.9	
<i>li'ñli</i> heart (stem <i>liñ</i>)	<i>li'ñliñ</i>
<i>po'mpo</i> mushroom (stem <i>poñ</i>)	<i>po^εnpo^εn</i>
<i>pi'mpi</i> powder (stem <i>piñ</i>)	

(4) A number of stems with consonantic ending have a double form of the stem, one ending with the consonant, another one ending in *a*, *e*, or *i*, which are suffixed to the stem. The absolute form is the stem form without terminal vowel.

Ai'wan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems *ai'wan* and *aiwana*)
intu'ulpir son-in-law (stems *intuulpir* and *intuulpire*)
uwä^εquč husband (stems *uwä^εquč* and *uwä^εquči*)
ilir island (stems *ilir* and *iliri*)

(5) Irregular forms are—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>εi^εni</i> wolf (stem [<i>l</i>]. <i>εi^εg</i>)	<i>i^εyiy</i> (stem <i>i^εy</i>)
<i>εi^εtin</i> neck (stem <i>εi^εnn</i>)	<i>i^εnnirin</i> (stem [<i>l</i>]. <i>i^εnn</i> , <i>i^εnn</i>)
<i>ELu'ê</i> nephew (stem <i>ELuwgo</i>)	<i>ILo'yo</i> (stem <i>ILoy</i>)
<i>intê'</i> daughter-in-law (stem <i>intryo</i>)	
<i>a'kan</i> fishhook (stem <i>a^εn</i> < * <i>aqn</i> ?)	
<i>ga'LE</i> bird (stem <i>galha</i>)	
<i>ve'LE</i> raven (stem <i>velve</i>)	
<i>εi^εtit</i> anser segetum (stem <i>εi^εtu</i>)	
<i>tu'mgin</i> stranger (stem <i>tumñik</i>); compare, however, the reduplicated form <i>tu'mgitum</i> COMPANION formed from <i>tu'mgin</i> (in compounds - <i>tu'mgin</i> , as <i>yicé'mit-tu'mgin</i> BROTHER) <i>tu'mñik</i> serves also as possessive form.	

§ 32 SPECIAL FORMS

A number of pronouns form the absolute form in a special manner.

(1) Personal pronouns.

güm I (Kor. *gümma*; Kamch. *kr'mma*)

git thou (Kor. *gr'ssa*; Kamch. *kr'ja*)

(2) The personal pronoun *êna'n* (Kor. *ε'nnu*; Kamch. *êna'*) HE is formed from the stem *en-*.

(3) The personal pronouns of the plural are formed with the suffix *-i*. In Koryak the dual has the suffix *-i*; the plural, *-u*. In Kamchadal we find *-a* for the first and second persons.

mu'ri (Kor. dual *mu'yi*, pl. *mu'yu*; Kamch. *mu'ja*) we (stem *murq-* [Kor. *mučh-*, Kamch. *mijg-*])

tu'ri (Kor. dual *tu'yi*, pl. *tu'yu*; Kamch. *tu'ja*) ye (stem *turg-* [Kor. *tučh-*, Kamch. *tijg-*])

erri (Kor. dual *a'čči*, pl. *a'čču*; Kamch. *itə*) they (stem *erg-* [Kor. *ačh-*, Kamch. *tw-*])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.

me'nin who (stem *mik-*) (Kor. *ma'ki* [stem *mik*])

(5) Indefinite pronoun.

räsnut what (stem *req*) (Kor. *yi'na* [stem *yaq*])

ni'rkĩnut a certain one (stem *nĩrkę*) (Kor. *ni'yka*, *ni'ykrĩnut* [stem *nĩyka*])

ni'kiñut a certain thing (stem *nĩkę*)

Dual and Plural (§§ 33-35).

§ 33. GENERAL REMARKS

Chukchee, Koryak II, and Kamchadal have only two numbers; while Koryak I has also a dual, which corresponds in form to the plural of the Chukchee. The plural of the Koryak, both I and II, presents a set of distinct forms.

§ 34. PLURAL OF COMMON NOUNS

The plural of common nouns occurs only in the absolute form. In Chukchee it is formed by the suffix *-t*. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *n*, *č*, *y*, *t*, take *-ti* instead.

lile't eyes

e'kket sons

qu'tti the others 115.17

qla'ultę men 121.9

yicemre'tti brothers 64.3

ñę'wänti women 50.4, 6

ñeus'qä'tti women 112.5

pe'kulti butcher-knives 84.21

ñi'ngäiti children 112.10, 15;
113.12

ñi'ngägti 51.10

a'ttiqägti pups 122.18

inpiñe'wqägti little old women
45.1

le'utti heads 86.8

Words which have a double stem form (see § 31, 4), have also double forms in the plural.

Ai'wan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems *aiwan*, *aiwana*); plural *ai'wantę*,
ai'wanat

uwä'quč husband (stems *uwä'quč*, *uwä'quči*); plural *uwä'qutti*,
uwä'qučit

i'liir island (stems *ilir*, *iliri*); plural *ili'tti*, *i'liirit*

Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

l̥l̥a't two eyes

qo'yat two reindeer (Chukchee *qa'at* reindeer)

vai'amit two rivers (*vai'anti* Kor. 17.1, Chukchee *ve'emit* rivers)

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by *-u* after terminal consonants, *-wgi*, *-vvi* (according to dialect), after terminal vowel.

qla'wulu men Kor. 44.3

ña'witqatu women Kor. 44.2

qai-pipi'kalñu little mice Kor. 25.6

ñawa'kku daughters Kor. 27.1

a'gimu bags Kor. 28.5

kmi'ñu children Kor. 44.7

vai'amu rivers (stem *variam*)

l̥l̥a'wgi eyes

mimlu'wgi lice Kor. 25.4

imčanalā'wge ermines Kor. 66.18

qoyg'wge reindeer (stem *qoya*; *qoya'we* Kor. 22.4)

qapa'au wolverenes (< *qapay-u*) Kor. 12.7

u'kkamau vessels Kor. 28.5

ki'plau mortars Kor. 51.5 (*kipla'wi* Kor. 53.8)

Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is *-(i)ʳn*.

uʳh tree

uʳhiʳn trees

kocx dog

kcxoʳn dogs

kist house

ki'striʳn houses

Stems ending in *n* or *l* take the glottal stop before the terminal consonant, and take no ending, but may modify the last vowel of the stem.

l̥l̥ eye

l̥l̥ʳ eyes

k̥l̥i'lan spotted seal

k̥l̥i'liʳn spotted seals

m̥e'mi̯ ground-seal

m̥e'mi̯ʳ ground-seals

In the material collected by Dybowsky¹ in southern Kamchatka, *t* and *d* occur as plural endings.

iauin ear

ivut ears

kosch dog

kosgut dogs

uan stone

uad stones

¹ Słowniki Narzeczy Ludow Kameczackich Rozprawie Widziału filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.

The Kamchadal dialect of Sedanka also has the ending *-t*:

veta'tiḷan workman

veta'tiḷat workmen

sü'nkil the one who flies

sü'nkilat those who fly

This can not be due to the influence of the neighboring Koryak II, which has no dual, and uses only the *u* ending of the plural.

§ 35. PLURAL OF PERSONAL NOUNS.

-(I)nti (Kor. Kam. the same) [*-(i)n + ti* ; for *-(i)n* see § 39], expresses a group of people belonging to and including a person of the name to which the suffix is added. In Koryak Kamenskoye the ending designates two persons only. This form is also used with the interrogative pronoun.

Ye'tiḷinti Yetiḷin and his family

(Kor. *Ačče'piniḷinti*) Ačče'pin and his wife

ñe'wānti their wives

mi'kinti (Kor. Kam. *ma'kinti*) who? (see p. 726)

Koryak Kamenskoye:

Valvimiḷa^ε'ninti Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1

Yini'a-ñawgutinti Yini'a-ñawgut and her husband Kor. 19.5

A group of more than two is expressed in Koryak Kamenskoye by the plural ending *-wgi*, but also by *-inu*.

Aččepina'wge Ačče'pin and his family.

Quyqinn'agu'wgi Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10.

Amamqu'tinu Ememqut's people Kor. 43.7

pipi'kča-ñawgutinu mouse-women Kor. 23.3

§ 36. Exclamatory Form of Nouns

Nouns may be given an exclamatory form by transferring the accent to the end of the stem, especially with the last word of the sentence.

kimilhi'n worms 39.3

When the accentuation is stronger, the last vowel is changed to *o*. In this case, proper names lose their suffixes, and have the accent on the last vowel of the stem.

Ye'to'l

O Ye'tiḷin!

remkilo'n a guest! 111.19

Quto'w

O Qutu'wgi!

Koryak:

miko'n vannilño'n! whose tooth Kor. 34.4

ñawako'k! daughter! Kor. 22.7

tiḷago'n! I found! Kor. 24.1

In some cases, when the noun ends in a vowel, an *-i* is added, and the accent thrown upon the end of the word.

<i>Araroï'</i>	O Ara'ro!
<i>Upenkei'</i> R 72.15	O Upe'nke!
<i>Mitei'</i> 83.12 Kor. 37. 2	O Miti!
Kor. <i>Quge'</i> ! Kor. 74.29	O Quyqinn'a'qu
Kor. <i>Yinei'</i> Kor. 88.1	O Yini'aña'wgut
also <i>glei</i>	O man! (from <i>qlik</i> , which otherwise is used only in compounds)

§ 37. Subjective Form

-e, *-tă*, *ă* (Chukchee). Instrumental; used in place of object when the verb is intransitive (e. g., she cooked with meat = she cooked meat); subject of transitive verb.¹

(a) After terminal vowel *-tă*:

<i>ekke'tă</i> by the son 18.9	<i>vala'ta</i> with knives 16.4
<i>temu'netă</i> with shell-fish 9.8	<i>rr'rkata</i> by walrus 9.9; 10.6
<i>wwă'qučită i'unin</i> the husband told her	<i>tar-qa'ata ge'rkuxin</i> bought with how many reindeer
<i>lile'tă</i> with an eye	

(b) After terminal consonant *-ă*:

<i>eñe'ñlă</i> by a shaman 7.5; 14.12; 15.9	<i>eviră</i> clothing (obj.) 13.6
<i>wu'lqă</i> by darkness 18.12	<i>u'ttă</i> with wood
<i>Ėli'gă</i> by the father 18.4	<i>Ėli'gă re'nnin</i> the father brought it
<i>ră'yipă</i> with a drill 8.1; 11.2	<i>poi'ga</i> with a spear 12.9
<i>yî'lqă</i> by sleep 10.6, 7	<i>kopa'lha</i> with walrus-blubber 14.11
<i>a'ttwirlă</i> by the boat's crew 10.9; 12.4	<i>Aiwhuyanpina'cha</i> by an old St. Lawrence man 13.9
<i>re'rilă</i> by the bow-man 10.10	<i>Eiwhue'lă</i> by the St. Lawrence people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1
<i>eñe'ñă</i> with the spirits 16.3	

(c) After terminal consonant *-e*. This *e* may be part of the stem that drops out on the absolute form.

e'če wwi'î'e with fat she cooked (i. e., she cooked fat)

(d) After terminal *n* often, after *r* sometimes, *-etă*. Words of this group are those with double-stem forms § 31.4

gêlêtkrna'ta along the ice-top 13.7
rimne'tă and *rr'mnă* with the inner skin

¹ For proper names, see § 39. Compare nominal forms of verbs, No. 3, § 64.

aiwana'ta the Aiwān 46.6; 49.2

intu'ulpirētā by the son-in-law 80.22 and *intu'ulpirā*

-ta, -a (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs (as in Chukchee).

lila'ta with an eye

u'tta with the wood

a'la'ta with excrement Kor. 12.5

čake'ta by the sister Kor. 18.10

ñi'lña with a line Kor. 41.3

yiča'myi-tu'mga by the brother Kor. 20.6

ña'wītqata by the woman Kor. 21.5

ya'mka by the people Kor. 39.7

yī'pna with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

With these endings are also found, formed from locatives (see §§ 38, 58) —

Chukchee

mīnke'tā

wutke'tā

en'ke'tā

vā'añkata

niki'tā 12.9; 14.10

gīno't-a'lo'

ñunge'tā there, by itself

ño'tīnqata there, behind the speaker

ño'onk Kata there, farther on

ñenke'tā there, far off

Kor. Kam.

mīnka'ta

wutča'ta

enka'ta

vaieña'ta

niki'ta

gīno't-a'lo'

by which place

by this place

by that place

by that place (midway)

at night

at mid-day

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

ñunge'tā there, by itself

ño'tīnqata there, behind speaker

ño'onqanata there, farther on

ñenke'tā there, far off

-l' Kamchadal. Instrumental.

u'l' with wood (from *u'h* wood)

lūle'l' with the eye (stem *lūl*)

Locative Form (§§ 38-39)

§ 38. COMMON NOUNS

-(i)k, -kI, -qI (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.¹

ve'emik nītvā'qēn he lives on the river

ela'qI nītvā'qēn he lives with the mother

nu'tek (Kor. *nu'tak*) on the land

The forms *-kʲ* and *-qʲ*, also *-ekʲ* and *-eqʲ* are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

gʲü'mūk and *gʲü'muqʲ* in my possession

yo'oqʲ in the wind (from *yo'o* WIND)

ela'qʲ at the mother's (from *ela'* MOTHER)

nelvüle'kʲ at the herd (from *nelvül* HERD)

vêli'tkə-laula'kʲ at the merchant's (from *vêlitkə-la'ul* MERCHANT)

Stems with the terminal clusters *lh*, *čh*, *th*, *rg*, *ng* may drop the terminal sound in the locative:

pʲi'lhɪn throat

pʲi'lik in the throat

qʲi'thɪn lake

qʲi'tik at the lake

mʲi'ngɪlɪn hand

mʲi'nik at the hand

The forms *pʲi'lhɪk*, *qʲi'thɪk*, *mʲi'ngɪk*, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix *-gʲrgʲ(ɪn)* (§ 106.44) have in the locative *-ɪnkɪor* *-ɪk*:

kañka'čirɪn descent

kañka'čirɪnkɪ and *kañka'čirɪk*

tɪtta'tirɪn climbing up

tɪtta'tirɪnkɪ and *tɪtta'tirɪk*

NOTE.—These two forms appear with distinctive meaning in the locative of *gʲito'lhɪn* SIDE:

gʲito'lhɪnkɪ on the side of the mountain

gʲito'lhɪk on the side of a person

This suffix is often weakened to *-g*, or even disappears entirely.

Thus we find *nu'tek*, *nu'teg*, and *nu'te* IN THE COUNTRY; *ya'arak* and *ya'ra* AT HOME; the *k* may also be replaced by *ɪ*. The *leu'tɪ* ON THE HEAD 44.5; *a'ñqa-čə'rmɪ* ON THE SEASHORE 12.4

walqa'rik in the jawbone house, 44.14

nute's'qak on the ground, 15.5

rag-čə'rmɪk on the house border, 12.12

a'ñgak on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7

gʲi'lgɪlik on the sea ice, 13.3

tu'wkɪk on the ice-floe, 13.3

ti'mkɪk on a hummock, 62.7

qä'čekičhɪk on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8

lile'k (Kor. *lɪl'a'k*) in the eye

Koryak:

va'amɪk in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2

č'i'čhiñɪk in the armpits Kor. 18.9

ya'yak in the house Kor. 19.9

ulgu'vɪk in the cache Kor. 80.10

yaqa'lik in the porch Kor. 80.13

i'ya'g in the sky Kor. 19.3

qas'wuge'ñkɪ at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7

With nouns designating animate beings, the suffix *-k* expresses the possessor.

e'kkek va'rkin (Kor. Kam., *a'kkak va'ykin*) it is the son's
naa'lik va'rkin in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2
ge'mge-ni'kek whosoever 20.7

Kor. *a'al tu'yik va'ykin* have you an axe? Kor. 63.5

Kor. *Tike'nvryik va'ykin* With-Smell-Pusher-Away has it Kor. 63.4

Personal pronouns also have this ending, while proper names and personal demonstrative pronouns have the ending *-(i)nä* (see § 41).

The personal pronoun is used with the ending *-k*, particularly when the noun to which it is attached with possessive significance has a suffix (*-tä*, *-gti*, etc.), while in the absolute form the suffix *-in* BELONGING TO OR MADE OF IS USED (see § 46 and also § 47). In similar cases nouns designating animate beings are often used with the ending *-k*.

gümü'k e'kkeg ñalvülê'pü qäi'mithin take from my son's herd
gümü'k akka'ipü from my son (*güm* I; *-k* possessive; *ekke* son;
-ipü from [§ 42])

en'ig-nu'tek ne'rmegin ke'le in his own country the kele is strong
 123.25

mø'rêg-rak in our houses 84.16

Kor. *mama'nak tetei'tin* on mamma's needle Kor. 25.2

Kor. *Miti'nak çai'uçhu* into Miti's work-bag Kor. 38.4.

Here belong—

wu'tku (Kor. *wu'tçuk*) here

e'n'ki (Kor. *ä'nki*, Kamchadal *e'nki*) there

va'äñki (Kor. *vai'eñ*) there (midway to)

ño'onki there (farther on)

ra'äñki there (behind the person addressed)

ño'triñki, *ño'triñqi*, there (behind the speaker)

ñu'nki (Kamchadal *ño'nke*) (aside by itself)

m'i'ñki (Kor. *mi'nki*) where

ñe'n'ku there (far off)

All these form allative, ablative, and instrumental, see § 58.

-nk (Kamchadal); after terminal *n*, **-k**, also in some other cases.
 Locative, and subject of transitive verbs.

lül'enk on the eye

taxu'ntxunk in the darkness
 (from *taxu'ntxun*)

ci'mtenk on the land.

a'tinünk and *a'tinük* in the
 village (from *atrinüm*)

With nouns designating animate objects, the suffix *-nk* designates the possessor.

p'i'č!ink čh'i'zkinin it is the son's

The suffixes expressing DIRECTIONS TO AND FROM of the Kamchadal also contain the ending *-nk*, while in Chukchee and Koryak they are formed by the endings *-gtł*, and *-gŭpŭ* (see §§ 40–43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kamchadal by the fact that the termination for TOWARD always, that for FROM generally, causes ablaut, while the *-nk* of the locative is neutral. For DIRECTION FROM we find, for instance—

<i>kist</i> house	<i>k'i'stenk</i> in or from the house
	<i>kē'stank</i> to the house
<i>kix</i> river	<i>k'i'x'enk</i> in or on the river
	<i>kē'x'ank</i> to or from the river
<i>taw'ntawun</i> darkness	<i>taw'ntawunk</i> in the darkness
	<i>taw'ntawonk</i> to the darkness
<i>a'tinŭm</i> village	<i>a'tinŭnk</i> or <i>a'tinŭk</i> in, to, or from the village

These forms may be related to the possessive form of the Koryak proper names (see § 39).

§ 39. PERSONAL NOUNS

-(*I*)*nä*. Subjective and possessive of proper names of persons and of a few appellative nouns.

Yč'tılınä Yetılın's

g'tēnə father's (*a'te* FATHER, in the language of children)

apa'i'ñinə grandfather's (*apa'i'ñin* < *epč-yñin* GRANDFATHER, in the language of children)

epčqä'yinä grandmother's (*epč'qäi* < *epč-qäi* GRANDMOTHER, in the language of children)

tumg'i'inä friend's (*tumgr'ñinä*, in the pronunciation of women)

Telpŭñē'nä lo'o things seen by Telpŭñē R 379, no. 142 title

Tño'tirgına tr'lqätyä'k I go to Tño'tirgin 120.36

nŭ'rke- a certain one, *qut* another one (§ 60), all personal demonstratives and interrogatives (§ 58) have the same forms.

-(*I*)*nak* (Kor. Kam.). Probably formed from the suffix *-(i)na* and the possessive *-k*.

Miti'nak Miti's Kor. 15.11

Pič'i'qala'nak Bird-Man Kor. 16.4

Aččē'pinak Aččē'pin's

wu'tininak this one's

mi'kinak who Kor. 12.7

NOTE.—The subjective of the personal pronoun in *-nan* may be related to this form. The possessive form of these pronouns, however, is formed in *-n* (see § 56)

Allative and Ablative (§§ 40–43.)

§ 40. ALLATIVE OF COMMON NOUNS, CHUKCHEE AND KORYAK

-gtI, *-êṭI*, *-wtI* (Chukchee); *-ṭtI* (*ñ*), *-etI* (*ñ*) (Koryak), expresses THE DIRECTION TO, also THE INDIRECT OBJECT, ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

In Chukchee *-gtI* is used after vowels, except *o*;

-êṭI after consonants;

-wtI, after *o*.

Examples of *-gtI* after vowels:

qaa'gtI tr' lqätyä^k I went to the reindeer

añqa'gtI eiñe'utkui^s he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5

gñqagñgäčg'gtI to the seaside 49.6

nota'gtI to the country 51.2

čaučwwa'gtI to the reindeer-breeder 48.9

yara'gtI to the house 105.27

lêla'gtI to the eye

a^sla-qopla'gtI on an excrement-pile 45.5

kälä'gtI to a kele 97.12

grrgola'gtI upward 16.5

grrgogča'gtI upward 47.4

anvê'nauka'gtI to an unbroken one 50.12 (*ä*—*kä* not)

ta'lva-pa'lko-vê^sgtI to one merely dying of old age 21.7

akka'gtI tre'tyän I brought it for the son

qaa'gtI on account of the reindeer 48.12

wvaqočê'gtI on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of *-êṭI* after consonants:

kaltê'tI to the bottom 9.7

naranêntitko'ñññoññ *notas'qê'tI* it shall be thrown on the ground
25.3; also 16.7

mêmlê'tI to the water 48.5

ra^sulê'tI to the whaler 46.5

a^sqa'kamaanvê'tI to the owners of bad dishes 96.7

rirmnê'tI to the inner skin

ñočê'ti to the poor ones 96.26

ELIqê'ti qäti' he went to the father 109.3

yê'čamêt-to'mgêti qäti' he went to the brothers 110.1

tñarrgê'tI to the dawn 41.7

yê^slhê'tI to the moon 41.11

pênýolhê'ti on to the hearth 32.7

gino'nê'ti to the middle 10.7; 16.8

ergip-ya'lhê'ti on account of the bright moon 14.11

Examples of *-wti*, *-uti*, after *o*

qaaračikou'ti under the sledge-cover 110.8

yorow'ti to the sleeping-room 39.10

mêmlrčikou'ti into the water 17.4

-ŭti, -eti (Koryak)

-ŭti used after all vowels.

yaya'iti to the house (*yaite'ti* verbal, from *yaite'kin* Kor. 17.3)

yoyo'iti to the sleeping-room

lêla'iti to the eye

gičgołai'ti to the upper part Kor. 20.1

yinoi'ti to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

-eti after consonants.

yipnê'ti to the inner skin

olhrwê'tiñ to the cache Kor. 36.3

yinootñê'ti into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

Here belong the allatives of the locative demonstratives and interrogatives, which take *-ri* in Chukchee.

	Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadel
whither	<i>mî'ñkri</i>	<i>menkei'ti</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>
hither	—	<i>wotčai'ti</i>	
thither	<i>eñkri</i>	{ <i>änkai'tiñ</i> <i>enkai'ti</i> Kor. 17.2}	
thither (midway)	<i>va'änřê</i>	<i>vaieñai'ti</i>	
thither	<i>ñe'nři</i>	<i>ñankai'ti</i>	

§ 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

-(I)na TO, TOWARDS. Used only with proper names, personal demonstratives, and with a few appellative nouns.

Yä'tilna to Yetil in

a'têna to father (*a'te* FATHER, in the language of children)

apaï'ñina to grandfather (*apaï'ñin* [*< epe-yñin*], GRANDFATHER in the language of children)

apaqa'yina to grandmother (*epe'qäi* [*< epe-qäi*] GRANDMOTHER in the language of children)

temgê'êna to the friend (*te'mginina*, in the pronunciation of women)

wo'tqanêna (Kor. Kam. *wo'tenena*) to this one

mê'kêna (Kor. Kam. *mê'kena*) to whom

-(I)na(ñ) (Kor. Kam.) TOWARDS, TO. Used only with proper names. Pronouns belonging to this group have *na* like the corresponding Chukchee form.

Ačč'pina(ñ) to Aččepina
Met'e'na to Miti Kor. 43.2

The related suffix, *-(i)ñ* or *-na(ñ)*, may be used with a few appellative nouns; *-iti* (see § 40) occurs as well.

ta'tañ or *ta'tanañ* to father; *ta'tana* Kor. 74.15 (*ta'ta* FATHER, in the language of children); but *ɪɬai'ti* to the mother

§ 42. ABLATIVE IN *-gǔpǔ*

-ǰpǔ, *-ê'pǔ*, *-gǔpǔ* (Chukchee) FROM, OUT OF, ACROSS, ALONG.
-ǰpǔ with stems ending in a vowel.

<i>lêla'ipǔ</i> from the eye	<i>pottirñai'pǔ</i> by the holes 47.2
<i>Roltannênai'pǔ</i> from Rulte'n-nin 124.8 (see § 31, 4)	<i>añqañqacai'pǔ</i> from the seaside 49.8 (see § 31, 4)
<i>qaai'pǔ lei'wulm</i> along the reindeer (herd) the walking one	<i>qaai'ko'i'pǔ</i> from the herd 51.2
	<i>pagtalkoi'pǔ</i> along the crevices 22.6
<i>ñarginoi'pǔ</i> from outside 12.10 (see § 31, 4; of <i>ñargino'lm</i> that staying in the outer tent)	<i>čottagničiko'i'pǔ</i> from the outer tent 131.5
	<i>êučai'pǔ</i> from below 131.5
<i>golê-notai'pu</i> from another land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21	<i>en'kêčikoi'pǔ</i> from there (inside) 131.12
<i>notai'pǔ nilei'vuginet</i> they walked along the (open) land 17.9	

-gǔpǔ mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

va'amgǔpǔ from the river
nimni'mgǔpǔ ni'pkir-mu'ri we came from the settlement 10.12
pêpê'gǔpǔ by the ankle 50.11

-ê'pǔ mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

orgê'pu from the sled
laute'pǔ ki'plnên he struck him across the head (see 8.1)
ronmê'pǔ from under the outer tent-cover 12.9
yikirgê'pu across its mouth 115.1
čot-tagnê'pǔ from the outer tent
gamga-va'irgê'pǔ among all beings 22.2
ranmê'pǔ from the border of the house 130.16
êpr'nmêpǔ from under the wall 130.16

-e'pu (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the village of *Ki'čhn* in Kamchatka).

nute'pu galai'vulin he walked along the open land

§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN *-nk*, *-nq*, *-ñq*, *-(n)qo*, *-ñqorI*

-ñqo (Koryak I) FROM, OUT OF (not with the meaning ACROSS, ALONG).

lela'ñqo from the eye

ega'ñko from heaven Kor. 33.4

kīpla'gīgīñko out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3

menka'ñqo (*mañe'ñko* Kor. 33.7) whence

wotča'ñqo from here

ñanka'ñqo thence

ña'nakañqo Kor. 42.3

änka'ñqo from there

va'i'eñqo from there (not very far)

-nqo, **-ñqorI** (Chukchee) FROM, not free; only in the following adverbs:

mê'ngo and *mêñqorI* whence (*mê'ñko* 113.19)

ño'onqo and *ño'oñqorI* from there (far off) (*ño'onko* 76.5; 131.8)

va'Enqo *va'äñqo* and *va'änqorI* from there (not very far)

ño'tenqo and *ño'tiñqorI* from behind the speaker

ra'Enqo from behind the person addressed

ñu'nqu and *ñunqu'ri* from there

E'ñqo, 86.18 *En'qo'ro* 65.18 and *EnqorI* from there 125.3;

wotqo, *wotqoro* 124.10 and *wotqorI* from here

(*ña'nqo* means, however, simply HERE)

ña'nko 12.7 From this is formed the ablative *ñan'koipä*.

ña'niko there Kor. 32.1

qoro' COME HERE! (Kor. *qoyo* is probably the exclamatory form for *ña'nqorI* HITHER. The latter form is rarely used. Kor.

Kam. *qo'yin* HITHER is perhaps the ablative of the same form.

qoro' ña'nko then come here! R 73.76 *qo'ro* 101.3

-nk (Kamchadal). Used in most oblique cases. Since all Kamchadal stems end in consonants, this suffix requires a connecting vowel which corresponds in character to the vowel of the stem.

i, *ĩ*, *e*, *u*, *ü*, *ɤ*, are found in this position.

The allative always has the strong form of the connecting vowel.

The suffix often takes the termination *-e*.

sün the wood

sünk from the wood

sö'nke to the wood

kïx the sea

kï'xenk from the sea

kë'xanke to the sea

lül the eye

lül'lank from the eye

lül'lank to the eye

E'nki there

ño'nke there, thus

ma'nke whence, whither, how

§ 44. *Post-positions of Plurals of Personal Nouns*

The plurals of personal nouns form their locative, allative, ablative (§§ 39, 41), and possessives (p. 709) by adding the stem of the pronoun (*i*)*rg* THEY (Kor. Kam. [*i*]*y*) to the stem. The allative and ablative forms differ, however, somewhat, from the forms of the independent pronoun.

stem (*i*)*rg* THEY

	Independent pronoun.	Suffix of plural of personal noun.
absolute	<i>E' rri</i>	—
allative	<i>Erika' gti</i>	— <i>Erik</i>
ablative	<i>Erikai' pū</i>	— <i>i' rgūpū</i>
<i>qla' ul</i> man		<i>qlauli' rgūpū</i> from the people
<i>ora' wêlan</i> person		<i>orawêla' rgên</i> belonging to men
<i>Tiña' p</i> (a name)		<i>Tiña' perik</i> with <i>Tiña' p</i> and his family (locative and allative) <i>Tiña' pirgên</i> belonging to <i>Tiña' p</i> 's family, belonging to <i>Tiña' p</i> ¹

Kor. Kam.:

<i>Pipi' kēa-ña' wgut</i> Mouse-Woman	<i>Pipi' kēa-ña' wgut iyik</i> by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
<i>Annimaya' t</i> Frost-Man	<i>Annimaya' triyk</i> by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
<i>Ai' ginvi</i> With-Odor-Pushing-Away	<i>Aiginv' yikrñ</i> to the people of With-Odor-Pushing-Away Kor. 63.6
<i>Quyqinn' aqu</i> Big-Raven	<i>Quyqinn' aqoyikai' ti</i> to the Big-Raven's people Kor. 19.9; 35.6

The *k* in the suffixes of these forms is evidently related to the *k* which appears in the allative and ablative of the independent pronoun derived from the stem (*i*)*rg* (Chukchee), as given in § 56.

Miti' s' hin belonging to Miti Kor, 28.7

Quyqinn' aqu' ċhin belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28.7

Here Koryak *s' h* and *ċh* are analogous to Chukchee *rg*.

¹In cases of this kind the plural is often used to refer to the person himself.

§§ 45-50. Form in *-in*

§ 45. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of forms ending in *-in* occur, which are seminominal in character. I have found—

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	possessive
<i>-kin</i>	<i>-kin</i>	<i>-in, -n</i>	pertaining to
<i>-lin</i>	<i>-laⁿn</i>		measure of a
			quality
<i>ni—qin</i>	<i>ni—'qin</i>		quality of
<i>ge—lin</i>	<i>ga—lin</i>		possessor of

All of these form their plural and post-positional forms by adding the vowel *ε* before the affix added to *-in*. For example:

	Chukchee	Koryak Kam.
Absolute	<i>nime'lqin</i>	<i>nima'lqin</i>
Subjective	<i>nime'lqine'tä</i>	<i>nimalqina'ta</i>
Locative	<i>nime'lqine'ek</i>	<i>nima'lqinak</i>
Plural-Dual	<i>nime'lqinet¹</i>	<i>nima'lqinat</i>
Plural		<i>nima'lqinaw</i>

On the whole, forms of this type with post-positions are rare.

mi'ñkri-va'lit ple'kit tegge'ñu nime'lqigıt? Nime'yñqinet me'i-mitinet. How do you want your boots? I want large ones (*mi'ñkri* how; *va'lit* being, pl. (§ 54); *ple'kit* boots pl.; *teggeñ* desire; *-u* serving for; *ni-* prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; *-nelg* to have; *-git* thou; *ni—qinet* nominalized form of verb, pl.; *me'iñ* large, *m-* 1st per. exhortative; *eimit* to take; *-net* [I]—them, exhortative)

To the question *rä^s-ne'lhä gerkuñin?* With what kind of skins has it been bought? (*req* what; *ne'lhin* skin; *-ä* instrumental; *ge—lin* nominalized verb [§ 73]; *-rkur* to buy) one may answer—

niteñqine'tä with good ones (*ni—qin* nominalized verb; *ni—qine'tä* instrumental of this form; *teñ* good);

but it is better to avoid the nominalized form with suffix, and to say, *ten-ne'lhä* with a good skin

em-te'n'ñila nike'i^ε the sportful people teased him (*em-* mere; *te'n'ñila* subjective form of *te'n'ñilin* sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix *-eu* is *ten'ñe'urkin* TO LAUGH]; *nike'i^ε* indefinite pronominal verb, *nike'rkin* TO DO SOMETHING)

¹ Men's pronunciation *nime'lqegıt*.

These forms, however, have definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

<i>tẽñ</i> good	<i>nĩtẽ'nĩn</i>	definite form <i>nĩtanqẽ-</i> <i>na'ẽhn</i> (see § 53)
	<i>tẽ'nĩĩn</i> (see § 55)	augmentative form <i>ta'nĩĩĩ'yĩĩn</i> (see § 98, no. 1)
	<i>ta'nĩum-va'lin</i> (see § 76)	augmentative form <i>ta'nĩum-vali'yĩĩn</i>
	<i>tand'ya'n</i> (see § 104.38)	diminutive form <i>tand'ya'nvuqai</i>

In Koryak these forms are not found, as a rule.

§ 46. SUFFIX *-in*.

-in (Kor. *-in*; Kamchadal *-in*) expresses material of which an object is made, and possession.

(a) Material.

- u'ttin* wooden (Kor. *u'ttin*)
q̄q'lḡen ùm ẽv̄i'riĩ bird dresses 7.8
q̄q'lh̄en i'r̄gn bird clothes 14.3
q̄q'r̄en n̄g'lh̄n reindeer-skins 14.4
ẽ^ẽl̄ẽ^ẽlin ql̄q'ul man of excrement 39.6
ȳq̄q'ũi w̄y'kw̄en house of stone 92.5
k̄q'nḡen made of horse (hair) (stem *k̄q'nḡ* from Russian КОЖА)
n̄g'gr̄iḡen made of hair

Koryak:

- | *kuka'kin gatai'k̄lin* it is made of a kettle Kor. 78.1
 | *mĩ'm̄ein* (made) of a louse Kor. 78.1

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

- | *ga'lḡa-na'lh̄n* bird-skin
 | *u'tti-yu'ũi* wooden whale Kor. 40.9

(b) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

- ẽ'kk̄in* the son's (Kor. Kam. *a'kk̄in*)
 (Kamchadal *i'c̄xin* the father's)
q̄q'r̄en the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. *q̄q'yen*; Kamchadal *k'!o'jan*)
ẽq̄u'ẽw̄en ñe'w̄an the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
ẽ'kk̄in ȳq̄q'ũi the son's sleeping-room 53.8
ĩnp̄ĩn̄g'ẽh̄ẽn ẽl̄i'ḡĩn̄en ȳq̄q'ũi the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
t̄u'm̄gin stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
q̄q'w̄ẽĩĩn aĩmak̄i'yĩĩn a man's big body 90.14

ñāus'qā'tērñnēn *ēla'* the woman's father 85.22

ñē'ekkin ya'nra yorō'ni daughter's separate sleeping-room 28.3

ñē'ekkin čo'tčot the daughter's bag pillow 29.4

orō'wēlēn qā'mqā-tē'čirgin man's every source of illness 24.3

ke'le-ñē'us'qātīn kē'rkēr the combination-suit of the kele-woman
85.33

qlā'ulqaiēn i'rin the man's suit 85.35

ñīnqā'yīn evi'rin the child's clothes 25.8

Ku'urkilin ē'kik Ku'urkil's son 79.23

Tñō'tirginēn Tñō'tirgin's 120.16

Umqāqā'i'in U'mqāqāi's 62.12

Koryak:

tami'nñi-qla'wulen *ñawa'kak* an artisan's daughter Kor. 24.10

awa'ni-ñā'win *ñawa'kak* the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2

tu'nginau kawa'ssočhu other people's wallets Kor. 46.1

qo'yen qitčā'lñin reindeer-leg Kor. 53.3

Proper names form their possessives of this type also with the suffix *-(i)n*, especially when the terminal sound of the stem is a vowel.

A'нна (a name)

A'nnan belonging to *A'нна*

Qutu'wgi (a name)

Qutu'wgin belonging to *Qutu'wgi*

Aiñanwa't (a name)

Aiñanwa'tin and *Aiñanwa'tēn* belonging

Upe'nken belonging

to *Aiña'nwat*.

to *Upenke* R72.13

Ñiro'nēn belonging

to *Ñiro'n* R377,

141 title.

In Koryak the suffix *—in*, characteristic for the postpositional forms of proper names, is sometimes inserted before the possessive suffix *—in*.

Amamqu'tinin *ñā'witqat* Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Quyqinn'agu'nin *ñawa'kak* Brig Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14

The plural takes the regular plural ending *-et* (Kor. Kam. *-at* dual, *-au* plural, Kamchadal *-ē'n* instead of *-in*)

ē'kkīnet those of the son (Kor. Kam. *a'kkīnat* dual, *a'kkīnau* pl.)
(Kamchadal *i'čēēn* those of the father)

Often, however, the singular is used instead of the plural.

The possessive forms of proper names have no plural.

The possessive pronoun is evidently based on this suffix. It has, however, somewhat irregular forms.

	Chukehee		Kor. Kam.		Kamchadal	
	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.
1st per. sing.	. <i>gũm</i>	<i>gũmni'n</i>	<i>gũmma</i>	<i>gũmni'n</i>	<i>kɪ'ɲma</i>	<i>kɪma'n</i>
2d per. sing.	. <i>grt</i>	<i>grni'n</i>	<i>gr'ssa</i>	<i>grni'n</i>	<i>kɪ'ja</i>	<i>kɪni'n</i>
3d per. sing.	. <i>Ena'n</i>	<i>Eni'n</i>	<i>E'nnu</i>	<i>an'n</i>	<i>Ena'</i>	<i>Ena'n</i>
1st per. pl.	. . <i>mu'ri</i>	<i>mu'rgin</i>	<i>mu'yu</i>	<i>mu'čhin</i>	<i>mu'ja</i>	<i>mi'jgin</i>
2d per. pl.	. . <i>tu'ri</i>	<i>tu'rgin</i>	<i>tu'yu</i>	<i>tu'čhin</i>	<i>tu'ja</i>	<i>ti'jhin</i>
3d per. pl.	. . <i>E'rri</i>	<i>E'rgin</i>	<i>a'čču</i>	<i>a'čhin</i>	<i>itw</i>	<i>tə'i'n</i>

The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

Plural and dual are formed in the same way as in all attributive terms in *-in*:—

	Chukehee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
my . . .	<i>gũmni'net</i> (pl.)	<i>gũmni'nat</i> (dual) <i>gũmni'nau</i> (pl.)	<i>kɪma^e n</i> (pl.)

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

gũmnine'tä (Kor. Kam. *gũmnina'ta*) with mine.

It is, however, more customary to use the personal pronoun with the suffix instead.

gomɔkaɪ'pũ qä'mityin TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (*gomɔkaɪ'pũ* see § 56; *q—gin* imperative; *eimit* to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

<i>wo'tqan</i>	{ <i>wo'tqanên</i> and <i>wo'tqanENên</i>	} belonging to this
this	{ (men's pronunciation <i>wo'tqäên</i> and <i>wo'tqäENên</i>)	
<i>Enqa'n</i>	{ <i>Enqa'nên</i> and <i>E'nqanENên</i>	} belonging to that
that	{ (men's pronunciation <i>Enqäên</i> and <i>EnqaENên</i>)	

The forms in —*Enin* may be considered as compounded with the possessive of the third person singular personal pronoun *Eni'n*, so that they would be parallel to the plural forms of the demonstrative possessives discussed in § 58, p.729: *wo'tqanERGên* (man's pronunciation *wo'tqäERGên*) and *E'nqanERGên* (man's pronunciation *E'nqäERGên*).

The possessives of proper names in Koryak are formed in the same manner; as

Quyqɪnnagu'nin ñawa'kak Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.

Amamqu'tinìn ña'witqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

kima'nɪ'ɪnl' with my ears (*kiman* my; *-ɪ'* instrumental; *in* ear)

mɪ'nenɪ' x'va'nɪ' with which knife?

i'kninɪ' kca'ol' with other dogs

§ 47. SUFFIX *-kin*

-kin (Kor. Kam. *-kin*; Kamchadal *-in*, *-n*) PERTAINING TO. This suffix is added to all kinds of stems,—nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adverbial.

gñqə'kên of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. *gñqə'qen* Kor. 76.17)

tele'inkin pertaining to the remote past (*tele'n-yep* long ago); Kor.

Kam. *ankrye'pkin* (stem *ankr-ye'p*)

erga'tkin pertaining to to-morrow (Kor. Kam. *miti'wkin*)

pi'lhikin pertaining to the throat 9.3

asttwilē'kin pertaining to the people of the boats 11.9; 12.1

asttwukin pertaining to the boat 14.6

qe'ptikin pertaining to the back 16.10

tile'kin pertaining to motion 16.10

mē'ṇlīkēn pertaining to water 25.6

kele'kin pertaining to spirits 104.26

o'rgukēn pertaining to a sledge 62.11

qo'i'ma-rō'kēn pertaining to the rear sleeping-room 55.8

nute's'qūkin *ti'mkīlhin* a ground hummock 62.5

telenyē'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5

mēnko'kēn whence belonging? 113.20

wañē'kēn working, referring to work (from *wañē*)

ylqä'tkin referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

grrgolkēnā'ta by the one belonging above 126.6

The possessive of the personal and of some demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, with the suffix *-kin* (Kor. Kam. *-kin*) expresses THAT PERTAINING TO—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>murike'kin</i>	<i>muyka'kin</i> (dual)	—	{ one being with us, one of ours
	<i>mučka'kin</i> (pl)	—	
<i>tite'kin</i>	<i>tita'kin</i>	<i>ite'an</i> , <i>ite'nan</i>	{ from what time be- ing
<i>miñke'kin</i> }	<i>miñkakin</i> Kor. 66.11	<i>mi'nein</i>	{ from where be- ing, belonging to what country
<i>mēnko'kēn</i> }			
<i>wutke'kin</i>	<i>wutča'kin</i>	<i>ta'nin</i>	belonging here
—	<i>minka'kinau</i>	—	whose? Kor. 60.4
—	<i>ya'qkinau</i>	—	of what kind (pl.) Kor. 64.14
—	<i>ñanka'kenat</i>	—	the two belonging there Kor. 70.22

Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

- en'ke'kin* belonging there
ñen'ku'kin belonging there (farther on)
raenga'kên belonging there (not very far, midway to)
vaenga'kên belonging there (behind the person addressed)
ñotinqa'kên belonging there (behind the speaker)

Such Koryak forms as *minka'kilaⁿ* BELONGING TO WHAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), *ganka'kilaⁿ* BELONGING TO THAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), combine two suffixes, *-kin* and *-laⁿ*, and refer to persons.

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>i'gĩtkin</i>	<i>a'čhĩkin</i>	what belongs to the present
<i>tite'kin</i>	<i>tita'kin</i>	belonging to which time

Numeral predicates with the ending *-kin* express ordinal numbers.

mĩlinkau'kên or *mĩlinka'ulĩn* the fifth

§ 48. SUFFIX *-lĩn*

-lĩn (Kor. Kam. *-laⁿ*) (oblique cases formed from *-l*, Kor. *-l̥*) expresses the measure of a quality.

mĩñke'mil qe'tvulĩn what likeness strong? (i. e., how strong?);
 Kor. Kam. *menke'mič qa'tvulaⁿ*; Kor. Par. *menke'mis· qe'tvulaⁿ*

en'ke'mil gĩtte'pĩliũm that likeness I am sensible (i. e., I am so sensible) (*en'ke* that; *-iũm* [§73])

With the prefix *qe-* it indicates the possessor of an object.

qe-lĩn (Chukchee), *ga-lĩn* (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in § 73. It expresses possession.

ga-ga'g-lẽn (Kor. Kam. *ga-ggya'-lẽn*) he who has reindeer

g-ekke'-lĩn (Kor. Kam. *g-akka'-lĩn*) he who has sons

garai'-gĩt thou who hast a home 89.7 (see § 73).

ga-pêla'-i-gũm I have left

ga-qaa'-i-gũm I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

| *gavaginñā'len* with nails Kor. 24.2

| *gaṭa'lin* with eyes Kor. 24.2

§ 49. SUFFIX *-qin*

n(I)—qin and *-lin* (Chukchee), *n(I)—qin* (Kor. Kam.), are added to stems, most of which express a quality. Many of these are also bases of intransitive and transitive verbs which are formed with the suffixes *-eu* or *-et* (see p. 810). Some verbs, however, are formed without these suffixes.

The attributive terms in *n(I)—qin* are identical in form with the verbal mode in *n(I)—qin*, discussed in § 73. When the verb has no verbifying suffix *-eu* or *-et*, the verbal form and the attributive term are the same, and the verbal form seems to assume nominal functions. It may even take post-positions.

Examples of stems that are verbified by means of the suffixes *-eu* or *-et*:

Stems <i>têrg-</i> ; <i>têrgat</i> to weep	<i>ni-tê'r-ä-qên</i> or <i>te'rg-I-lin</i>	} tearful
Stem <i>kim-</i> ; <i>kime'u</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>kima'w- [ikin]</i>)	<i>ni-ki'm-ä-qin</i> <i>ni-ki'm-a-qin</i>	} slow-going
Stem <i>ayilh-</i> ; <i>ayilhay</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>ayilhav</i>)	<i>n-ayil'l-ä-qên</i> <i>n-ayil-a-qen</i>	} fearful

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

Stem *no-*; *ni-no'-qên* poor, needy

Stem *tam-pêra-*; *ni-tam-pêra'qên* pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in *ni—qin*.

üplil'li (stem *üplil*); (Kor. Kam. *iplil'li* [stem *iplil*]), yellowish
é'tqin (stem *é'tqin* and *äqä*); (Kor. Kam. *a'tcîn* [stem *a'tca*];
 Kor. Par. *é'tqên* [stem *äqä*]); bad

gümni'n qa'at é'tqin my reindeer are bad
 also *uwe'li* (stem *uwele*) and *nu'uqin* (stem *uu'*) Kor. Kam. *nu'qin*
 [stem *u*]), black

When used in nominal form, such adjectives take the usual suffixes.

é'tqin a bad one

é'tqinlin or *äqä'lin* a worse one

a'tqênlin or *äqä'm-va'lin* a bad or worse one

a'tqên'dya'n or *äqä'a'n* one who is bad

Examples of forms in *-lin* are given in § 54.

For other adjective forms see § 76.

¹ This stem consists of two consonants *uu* < *ww* which form a vocalic unit.

§ 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

-lāx, -lāx, is added to stems expressing qualities:

ō'm-lax (from ōm) deep (cf. Chukchee *num-qin* broad)

iulāx (from iul) long (cf. Chukchee *n-iu'l-ā-qin*)

o'lo-lax (from olo) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix **-(i)^{en}**

ololax-i^{en} ki'stri^{en} small little houses.

In post-positional forms the attribute forms a compound with the noun:

o'lolax-kē'stānke to the small houses.

Several adjectival forms borrowed from Russian and Koryak II are also used.

vo'stroi' xvalč, ni'ruqin xvalč a sharp knife.

nvē'thaqēn u^h a straight tree.

Here *vo'stroi* is Russian, *ni'ruqin* and *nvē'thaqēn* are Koryak II. The last forms the Kamchadal plural *nvē'thalā^{en} u^hri^{en}*.

k!-in (*-ffan*) corresponds to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *n(i)-qin* (§ 49), and is used with verbal themes expressing qualities as well as with intransitive verbs.

k!-ni'ta-in (Chukchee *ni-qite'p-qin*) clever

k!-nu'-in (from *nu* TO EAT) voracious

k!-vêta't-an (from *vêtat* TO WORK) laborious

k!-kiriñin seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *ge-lin* (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.

k!-nu'-kiriñin (from *nu* TO EAT) the one who ate

Both of these suffixes are also used with the transitive verb, **k!-in** with verbs of Type I (see § 70, p. 744), **k!-kiriñin** with verbs of Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning.

-kił', pl. **-kił'a^{en}**, forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.

nu'kił', pl. *nu'kił'a^{en}*, the one who is eating

vêta'tkal', pl. *vêtatkal'a^{en}*, the one who busies himself

colkêł', pl. *colkêł'a^{en}*, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.

txlkił' the one who beats

ke'jkił' the one who keeps

Suffixes in **-I(n)** §§ 51-55

§ 51. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of nominal suffixes have the termination **-n** in the absolute form. Some of these occur only in the absolute form.

-lhiñ (Kor. *-lñin*)

-liñin, *-ilñin* (Kor. *-liñin*)

-çhiñ (Kor. *-çñin*)

-čĭñin (Kor. -čñin)

-ñin augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)

-gĭrgĭn (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -geñin, -gĭtñin -gĭčñin) abstract noun

-čĭn

-lin

-tkĭn (Kor. Kam.-tčĭn) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -lh- and -lñ-

-lh_o(In) (Kor. -lñIn), the absolute form of a suffix -lh_o-, which occurs with great frequency as the absolute form of certain words.

In most cases it is not retained with other suffixes, although cases of its retention are also numerous.

lĕlĕ'lĕh_oin eye (stem *lile*)

tĭ'mkĭlĕh_oin (and tĭ'mkĭtim) hummock 79.2 (stem *tĭmk* 62.7; but *tĭmkĭlhĕ'tĭ* 62.5)

mĕlĕlĕ'lĕh_oin hare 78.24 (stem *mĭlute* 78.15)

rĕgĕgĕ'lĕh_oin fox 78.3 (stem *rĭquqĕ* 78.12)

wu'kwulĕh_oin stone 35.11 (stem *wukw* 35.11)

kĭ'mĭlĕh_oin¹ worm 37.3 (stem *kĭm* 36.11)

tĕmĕnĕ'lĕh_oin a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem *temune* 9.8)

Koryak:

lĕlĕ'lĕh_oin eye Kor. 49.5

gĭtĕ'lĕh_oin leg Kor. 53.3

pĭpĭ'kalĕh_oin mouse Kor. 58.7

vĕ'nĭlĕh_oin tooth Kor. 34.3,4

-lĭñ(In) (Kor. -lĭñ[In], sometimes -lĭlĭñ[In] is used in the same way as the preceding suffix.

vĕ'gĭlĕh_oin (stem *vĕ'g*) (Kor. Kam. vĕ'g'y-lĕh_oin [stem *vĕ'g'y*]) grass

It is not always easy to determine whether the -lh belongs to the stem or not.

ŭpĕ'lĕh_oin tallow 86.23 (*ŭpĕ'lĕh* 87.4)

kĕpĕ'lĕh_oin walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kĕpĕ'lĕh* 14.11)

rĕpĕ'lĕh_oin walrus-hide 13.13

pĕnyĕ'lĕh_oin hearth 31.13

ñawgĕ'lĕh_oin old woman 39.5; 40.1

vĕmĭlqĕ'lĕh_oin lip 14.5

pĕnakĕ'lĕh_oin tassel 16.10

autĕ'lĕh_oin obsidian scraper 39.12

pĕrkĕ'lĕh_oin boulder 129.6

rĭ'lĕh_olĭñin and rĕlĭlĭñin wing (stem *rĭlh*, *rĭl*) 15.2

Of these, the first five stems retain the suffix *lh_o* with post-positions. The primary stem, however, is without this suffix: for instance,

¹ The text has *kĭmĭlĕh_oin* because emphasis is laid on the word which is the last in the sentence. If there had been more stress this form would have been *kĭmĭlĕh_on* (see § 36).

pên̄yo'lh̄in hearth (stem *p̄in*, absolute form *p̄i'mpi* powder, ashes)

The following have weak vowels, and it may be assumed that the *lh* belongs to the stem.

p̄i'lh̄in throat (stem *p̄ilh̄*); (Kor. Kam. *p̄i'lh̄in* [stem *p̄ilh̄*]). Locative: *p̄i'lh̄ik'*, *p̄i'lik*; (Kor. Kam. *p̄i'lh̄ik*)

ñi'lh̄in thigh 48.4

ne'lh̄in skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES *-čh-* and *-čIñ-*

-čh̄(In), -čIñ(In) (Kor. **-čh̄[In]**, **čIñ[In]**; **-tñ̄[In]**; **-s·ñ̄[In]**,—according to dialect). This suffix seems to express an emphatic form. Sometimes it corresponds to the definite article or designates an object as referred to before. In other cases it might be translated as A PARTICULAR ONE, in contradistinction to other objects of the same or other classes. Some words seem to have the suffix throughout.

Etymologically it may be related to the suffix *-lh̄-*, since *č* and *l* (Kor. *č* and *l*) replace each other frequently (see § 122).

va'čh̄in knife (stem *va'g*, absolute *va'LE*); Kor. Kam. *va'g'-čh̄in* (stem *va'g*, absolute *va'g*)

ra'mkričh̄in people (stem *remk*, absolute *re'mkin*); Kor. *ya'mkričh̄in* (stem *yamk*, absolute *ya'mkin*)

eli'gičh̄in the aforesaid father 19.11

ora'wêlāčh̄in the aforesaid man 18.11

pên̄yo'lh̄ičh̄in the aforesaid hearth 32.9

yê'ličh̄in the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

lêlā'lh̄ičh̄in the aforesaid eye 106.19

qôlô-a'et̄ičh̄in a particular kind of dog 121.11

kālā'čh̄in a particular kele 105.14

vā'amīčh̄in a particular river 40.12

lôlô'čh̄in a particular penis 26.8

ñā'lvūlīčh̄in a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

| *qoqlô'wičh̄in* hole Kor. 15.8

| *lawtiki'lēičh̄in* head-band Kor. 17.12

-čIñ(In).

ñāwā'nēčh̄in a particular wife 38.4

ñāus·qa'tēčh̄in the aforesaid woman 39.7

pako'lēčh̄in a particular kind of woman's knife 44.3, 5

NOTE 1.—A number of stems end in *čh̄*, and are not related to this class.

tai'qēh̄ičh̄in the bag mentioned before (stem *teiučh̄*, absolute *teiučh̄in*); Kor. Kam. *čai'qēh̄ičh̄in* (stem *čaiučh̄*, absolute *čai'učh̄in*)

NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in *-lh-*, *-lĩñ-*, the suffix *-čh-*, *-čĩñ-*, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes *-lh-*, *-lĩñ-*.

lêlâ'lhčhĩn 106.19, or *lêlâ'čhĩn* eye (stem *lîlê*, absolute *lêlâ'lhĩn*);
Kor. Kam. *lêlâ'lhčhĩn* or *lêlâ'čhĩn*, (stem *lîlâ*, absolute *lêlâ'lhĩn*)

§ 54. SUFFIXES *-li-* (*-lêⁿn*, *-čêⁿn*)

-li-, *-lêⁿn*, (Kor. Kam. *-laⁿn*, *-[a]laⁿn*, *-[i]laⁿn* are similar to the participle of the intransitive verb. As suffixes of substantives, they indicate a person related in some more or less direct way to the object.

After stems with terminal vowel *-lin* is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*) the auxiliary vowel *i* is inserted before *-lin*. After terminal *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*, the suffix *-lêⁿn* is used, which forms with terminal *l* or *r* the ending *-lêⁿn*, with terminal *t* the ending *-lêⁿn*. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>rî'Len</i> (< <i>rîl</i> + <i>-lêⁿn</i> ; base <i>rîl</i>)	<i>yî'Laⁿn</i> (base	winged
<i>rêlî'Liñĩn</i>	<i>yîl</i>) <i>yêlî'lñĩn</i>	wing
<i>ñaw-kêlâⁿn</i> (< <i>kêr-lêⁿn</i>)	<i>ñaw-ke'ilaⁿn</i>	clad in woman's dress
<i>ya'aLaⁿn</i> (< <i>ya'al-laⁿn</i>)	<i>ya'aLaⁿn</i>	that in the rear
<i>vê'gmlĩn</i>	<i>vaya'milaⁿn</i>	River man
<i>â'ñgalĩn</i>	<i>â'ñqalaⁿn</i>	Maritime man
<i>ñâ'čhila genpelqu'wlĩn</i>		by a left-handed man was he vanquished

Numeral terms with the ending *-lin* express ordinal numbers.

mîlĩnka'ulĩn or *mîlĩnka'kên* the fifth

With intransitive verbs this suffix forms the expression THE ONE WHO —.

ÿpa'ulĩn the one who drinks (stem *ÿpau* to drink) (Kor. *apa'ulaⁿn* [stem *apau*])

Here belong also

e'čelĩn the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. *gačâ'lĩn*)

gai'mičĩlĩn the rich one¹

Plural, dual, and oblique cases are formed like those of the adjective in *-lin* (§ 49).

Verbal stems terminating in *l* and *r* are contracted with this suffix, and form *-lêⁿn*.

uñê'lêⁿn < *uñel-lĩn* wood-carrier 27.5

te'lêⁿn < *tel-lĩn* the suffering one 34.7

rîltê'lâⁿn one who is lying there 28.6

¹ See §§48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in *n(i)—qĩn*.

i'ɛɫɛn < *i'ɛr-lin* the one who crosses over
a'ɛttoolɛ'ti q'i'wkwɛ say to the one in front!

In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

te'laɛn the suffering one

ɛ'yɫaɛn the one crossing over

In Koryak the same suffix is used with transitive verbs to express the actor.

pɛla'laɛn the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix *ɪŋɛ-* or the suffix *-tku*.

ɛnapɛlɔ'lin } the one who leaves
pɛlɔ'tkɔlin }

In some cases both forms in *-lin* and in *-kɪn* (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.

ñá'chɪlin (Kor. Kam. *ñá'čhalaɛn*) or *ñá'čɛn·kɛn* that to the left
mra'lin (Kor. Kam. *mya'laɛn*) or *mra'kɛn* that to the right

Similar forms in *-laɛn* occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.

kɪ'stɪlaɛn and *kɪ'strɪn* that of the house

atɪno'laɛn and *atɪno'an* that of the village

§ 55. SUFFIX *-čɪn-* (*-čɛɛn*)

-čɪn (*-čɛɛn*) (Kor. Kam. *-čaɛn*, Kor. Par. *-saɛn*) is used principally to express the comparative. The form *-čɛɛn* is used after the single terminal consonants *n*, *r*, *l*. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

mɛ'lɛɛn the better one (Kor. Kam. *ma'lɔaɛn*)

mei'ñɪčɪn the larger one (Kor. Kam. *mai'ñɪčaɛn*; Kor. Par. *mei'ñɪsaɛn*)

ia'm mɪ'krɪn inɛ'ɪlɪrkɪn ta'aq, *mei'ñɪčɪn ɪm qɪnɛ'ɪlhiɛ* why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one (*ia'm* why; *mɪ* large; *ɪŋɛ-yɪl-ɪ-rkɪn* you give me [§ 67]; *ta'aq* tobacco; *mɛɪ'ñ* large; *ɪm* particle expressing slight emphasis; *q-ɪŋɛ-yɪl-gɪɛ* give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. *mɛ'nqanqač ɪplu'čaɛn inɛ'yɪlɪ ta'waq*, *mai'ñɪčaɛn qɪnɛ'yɪl*; Kor. *a'ččɪñɪčaɛn* the worst Kor. 30.7)

qɑ'mqɑ-qɫɑ'ulɪk qɛ'tvüčɪüm I am stronger than all others (*qɛmge*-every; *qɫɑ'ul* man; *-k* locative; *qɛ'tvu* strong; *-ɪüm* [§ 73]); Kor. Kam. *qɑ'mqɑ-qɫɑ'wulak ɪna'n qɑ'tvučɛgüm*)

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to *-čɪn* THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,

ɛʳmɛʃɪn the strong man (stem *ɛrmɛ*)

ɲoʃɪn the poor man (stem *ɲo*)

This ending has oblique cases:

yaʳɛʃɪpʊ qäčvʲɪn ɛmɔqʊk cut off some rawer part (*yaʳ* raw; *-ɛpu* from; *qä-čvʲi-n* [stem *čvʲi*] to cut [§ 67]; *ɛʳmɔqʊk* some)

armačɛʳtɪ to the strong man

armačɛʳpʊ from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

ɪnpɪč-äkkajʲpʊ from the elder son (*np* old; *ekke* son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix *-ɛɪn* or *vəʃɪn* (Kor. Kam. *-čaʳn* or *ɪʳtaʲaʳn*) expresses our superlative.

Enaʳn maiʳɲɪɛɪn (Kor. Kam. *inaʳn-maiʳɲičaʳn*)

Enaʳn-maʳɪnku-waʳɪn (Kor. Kam. *inaʳn-maʳɪɲkɪɲ-ɪʳtaʲaʳn*) } the largest one

-čɛi (Kamchadal) expresses the emphatic comparative form of the adjective, and replaces the ending *-laɣ*. As in Chukchee and Koryak, the object of comparison is expressed in the locative form.

kɪʳmma kɪɲɪʳnk ɛɪɲɪɲčɛiʳ I am prettier than you (*kɪmmaʳ* I; *kɪɲɪʳnk* on thee; *ɛɪɲɪʳɲlaɣ* pretty)

Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

§ 56. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are —

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
I . . .	<i>gʊm</i>	<i>gʊmma, gʊm</i>	<i>kɪʳmma</i>
thou . . .	<i>gɪt</i>	<i>gɪʳssa,¹ gɪ</i>	<i>kɪʳja</i>
he . . .	<i>Enaʳn²</i>	<i>aʳnnu</i>	<i>Enāʳ</i>
we . . .	<i>muʳri</i>	{ <i>muʳyɪ</i> (dual) <i>muʳyu</i> (plural)	<i>muʳja</i>
ye . . .	<i>turʳi</i>	{ <i>tuʳyɪ</i> (dual) <i>tuʳyu</i> (plural)	<i>tuʳja</i>
they . . .	<i>ɛʳrɪ</i>	{ <i>aʳčɛi</i> (dual) <i>aʳčɛu</i> (plural)	<i>ɪtɔ</i>

From these absolute forms, forms analogous to those of the noun are derived. The locative, subjective, and possessive are derived from the stems; while the forms in *-gɪt*, *-ɪpu*, of Chukchee, require the suffix *ka* after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

¹The Koryak of Paren has *gɪtɔ*, although ordinarily *tɛ* is characteristic of Kamenskoye, ss of Paren.

²The particle *ɛloʳn* is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is generally weakly concessive, like that of German *doch*.

CHUKCHEE

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	<i>güm</i>	<i>güt, gür</i>	<i>End'n</i>	<i>mu'rü</i>	<i>tu'ri</i>	<i>E'ri</i>
Locative	<i>{gümä'k, gümä'g}</i>	<i>günä'k, gürä'g</i>	<i>Enä'k, Enä'g</i>	<i>mu'rük, mu'rüg</i>	<i>tu'rük, tu'rüg</i>	<i>E'rük, E'rig</i>
Subjective	<i>{gümä'ki}</i>	<i>gürä'ki</i>	<i>Enä'ki</i>	<i>mu'riki</i>	<i>tu'riki</i>	<i>E'riki</i>
Possessive	<i>gümna'n</i>	<i>güna'n</i>	<i>End'n</i>	<i>mör'gna'n</i>	<i>tör'gna'n</i>	<i>Ergna'n</i>
Allative	<i>gümü'n</i>	<i>gürä'n</i>	<i>Enä'n</i>	<i>mu'rgin</i>	<i>tu'rgin</i>	<i>E'gin</i>
	<i>gümäka'güt</i>	<i>güräka'güt</i>	<i>Enäka'güt</i>	<i>möräka'güt</i>	<i>töräka'güt</i>	<i>Erika'güt</i>
Ablative	<i>gümäka'gür</i>	<i>güräka'gür</i>	<i>Enäka'gür</i>	<i>möräka'gür</i>	<i>töräka'gür</i>	<i>Erika'gür</i>
	<i>gümäka'pü</i>	<i>güräka'pü</i>	<i>Enäka'pü</i>			
	<i>gümäka'pü</i>	<i>güräka'pü</i>	<i>Enäka'pü</i>			

KORYAK

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	<i>gümna</i>	<i>güräsa, gürä</i>	<i>E'nna</i>	<i>mu'yi</i>	<i>tu'yi</i>	<i>a'ëi</i>
Locative	<i>gü'mik</i>	<i>gürä'nik</i>	<i>I'nik</i>	<i>mu'yik</i>	<i>tu'yik</i>	<i>a'ëik</i>
Subjective	<i>gümna'n</i>	<i>gürä'n</i>	<i>Ira'n</i>	<i>möchäna'n</i>	<i>tochäna'n</i>	<i>a'ëhna'n</i>
Possessive	<i>gümni'n</i>	<i>gürä'n</i>	<i>ani'n</i>	<i>mu'ëin</i>	<i>tu'ëin</i>	<i>a'ëin</i>
Allative	<i>{gümka'tu}</i>	<i>güräka'tu</i>	<i>Iuka'tu</i>	<i>moika'tu, möäil</i>	<i>toika'tu, toäka'tu</i>	<i>aäka'tu</i>
	<i>{gü'mkä'n}</i>	<i>gürä'kä'n</i>	<i>I'nikä'n</i>	<i>moikä'n, mö'ën</i>	<i>toikä'n, to'ëä'n</i>	<i>aäka'tu</i>
Ablative	<i>gümka'ägo</i>	<i>güräka'ägo</i>	<i>Iuka'ägo</i>	<i>moika'ägo, möäka'ägo</i>	<i>toika'ägo, toäka'ägo</i>	<i>aäka'ägo, aäka'ägo</i>

KAMCHADAL

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	<i>kr'mma</i>	<i>kr'ja</i>	<i>Enä'</i>	<i>mu'ja</i>	<i>tu'ja</i>	<i>Itz</i>
Locative	<i>kr'mmä'nk</i>	<i>kr'm'nk</i>	<i>Enä'nk</i>	<i>ma'jgi'nk</i>	<i>ti'gi'nk</i>	<i>txi'nk</i>
Subjective	<i>kr'mlu'n</i>	<i>kr'lu'n</i>	<i>xunä'a</i>	<i>mjtu'n</i>	<i>ti'lu'n</i>	<i>tlun</i>
Possessive	<i>krma'n</i>	<i>krni'n</i>	<i>Enä'n</i>	<i>ma'jgin</i>	<i>ti'jin</i>	<i>txi'in</i>
Allative	<i>{kr'mmä'nke</i>	<i>krmä'nke</i>	<i>Enä'nke</i>	<i>ma'jgo'nke</i>	<i>ti'go'nke</i>	<i>txa'anke</i>
Ablative	<i>{krme'nke</i>					
	<i>kr'mmä'nk</i>	<i>kr'm'nk</i>	<i>Enä'nki</i>	<i>ma'jgi'nk</i>	<i>ti'gi'nki</i>	<i>txi'nk</i>

In Chukchee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the *aequalis* i. e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.— They are generally used with this suffix—*mĭč*,—*mĭl* (§ 102, 30).

	Chukchee	Koryak
similar to me	<i>gŭ'muw</i>	<i>gŭ'muw</i>
similar to thee	<i>gĭ'nĭw</i>	<i>gĭ'nĭw</i>
similar to him	<i>ĕ'nĭw</i>	<i>ĕ'nĭw</i>
similar to us	<i>mu'ruw</i>	} not known
similar to you	<i>tu'ruw</i>	
similar to them	<i>ĕ'riw</i>	

In both Chukchee and Koryak the plural forms of the first and second persons are often used in place of the singular, without, however, conveying the idea of respect.

amto', *gey'lqāt-tu'ri* well, have you slept? (singular or plural)

| In Koryak the dual and plural forms are not sharply distinguished.

In Chukchee the plural subjective forms are, in the pronunciation of men, as follows:

mĕrgāa'n, *tĕrgāa'n*, *ĕrgāa'n*

| In several dialects of Korak II the following forms of the third person plural occur:

Absolute *ĕthu*

Locative *ĕthĭk*

Subjective *ĕthĭna'n*

The Kamchadal forms in *ita*, and the Chukchee forms derived from *ĕrg*., are evidently related to this series.

In both Chukchee and Koryak of Kamenskoye the subjective form is used in some compounds.

gŭmna'n ĕĭnĭ't myself (Ch. and Kor. Kam.)

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

gŭmni'n ĕĭnĭ'tkin (Kor. *gŭmni'n ĕĭnĭ'nkin*) my own.

The idea of SELF, however, is expressed differently in oblique cases.

kata'm-gomō ka'gtĭ (Chukchee) just to me (i. e., to myself)

ĕĭnĭ't wwi'k gā'nmiĕn he killed himself, (lit. his own body; *wwi'k* body)

Kor. *u'wik qnu'ŭvon* he consumed himself (literally, his body)

Kor. 56.10.

Kor. *gĭtĕa't wwi'kinat ganu'linat* he consumed his own legs, lit. legs body belonging to he consumed them Kor. 57.2

The term *wwi'kin* BELONGING TO THE BODY is thus used to express OWN.

We find, however, in Koryak, the pronoun also used in oblique cases to express OWN:

gǔ'mkriñ čini'nkina with my own.

Personal pronouns have also definite, augmentative and diminutive forms, which take the suffix *-onaiolh* following the possessive form of the pronoun.

gǔmǎk-onaiolh-ičh-ê-ñim big I

These forms are used in jesting, in children's play, etc.

Demonstrative and Interrogative (Indefinite) Pronouns (§§ 57-58)

§ 57. PARTICLES AND ABSOLUTE FORMS

The idea of position is expressed with great nicety, and in Chukchee there are nine terms expressing the position of an object in relation to the speaker. In Koryak there are only five, and in Kamchadal I have found only two. The exact relation to the speaker is not quite clear in all of these. In Chukchee the independent form of all of these is formed by the suffix *-qan* (with *n* belonging to the suffix); only one has the ending *-qin*. In Koryak a few have the corresponding endings *-kin*, *-gen*, *-qala'ken*.

	Particles	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
		Stem	Independent form		
this	<i>vai</i>	<i>wy't-</i>	<i>wg'tqgn</i> , 65.22; 137.1; 133.4	<i>{wu'ssin</i> <i>{wu'tcin</i> (Paren)	<i>{nu^ε, ti^εn</i>
that	<i>{ñan</i> <i>{enqan</i>	<i>{en'ñ-</i>	<i>enqg'n</i> 115.21; 71.13, 29; 63.7, 10	<i>ñan'nyen</i>	<i>hē'nñin</i>
that yonder	<i>ñoon</i>	<i>ñg'gn-</i>	<i>ñg'gnqgn</i> 70.22; also as adverb	<i>enka'kin</i>	
that yonder		<i>ñg'gn-</i> , less frequently <i>ñg'n-</i>	<i>ñan'ngan</i>		
that there (not very far)	<i>ñan</i>		<i>ñan'ngan</i> 133.3		
there (quite far) . .	<i>gan</i>		<i>ga'ngan</i> 63.13		
that there (midway to some other object)	<i>vai</i>	<i>{vg'en-</i> <i>{va'en</i>	<i>va'ngan</i> 121.24	<i>va'yengen</i>	
that behind the person addressed	<i>rai</i>	<i>ra'en-,ra'en</i>	<i>ra'ngan</i>		
that behind the person speaking	<i>ño'ti</i>	<i>ño'tiñ</i> 70.21	<i>ño'tingan</i>	<i>ñotinqala'ken</i>	
that apart from the speaker	<i>ñun</i>	<i>ñu'n-</i>	<i>ñu'nqin</i> 137.3		
who, somebody . .	—	(<i>mik-</i>)	<i>me'ñin</i> 11.4		<i>min-</i>

It may be noted that all demonstratives, except *wut-*, *en'ñ-*, and *ño'tiñ*, end in *-n* which remains in all forms.

The demonstrative stems have strong vowels, except *wut-*, *en'ñ-*, and *ñun*. The last of these is treated more frequently as an unchangeable stem; for instance,—

ñu'nin-nota'pũ from that land,—

although the two vowels *u* and *i* belong to the weak, changeable group.

When the demonstratives enter into composition, they take the ending *-in*, except *ño'tiñ*. The same ending is found in the interrogative *mə'ñin*, which, according to the forms with suffixes, must be derived from a stem *mik-* (see §58, p. 1726). These forms appear in adjectival form in oblique cases.

wó'tiñ-notanqa'tkên that one belonging to this country 7.1

wó'tin-irgiro'k that (morning) dawn 10.3

wu'tin-nu'tek (Kor. Kam. *wu'tin-nu'tak*) in that country

mañê'n-nota'pũ (Kor. Kam. *ma'ñen-nota'ñgo*) from what country.

Kor. *ma'ñin-ni'klı-ye'lkryel* which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor.

34.2

Kor. *ma'ñin-qai-ñ'a'wis'qatik* to which small woman? Kor. 34.5

For greater emphasis the independent, absolute forms of the demonstrative may be used with the corresponding particle, as given on p. 723, or with repetition of independent form, connected by the particle *ũm* (see also p. 726).

ño'ongan ũm ñoon

enqa'n ũm enqa'n 130.9, etc.

The particles are, however, used also independently or combined with various other forms.

rai 61.8

vai 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35;

71.15; 76.25, 30

ñan 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32

ña'an 63.13

ño'on 64.1

wot 81.12

wó'tên-rai 29.1

elo'n ũm vai 66.29

elo'n vai 67.33

vai ũm ña'n(ı) 131.3, 10

e'nme ñan 66.32

enqa'n ũm vai 130.7

wó'tqanm ũm vai 45.12

vai ñan 62.9

wu'tku-m vai 120.11

NOTE.—The Koryak form in *-qala'ken* given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position *-qal*, *-qaš* (Chukchee *-qal*, *-qaš*) CLOSE TO, BY THE SIDE OF. The Koryak suffix *-qala'ken* cor-

responds to the Chukchee form *-qatkên*, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:—

Adverbial form *va'Enqač* (Kor. Kam. *va'yēñqal*) by the side, half-way

Independent form *vaEnqa'tkên* (Kor. Kam. *vayēñqala'ken*)

Adverbial form *wo'tēnqač* (Kor. Kam. *vo'tēñqal*) here

Independent form *wotinqa'tkên* 14.2 (Kor. Kam. *votēñqala'ken*)

wotqani'rgūpū (pronunciation of men *wotqae'rgūpū*) from those

§ 58. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in *-qan* adding the *-ę* (Kor. Kam. *-a*) to the terminal *n* that is found in all words with terminal *n* of the stem (§§ 31, 4; 34). For personal forms the connective vowel is *i*.

As examples may serve,—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute	<i>wę'tqān</i>	<i>wy'ssīn</i> Kor. 49.9
Plural (Dual Kor.)	<i>wę'tqānāt</i> ¹	<i>wy'tīssat</i>
Plural (Koryak)	—	<i>wy'tīssau</i> Kor. 32.2
Subjective, not personal	<i>wę'tqānā'tq</i>	<i>wytīssa'ta</i>
Subjective, personal	<i>wo'tqānēna</i> ²	<i>wy'tīñīnak</i>
Locative, not personal	<i>wo'tqānak</i>	<i>wy'tīssak</i>
Allative, not personal	<i>wę'tqānā'gtī</i>	<i>wytīssaġ'tī</i>
Allative, personal.	<i>wę'tqānēnę</i> ²	<i>wę'tęnęnę</i>
Ablative, not personal	<i>wotqānai'pū</i>	<i>wotessa'ñqo</i>
Ablative, personal	<i>wotqānai'pū</i>	<i>wotenēna'ñqo</i>

¹ Pronunciation of men *wę'tqaat*.

² Pronunciation of men *wo'tqaēna*.

Also *Enqa'nat* 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; *Enqaa't* those 62.10; *Enqa'nēna* by that one 44.8; *wo'tqana* this time 76.18

Koryak:

ñā'nyen that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5

ñā'nyeu (pl.) Kor. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; *ñā'nyau* 25.6, 9; 42.4

ñā'nyenata (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5

ñā'nēnenak (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; *ñā'nyenēna* Kor. 76.16

The plural of the demonstrative is used in nominal, adjectival, and predicative expressions.

Enqa'nat qāni'ntrīñinet throw away those! 49.5

wo'qaat qānu'utkī eat these! 33.12

Enqa'at qa'at those reindeer

Kor. Kam. *ñā'nyenau a'ittu* those dogs

In some cases the singular form is used when we should expect the plural:

enqa'n gittile'ti nine'l-i-üm there I give to those who are hungry
96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).

enqa'n orawêlat these men 63.5

enqa'n Umqäqäi'inti these people of Umqäqäi 63.10

erqa'n ñi'räq ora'wêlat these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative WHO, SOME-BODY, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	Kamchadal
			WHO	WHAT
Absolute	<i>me'ñin</i>	<i>ma'ki</i> Kor. 17.6	<i>k'le</i>	(<i>min</i>)
Plural (Dual Koryak)	<i>mi'kinti</i>	<i>ma'kinti</i>	<i>k'le'n</i>	<i>mi'ni'n</i>
Plural (Koryak)	—	<i>maku'wqi</i>	—	—
Subjective	<i>mi'kinä</i>	<i>mi'kinak</i> Kor. 76.16	<i>k'link</i>	<i>mi'neni'</i>
Allative.	<i>mê'këna</i>	<i>me'kena</i>	<i>k'a'nke</i>	<i>mê'nank</i>
Ablative	<i>mêkënai'pü</i>	<i>mekena'ñgo</i>	<i>k'link</i>	<i>mi'nenk</i>

Examples:

me'ñin üm ELA' who is (your) mother? 113.14

mi'kin yaarkinê'tki kanč'i'irgin whose lullaby are you singing?
120.14

mi'kinä ganto'lên by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem *mik-* signifies the inanimate interrogative.

Nominal forms of the plural, when appearing with suffixes, have, instead of the regular plural, forms compounded with the third person plural personal pronoun (see p. 706).

In Chukchee we find also *ma'kirgin*, pl. *ma'kirgintê*, WHOSE HOUSE'S, WHOSE FAMILY'S; related to the Koryak stem *mak-*, and formed with the stem *-erg* of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by *üm*, are also used as exclamations.

ñan üm ñan! you there! *ña'an üm ñan* 95. 35 yonder

vai üm vai! halfway there!

ñoon üm ñoon! far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

me'ñin ñan ye'tirkin? who comes there?

rä'nun ñot wurre'erkín? what is visible behind there?

mi'ñkri rai ne'lhí? how then became he? 29.7

mi'ñkri ñot a'qa-ras-qê'um-va'lit? why! those are bad ones to

§ 58 pass! 130.3

Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs are derived from the particle stems by means of the locative endings. From these are derived others by means of nominal suffixes (see examples below).

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
here	<i>wu'tku</i> 7.5	<i>wu'tčuk, ä'nki</i>	<i>nux, te'a</i>
there	<i>En'ki</i> 119.31	<i>ña'nko, ña'nako, ñe'-nko</i>	<i>En'ki, xu, (xo'xval therefrom)</i>
there (midway to some object) .	<i>va'änkI</i>	<i>vai'eñ</i>	
there (behind the person addressed)	<i>ra'äñki</i>		
there (behind the speaker) . .	<i>ño'tiñki</i>		
there (away from the speaker) .	<i>ñu'nki</i>		
where	<i>mi'ñki, me'ñki</i> 12.2	<i>mi'ñki, Kor. 20.1</i>	<i>ma, mas</i>

In Chukchee two forms in *-qan* are also used as adverbs.

there (some distance away) *ño'onqan*

there (far away) *gā'nqan*

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
thus . . .	<i>En'ñi'n</i> 63.13;	<i>Enñā'an</i> Kor.13.1,	<i>ño'nke</i>
	65.22	10	

Adverbs with suffixes derived from the locative forms are the following:

	HERE		THERE		WHERE		
	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
Stem . . .	<i>wut</i>	<i>wuč</i>	<i>En</i>	<i>ñan, äñ</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>ma</i>
Instrumental	<i>wutke'tä</i>	<i>wuča'ta</i>	<i>Enke'tä</i>	<i>ñanka'ta, äñka'ta</i>	<i>miñke'tä</i>	<i>minka'ta</i>	—
Allative . .	—	<i>wotčai'ti</i>	<i>Eñkri</i>	<i>ñankai'ti, äñkai'tiñ</i>	<i>miñkri</i> 60.6, 61.8	<i>menkei'ti</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>
Ablative .	<i>wo'tqori</i>	<i>wotča'ñqo</i>	<i>E'ñ q o, Eñqo'ri, Eñ qo'ro</i> 65.24	<i>ñanka'ñqo, äñka'ñqo</i>	<i>mē'ñqo</i> 60.5, 11; 71.26; 72.12 <i>mēñ-qo'ri</i>	<i>menka'ñqo</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>

Also in the same way Chukchee *va'äñkata*, *va'änrê*, *va'äñqo* or *va'äñqori*; Koryak *vaieña'ta*, *vaieñai'ti*, *vai'eñqo* from stem *vai*.

Examples:

<i>wo'tko</i> from here 43.1;	<i>wo'tqo</i> 121.20; 131.14;	<i>En'qo'ro</i> thence 49.2; 65.18, 24
<i>wu'tqu</i> here 73.14		<i>En'ke'ggi</i> thither 71.23
<i>En'ke'čiku</i> in there 73.20		<i>En'ñata'l</i> from that time on, after that 64.19; 65.31
<i>En'no't</i> 64.7; 66.3; 72.6		<i>ño'onrê</i> thither 76.20
<i>En'qe'kin</i> one from there 67.3		<i>ña'nko</i> hither 137.13

Koryak:

wü'tëu this time Kor. 41.2*ñá'nko* there Kor. 41.6*ñé'nako* there Kor. 19.11*ñá'niko* there Kor. 32.1; see

Kor. 62.7

ñanika'itñ thither Kor. 36.5*ñá'nakango* from that one Kor.

42.3

é'nke here (vocative form) Kor.

13.7; 58.7

enka'ta at that place Kor. 21.8, 9*enkai'ti* to that place Kor. 17.2;

19.1

meñkeito' whither (vocative

form § 36) Kor. 64.21

mañé'ngo whence Kor. 60.10

The forms *mí'ñkri* (Chukchee), *me'ñkañ* (Kor. Kam.), *ma'nke* (Kamchadal), also signify how.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

mêñko'kênat where are you from 65.10*mí'ñke'-míl* 66.34*menke'mič*, *mañi'nn'ač* (Kor. 66.1)*men'ke'ml'*, also *lact* (Kamchadal)

} to what degree, in what
manner

Demonstrative elements with the verbal noun *va'lin* (Kor. Kam. *i'tala^{en}*) THE ONE WHO IS—, are also used to express demonstrative terms.

en'ñi'n-va'lin 128.24 (Chukchee), *enna^{en}an i'tala^{en}* (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i. e., such a one

enño't-va'lin (Chukchee) being near here thus; i. e., such a one nearer to the speaker than the preceding

en'ñu-wa'lin such a one (expressing reproach)*en'ñu'-wa'lê-git* such a one art thou 21.11

mí'ñkri-va'lin (Chukchee 14.4), *me'ñkañ itala^{en}* (Kor. Kam.) what kind of (also in oblique cases)

In Kamchadal only a few forms of the demonstrative survive, and these take the nominal suffixes.

	THIS	THIS HERE	WHICH, WHAT
Absolute	<i>ny^s</i>	<i>tí^{en}<tí^{nu}</i>	<i>mín(<minu)</i>
Plural			<i>mí'ni^{en}</i>
Possessive	<i>ny^she'nk</i>	<i>tí^snuhenk</i>	<i>mí'nenk</i>
Subjective	<i>ny^she'nk</i>	<i>tí^snuhenk</i>	<i>mí'nenk</i>
Instrumental	<i>ny^she'l</i>	<i>tí^snuhel</i>	<i>mí'nenl</i>
Allative	<i>ng^sha'nk</i>	<i>tí^snohank</i>	<i>mí'nan^k</i>
Ablative	<i>nu^she'nk</i>	<i>tí^snuhenk</i>	<i>mí'nenk</i>

Most of the other forms are replaced by the corresponding Russian forms, which are usually taken in the nominative singular masculine; such as *e'koí* (экой), *eda^{koí}* (эдакой).

As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in syn-
thetical form *mi'nen*, which corresponds to Chukchee *mē'nin*
(see p. 726.)

mē'nan-ktwoj-gol which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

mi'nenl' hvanl' ckan with which knife have you made it?

From the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns verbal forms
are derived in the same manner as from nouns. I give here a number
of examples. The verbal forms will be found discussed in § 82.

enqanai'-git this art thou 20.7.

wotqanaï'-güm this am I 43.5, 121.14

wotqana'-mø'rê here we are 69.5

mi'k-i-üm who am I

mi'k-i-git who art thou; *mi'k-i-or* 127.11

mi'w-mu'ri who are we

mi'g-tu'ri who are ye 120.9

| Kor. Kam. *wutinnalai'-güm* this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

eni'n his 17.13

enqa'nen of this one 50.10

mi'kin whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.);

Kor. Kam. *mi'kin*, dual *mi'kinat*, pl. *mikind'wgi* (possessor
sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative *miko'n* (§ 36)

Kor. 34.4

mi'kirgin (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), *mi'kirginet*
(object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam. *mi'kičhin*, dual *mi'-
kičhinat*, pl. *mi'kičhinau* (§ 34); Kamchadal *k'en*, pl. *k'én*

§ 59. Indefinite Pronoun *räq*

The non-personal interrogative and indefinite pronoun is, Chukchee
räq; Kor. Kam. *ya(q)*, *yax*; Kor. II *ta(q)*; Kamchadal *seq*.

The following are the forms with post-positions:

	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.
Stem	<i>räq</i>		<i>yaq</i>
Absolute	<i>rä'snut</i>		<i>yi'nnä</i>
Plural (dual Kor.)	<i>rä'snuti</i>	<i>rä'snutet</i> ¹	<i>ya'qat</i>
Plural Kor.	—		<i>yaqu'wgi</i>
Instrumental	<i>re'qä</i>	<i>rä'snute'tä</i>	<i>ya'qa</i>
Locative	<i>re'qäk</i>	<i>rä'snutek</i>	<i>ya'qak</i>
Allative	<i>raqe'ti</i>	<i>ra'snota'gti</i> ²	<i>yaqe'ti</i>
Ablative	{ <i>ra'güpu</i> <i>raqe'pu</i> }	<i>ra'snotaipü</i> ³	<i>yaqit'äqo</i>
Designative (see § 94)	<i>re'qu</i>		<i>ya'qu</i>
Comitative (see § 100)	<i>garas'ma</i>		<i>gaya'qa</i>

¹ Men's pronunciation *rä'tneet*.

² *ra'snaa'gti*.

³ *ra'snaaipü*.

The set of forms derived from *rä^εnut*, except the plural, are not often used.

- i'me-rä^εnut* whatsoever; i. e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18
rä^εnut what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5
rä^εnut ūm what was it then? 34.1
rä^εnut ūm qinē'ilhi^ε give me something
rä^εnutet whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2
reqä by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2
re'qä what? 34.8, 9; whatever 32.5
ra'qa-ñot with what there 139.8
re'qäk at what? 26.1
re^εqüm why 88.7
re^εqu how 17.5, 7; why 23.1
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qa* with what Kor. 46.9
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qkin-ki* what for Kor. 26.10
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qin-yaq* what then? Kor. 45.9

These forms are also used in composition:

- ra^ε-qa'at* (Chukchee), *ya^x-qoya'wge* (Kor. Kam.), *seq-ko'j^εn*
 (Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer
räq-a^εttä ge'e^εlin (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?
ra^ε-ni'mnim what settlement, obj. 33.7
ra^ε-pr'ñil what tidings? 11.2
rä^εnota'čhit what kind are 14.3

Koryak I:

- ya'qlau* what are they doing Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikne'tik what are you (pl.) doing? Kor. 24.8

Koryak II has the same forms as Koryak Kamenskoye, derived from the stem *taq*.

Verbs derived from these stems are used with great frequency (see § 82); for instance,—

- re'qarkin* (Chukchee), *ya'qykin* Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), *ta'qatkin*
 (Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?
re^εi^ε what is the matter 19.11
re'qärkin what is the matter with thee 18.9
re'q-i-git what do you want? 18.12
riraqa'unvø what for? 19.1, 6
re'qälit which ones 139.9
re'qäl-i-git what do you want? 22.8
nre'q-i-git what are you doing? 33.1
 Kor. Kam. *nrya'qi-gi* what are you doing? Kor. 39.5

Kamchadal has another form for WHAT, SOMETHING, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in *enk-*.

Absolute	<i>E'ñka</i>
Instrumental	<i>E'ñkal'</i>
Locative	<i>Enka'ñk</i>
Allative	<i>Enka'ñk</i>
Ablative	<i>Enka'ñk</i>

Verbs derived from this stem are formed as in Chukchee and Koryak.

enka'nejč what are you doing?

Under Russian influence, these forms are going out of use, and are being replaced by post-positional forms and verbs.

enka'ñke k!öjč why, or for what do you come?

§ 60. Other Indefinite Pronouns

1. The stem *nirk-* (Kor. Kam. *niyk-*) expresses a certain well-known person, THE ONE WE THINK OF, THE ONE REFERRED TO; *ník-* A CERTAIN WELL-KNOWN THING OR ACT WE THINK OF, OR REFERRED TO.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

PERSONAL

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute	<i>ní'rkññut</i>	<i>ní'yka, ní'ykiññut</i>
Plural (dual Koryak)	<i>ní'rkenti</i>	<i>ní'ykanti</i>
Plural Koryak	—	<i>níyka'wpi, ní'ykau</i> Kor. 50.4
Subjective	<i>ní'rkenā</i>	<i>ní'ykanak</i>
Allative	<i>nē'rkana</i>	<i>ne'ykana</i>
Ablative	<i>nērkaí'pū</i>	<i>neyka'ñqo</i>
Designative (see § 94)	<i>nírke'nu</i>	<i>níyka'nu</i>

NON-PERSONAL

Absolute	<i>ní'kiññut</i>	
Plural	<i>ní'ket</i>	
Subjective	<i>níke'tā</i>	
Locative	<i>ní'kek</i>	
Allative	<i>nēka'gti</i>	
Ablative	<i>nēkaí'pū</i>	
Comitative (see § 100)	<i>ganēka'ma</i> <i>geníke'tā</i>	
Designative (see § 94)	<i>níke'nu</i>	

Examples:

nî'rkeñut a certain one 90.20; 119.12

nî'kek somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

nî'rken (Kor. Kam. *nîyka'nen*) belonging to the one referred to or thought of

nî'kin belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8

ai'VE nêrkaï'pũ qora'ñi tei'mityä'n yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

Verbal forms are also derived from this pronoun; for instance,—

nike'rkin (Kor. Kam. *nika'ykin*) he does the thing referred to or thought of

rinike'urkin whatsoever shall be 21.10

Kor. Kam. *mnikak* I'll do something Kor. 42.1

Kor. Kam. *nekañvo'ykin* he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, *swu'ziĵč* YOU DO A CERTAIN THING is used in the same way.

2. *qol* (Chukchee), *qoll'a'* (Kor. Kam.), *k'ola'* (Kamchadal) OTHER.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem *qulĭ* is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

qulĭ'-nikek afterwards (=at another certain one)

qolē't-a'lo' some future day (=in the other day)

qol yara'čhin a house 86.17

qol yi'lgin another month 7.2

Post-positional forms occur only with personal nouns, while in Koryak these are used for all kinds of nouns.

	Chukchee—Personal	Koryak		Kamchadal
		Personal	Non-personal	
Absolute	<i>qql</i>		<i>qoll'a'</i>	<i>k'ola'</i>
Plural (dual Koryak) .	<i>qu'tti</i>		<i>qu'tti</i>	
Plural Koryak	—		<i>qu'tsau</i>	
Subjective	<i>quti'(n)inā</i> ¹	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>qutinina'ta</i>	
Possessive (locative) .	<i>quti'(n)inā</i> ¹	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Alliative	<i>qotē'(n)ēna</i> ¹		<i>qote'ninañ</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Ablative	<i>qotē(n)ēnai'pũ</i> ¹		<i>qotenina'ñgo</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Designative	<i>quti'(n)inu</i> ¹		<i>qutinina'nu</i>	

¹ Without *n* in men's pronunciation.

qol ELI'gin another father, a certain father 107.22

qol ūm na'nmirkīn they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)

qu'tti others (subj. intr.) 12.5

qu'tti'inä by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them 8.13

| Kor. Kam. *qo'lla* another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:

golê-notai'pu from another land 14.12

golê-ra'gti to another house 12.11

golê-tke'unvuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. *elvg* (Chukchee), *alva* (Kor. Kam.), *êknên* (Kamchadal), OTHER, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—

elve'lin (Chukchee), 117.7, *elve'linet* 113.3, *alva'l'in* (Kor. Kam.) Kor. 76.19.

| *ček-a'lvam-va'lin* how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).

| *a'lva titva'n'vok* I was in a different way Kor. 18.6

4. A number of prefixed particles express also ideas related to the indefinite pronoun (see § 113, nos. 6, 7, 14, 24):

im- all

em- mere

gemge- every

ter- how much

Most of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns take the definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms, the same as nouns, and some of these are used with great frequency.

mañêna'chín that one, who is he (from *mé'n'in* WHO)

rä'nutqäi (from *rä'nut* WHAT) or

rä'qqäi

ya'xpil (Kor. Kam.)

} some little thing

qolai'nin another big one

qul'leqäi another little one

} are used quite often

The Predicate (§§ 61–82)

§ 61. Introductory Remarks

The predicate appears in two distinct forms, according to the character of the word forming the predicate. The first class is formed by verbs; the latter, by nominal terms which are used as predicate. While all verbs may appear in nominalized forms, and therefore may take the form of the noun as predicate, nouns can not readily be transformed into verbs—except by the use of verbalizing suffixes, which give the compound stem a verbal character. Thus we find that true verbal forms are confined to verbal stems, to the numerals (except ONE), and

to the indefinite (or interrogative) pronouns, which may be used as nouns as well as verbs.

The structure of the first class of predicative forms is quite complex. We have to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs. The following structural elements may be recognized. We have—

I. Intransitive verbs:

1. Pronominal prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal suffix.
5. Pronominal suffix.

II. Transitive verbs:

1. Pronominal subjective prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal suffix.
5. Pronominal objective suffix.

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

Indicative	without prefix,	no suffix
Subjunctive:		
(a) Exhortative	with the prefix <i>n(i)</i>	the suffix <i>gi</i>
(b) Subjunctive	with the prefix <i>ε</i>	the suffix <i>gi</i>
Imperative	with the prefix <i>q</i>	the suffix <i>gi</i>
Future	with the prefix <i>re</i>	the suffix <i>ñ(i)</i>

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in *-irkin* (Koryak I *-irykin*, *-ikkin*; Koryak II *-itkin*, Kamchadal *-jk*), the pronominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal *-n*, as is done in all forms in Kamchadal.

The second class, predicative nominal terms, consists either of nouns or of verbal stems, which are nominalized by certain prefixes, and which take suffixes expressing the terminal relations. The simple nominalized forms are used as predicative terms of the third person. These have been discussed before. They are the nominalized forms in *-in*, *-kin*, *-lin*, *n(i)-qin* (§§ 45-49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix *-i*, which may be derived from the verb *-it*¹ TO BE. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns *muri* WE, and *turi* YOU; so that the whole complex represents in the same way a nominal form with predicative function, as in the third persons. The nominalized form has no true tenses.

¹ I consider this unlikely, since in Koryak the *t* should be preserved, although in Chukchee it might disappear according to the phonetic laws governing the pronunciation of men. Mr. Bogoras points out that the *i* can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be *i*. — F. BOAS.

§ 62. Structure of the Intransitive Verb

1. The pronominal prefixes of the intransitive verb are confined to the first person, singular and plural: *t-* for the singular, *mt-* for the plural. The *m* of the plural may perhaps be related to the same element in *myr₁* we, while the *t* of singular and plural may be the same. The element *mt-* conveys the idea of plurality of the first person with such energy, that, in Koryak at least, the suffix *-mik*, which repeats the same idea, may be omitted; the same omission occurs rarely in Chukchee.

2. The temporal and modal elements enter into close relation with the pronominal prefixes. Most of these follow the ordinary phonetic laws. Thus

t + r₂ becomes *tr₂-*
mt + r₂ becomes *mirr₂-*
mt + ε becomes *min(i)^ε-*

The last of these is not quite regular, since *mit(i)^ε* would also seem to be possible. The forms of the exhortative can not be explained by phonetic laws. Here we find that the expected

t + n becomes *m*
mt + n becomes *min*

In the subjunctive (*b*), when the verb begins with a vowel, the auxiliary vowel disappears, and the glottal stop follows the initial vowel of the stem. This occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak:

tu^εwi'ä^εk (stem *uw₁*) I should cook

3. The verbal themes may be simple or compound. The former undergo peculiar phonetic changes according to their position, the forms in initial position differing from those found in medial position. This subject has been discussed in § 7 and § 12. A number of formations, however, are irregular, and not due to the action of phonetic laws.

qämi-plitku eating finishing (stem *qämi*, from *gamitva*)
tara'ñga^εt they built a house (from *t_ε'ik₁* to make, *yara* house)
kinmi'rk₁n he kills children (*kmiñ₁n timirk₁n*)
kuwi^ε'rk₁n he has dead children (*kmiñ₁n, vi'rk₁n*)

The vocalic elements of prefixes, personal and modal, are modified by the vowels of the stem (see § 3).

The terminal phonetic character of the stem also influences the temporal, modal, and the pronominal suffixes (see § 72).

4. The temporal and modal suffixes have been mentioned before. Through contraction between them and the pronominal suffixes originate forms the historical development of which is not by any means clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix *-gi-* which appears in many forms, and does not seem to form part of the pronominal element. This, however, has undergone so many changes that its character and function are not clear.

5. The pronominal suffixes do not show a very close relation to the personal pronoun, and, furthermore, are somewhat differentiated in different modes of the verb. A comparison of the various forms suggests the following as the essential elements of the suffixed pronominal verbal forms:

INTRANSITIVE

I	<i>-k</i>	we	<i>-mk</i>
thou . . .	<i>?</i>	ye	<i>-tk</i>
he	—	they	<i>-t</i>

It may be that the *m* and *t* of the first and second persons plural are related to *muri* and *turi*, which may contain the same endings as *erri* (see pp. 706, 719, 726). The second person singular is quite doubtful; but it is conceivable that it may contain by origin a form in *-gi* related to the pronoun *git*. In the intransitive verb the second and third persons singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person plural has clearly the element *t*,¹ which is not the same as the *t* of the second person plural.

§ 63. Structure of the Transitive Verb

The structure of the transitive verb is, on the whole, analogous to that of the intransitive.

1. For the first persons singular and plural, the same pronominal prefixes as in the intransitive appear, as subjects. The transitive forms of the third person, singular and plural, have the prefix *ng-*. The clearness of the picture is obscured by the fact that the transitive forms

THOU—US; YE—ME, US and

THOU, YE, HE—ME

do not exist, and generalized intransitive forms are used in their place. These are formed with the prefix *ing-* or with the suffix *-tke* (see p. 819, no. 28; p. 808, no. 67). It is possible that the peculiar form YE—HIM, THEM has the same origin (see p. 809). I presume this

¹ See plural of nouns, p. 694.

form has originated from *-tky-tik* and is parallel to *-tky₂^s* THOU—US. The *g* of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms THOU—US because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-tku-gi^s becomes *-tku^s*

2. The temporal and modal prefixes are the same as those of the intransitive.

3. The stems are treated like those of the intransitive verb.

4. The temporal and modal suffixes enter into compound forms with the pronominal suffixes. The intransitive *g* is apparently absent, owing to its frequent intervocalic position.

5. The analogy between the transitive pronominal suffixes and the intransitive suffixes is fairly clear, if we consider only those forms which have true pronominal suffixes. We find then the object

-git thee *-mik* us *-tik* you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: *-git* may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun *-giⁱ* (pp. 719 et seq.; p. 710).

The third person object shows forms in *-n* which recall the nominal forms in *-in* (§§ 45–49), and, like these forms, form their plurals in *-et*. In a way these forms seem related to the nominal predicate. To the same group belongs the form in *-üm* THEY—ME, which contains the pronoun *güm*, like the nominal forms.

Attention may be called to the fact that the number of the pronominal suffix, which designates the object, is naturally determined by the number of the object.

qa'at tipê'lanat (Kor. Kam. *qoya'wge tipe'lanau*) I left the reindeer

For the first person object the intransitive form with *ing-* is used.

räs'nutqäi gine'ilä give me something

The Koryak forms resemble the Chukchee forms. The Koryak dual corresponds to the Chukchee plural. The plural *-la-* of the Koryak is always placed immediately following the stem. It indicates plurality of subject or object, but occurs once only in each form, even if both subject and object are plural.

Certain verbal stems may be used both as transitive and as intransitive, generally with a slight change in meaning.

tuwalo'mürkin I know, hear, obey (intransitive)

tuwalo'mürkinegit I know thee (transitive)

tuwa'lomgä^k I heard

tuwa'lomgaⁿ I knew him

The Forms of the Intransitive Verb (§§ 64-66)

§ 64. CHUKCHEE

PRINCIPAL MODES

Person	Past I	Subjunctive			Imperative	Future
		Prefixes		Suffixes		
		(a)	(b)			
2d pl.	- <i>tik</i>	*	<i>n</i> (<i>i^e, u^e, ü^e</i>)	- <i>tik</i>	<i>q</i> (<i>i, ä, a</i>)- <i>gⁱtik</i>	<i>re-nitik</i>
3d pl.	- <i>g^ät</i>	<i>n</i> (<i>i, u, ü</i>)	<i>n</i> (<i>i^e, u^e, ü^e</i>)	- <i>n₂^t</i>		<i>re-nit</i>
2d, 3d sing. . .	$\begin{Bmatrix} -gt \\ -i \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} * \\ n \end{Bmatrix}$ (<i>i, u, ü</i>)	<i>n</i> (<i>i^e, u^e, ü^e</i>)	$\begin{Bmatrix} -gän \\ -in \end{Bmatrix}$	<i>q</i> (<i>i, ä, a**</i>)- <i>gⁱ</i>	$\begin{Bmatrix} re-gä \\ -i \end{Bmatrix}$
1st sing. . . .	$\begin{Bmatrix} -gäk \\ -ik \end{Bmatrix}$	<i>mi</i>	<i>t</i> (<i>i^e, u^e, ü^e</i>)	$\begin{Bmatrix} -gäk \\ -ik \end{Bmatrix}$		$\begin{Bmatrix} tre-gä \\ -i \end{Bmatrix}$
1st pl.	<i>mit-mik</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i> (<i>i^e, u^e, ü^e</i>)	- <i>mi</i>		<i>mitre-g^ä</i>

* No 2d person.

** No 3d person.

DERIVED MODES IN -*rkin* (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

2d pl.	- <i>tik</i>	—	—	- <i>tik</i>	- <i>tik</i>	- <i>nitik</i>
3d pl.	- <i>t*</i>	—	—	- <i>t</i>	—	- <i>nit</i>
Other forms . .	—	—	—	—	—	—

* *t* takes the place of final *n*: *irkit*.

The prefix *t-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel when it forms an admissible cluster with the initial sound of the verbal theme.

The derived form -*rkin* is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary *i* is inserted between stem and suffix:

gamr'tva-rkin he eats

walo'm-i-rkin he knows

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	- <i>el'i</i>	
2	- <i>ik, -i</i>	
3	-(<i>t</i>) <i>ä</i>	<i>ge-(t) ä</i>
4	- <i>ma</i>	
5	- <i>ma'ei</i>	

§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive			Imperative	Future	Present indefinite
		Prefixes.		Suffixes.			
		(a)	(b)				
2d dual	— <i>trk</i>	*	<i>na^s</i>	— <i>trk</i>	<i>q—(gr)trk</i>	<i>ya—ñitrik</i>	<i>ky-***</i>
2d pl.	— <i>la'trk</i>	*	<i>na^s</i>	— <i>la'trk</i>	<i>q—la'trk</i>	<i>ya—la'antrik</i>	<i>ky-</i>
3d dual	— <i>gr</i>	<i>n(I)</i>	<i>na^s</i>	— <i>nat</i>		<i>ya—ñl</i>	<i>ky-</i>
3d pl.	{ — <i>la'z</i> or — <i>lage</i>	{ <i>n(I)</i>	<i>na^s</i>	— <i>nau</i>		<i>ya—la'ne</i>	<i>ky-</i>
2d, 3d sing. . .	— <i>l</i>	* <i>n</i>	<i>na^s</i>	— <i>ln</i>	<i>q**—(gr)</i>	<i>ya—I</i>	<i>ky-</i>
1st sing.	<i>tr—Irk</i>	<i>ml</i>	<i>ta^s</i>	— <i>rk</i>		<i>tya—I</i>	<i>trky-</i>
1st dual	<i>mit—mirk</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mIna^s</i>	— <i>mik</i>		<i>missa—mirk</i>	<i>mitky-</i>
1st pl.	<i>mit—lamik</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mIna^s</i>	— <i>la(mik)</i>		<i>missa—la(mirk)</i>	<i>mitky-</i>

() May be omitted.

* No 2d person.

** No 3d person.

*** Also *gy*. This form does not exist in Koryak II.DERIVED MODES IN *-trkin* (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

2d dual . . .	— <i>ikn'itrik</i>	— <i>ikn'itrik</i>	— <i>ikn'itrik</i>	— <i>intrik</i>
2d pl. . . .	— <i>la'kinetrik</i>	— <i>la'kine'trik*</i>	— <i>la'kinetrik</i>	— <i>la'kinentrik</i>
3d dual . . .	— <i>ki</i>	— <i>kinat</i>		— <i>ikn'ñl</i>
3d pl. . . .	— <i>la'ke</i>	— <i>ikn'inau**</i>		— <i>la'kineñe</i>
1st, 2d, 3d sing.; 1st dual	{ — <i>kin</i>	{ — <i>kin</i>	{ — <i>kin</i>	{ — <i>kin</i>
1st pl. . . .	— <i>la'kin</i>	— <i>la'kinemik*</i>		— <i>la'kin'mik</i>

* Subjunctive (b) has *la-z* instead of *la*.** Subjunctive (b) has *au* instead of *inau*.

The prefix *tr-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel whenever it forms an admissible cluster with the first sound of the verb.

The ending *-ikn* (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as *wa!o'm-ekn* HE KNOWS. After terminal vowel the *i* changes to a neutral *ɨ*, as *va-ikn* HE IS. In many cases, however, the *i* is also weakened to *ɨ* or *y* after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary *l* is inserted preceding it, as in *ya'qrykin* WHAT ART THOU? Kor. 29.1; *i'trykin* ART THOU? Kor. 29.2

NOMINAL FORMS

	(a)	(b)
1 2 3 4 5 6	} — <i>lk</i> — <i>mači</i>	<i>ga—a</i>

§ 66. KAMCHADAL

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive		Imperative
		(a) Exhortative	(b) Conditional	
2d sing.	— <i>č</i>		<i>k!</i> — <i>{čn!ʔn or un}</i>	<i>k—xč</i>
2d pl.	— <i>cx</i>		<i>k!</i> — <i>cx</i>	<i>k—jcx</i>
3d pl.	— <i>{čln or uʔn}</i>	<i>xan</i> — <i>{čn!ʔn or un}</i>	<i>k!</i> — <i>un</i>	
3d sing.	— <i>č</i>	<i>xan</i> — <i>{čn!ʔn or un}</i>	<i>k!</i> — <i>un</i>	
1st sing.	<i>t</i> — <i>{k or kičn}</i>	<i>m</i> — <i>{k or kičn}</i>	<i>tk!</i> — <i>k</i>	
1st pl.	<i>n</i> — <i>{k or kičn}</i>	<i>min</i> — <i>{k or kičn}</i>	<i>nk!</i> — <i>k</i>	

The subjunctive (*b*) of modern Kamchadal takes in all forms the terminal particle *-l*, which is the Russian conjunction *бы*.

tk!nukbɪ if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb *ɔl*, (*ɔ*) TO DESIRE, which may form modes and tenses like the others; the present, with the terminal verb (or suffix) *j*. The third person plural of this form is *-jčln* or *jɪʔn*.

The numerous Kamchadal verbs ending in *-l* change this to *-c* in the derived present. This occurs both in intransitive and transitive verbs (see § 122).

tɪlk I left

tñüklk I slept

teolk I lay

tɪcjk I leave

tñükɔjk I sleep

teɔ'locjk I lie

VERBAL NOUN

1	} — <i>kɔj</i> ¹
2	
3	
4	<i>k!</i> — <i>enk</i>

tujuk nu'kɔj I began eat-beginning; i. e., I began to eat (*t*- I; *uju* to begin; *-k* I; *nu* to eat)

¹ This is the inchoative terminal verb (see p. 808, no. 63). The verbal noun never appears without it.

The Forms of the Transitive Verb (§§ 67-71)

§ 67. CHUKCHEE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Impera- tive II	Future III	Derived Modes in -irkin IV
(1) thee	-gɪt	—	-gɪt	-ɪgɪt
(2) you	-tɪk	—	-ntɪk	-ɪtɪk
(3) us (except thou, ye—us)	-mɪk	—	-mɪk	-ɪmɪk

THIRD PERSON FORMS

(4) him (except he, ye—him)	-gɪ̃n	-gɪn	-ɦɪn	(no ending)
(5) them (except he, ye—them)	-nɛt	-gɪnɛt	-ɦɪnɛt	-ɛt
(6) he—him	-nɪn	—	-ɦɪnɪn	-ɪn
(6') he—them	-nɪnɛt	—	-ɦɪnɪnɛt	-ɪnɛt

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indica- tive I	Subjunctive Ia	Impera- tive II	Future III	Derived Modes in -irkin IV
(7) he—me	} -gɪ̃	-ä̃n	-gɪ̃	-gɪ̃ä̃	(no ending)
(8) thou—me, us		-tɪk	-tɪk	-ntɪk	-ɪtɪk
(9) ye—me, us ¹		-tɪkɪ	-gɪtɪkɪ	-ɦɪtɪkɪ	-ɪtɪkɪ
(10) ye—him, them		-tɪkɪ	-gɪtɪkɪ	-ɦɪtɪkɪ	-ɪtɪkɪ

¹ With -tku preceding pronominal suffix.

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

(11) they—me ²	-ä̃m	-ɦä̃m	—	-ä̃m	-ium
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² See § 73. This form takes the prefix ne-

Transitive Prefixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Subject	Indicative I	Subjunctive I a		Imperative II	Future III
		(a)	(b)		
I	l(ɪ)-	mɪ-	tɪ̃-	—	trɛ-
we	mɪl-	mɪn-	mɪnɪ̃-	—	mɪrɛ-
he	nɛ-	ä̃n-	nä̃nɪ̃-	—	nɛrɛ-

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object me . . .	(ɪnɛ)-	(nɪnɛ)-	(nɪ̃nɛ)-	q-ɪnɛ	(rɪnɛ)-
Other forms . .	—	nɪ-	-nɪ̃-	q-	rɛ

The form *-gi^s* (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to *-i*.

qênapêlaê^s and *qênapêlaï'* leave me!

This shortening is quite frequent in Koryak I (see below).

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—* <i>gi^s</i>	
2	— <i>k</i>	
3	— <i>tä</i>	<i>gi-tä</i>
4	— <i>mg</i>	
5	— <i>mgêi</i>	

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

Future	<i>rg-ni</i>
Exhortative, sing. .	<i>ni-a^sn</i>
pl. . .	<i>ni-nat</i>
Exhortative, derived	
sing. . .	<i>ni-rkin</i>
pl. . .	<i>ni-rkinat</i>

§ 68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOYE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in <i>-ykin</i> IV
(1) thee	— <i>giⁱ</i>	—	— <i>giⁱ</i>	— <i>iⁱgiⁱ</i>
(2) you	—(<i>la</i>) <i>tik</i>	—	—(<i>la</i>) <i>ntik</i>	—(<i>la</i>) — <i>tik</i>
(3) us	—(<i>la</i>) <i>mitk</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>tik</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>mitk</i>	—(<i>la</i>) — <i>mitk</i>

THIRD PERSON FORMS.

(4) him (except he, ye—him) . .	— <i>ga^sn^s</i>	— <i>gin</i>	— <i>ñin</i>	no ending
(5) them dual (except he, ye—them)	— <i>nat</i>	— <i>ginat</i>	— <i>ñinat</i>	— <i>ñnat</i>
(5') them pl. (except he, ye—them) .	— <i>nau</i>	— <i>ginau</i>	— <i>ñinau</i>	— <i>ñnau</i>
(6) he, they—him, them	— <i>nin</i>	—	— <i>ñnin</i>	—(<i>ñn</i>)

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in <i>ykin</i> IV
(7) he—me	— <i>i</i> — <i>ga^sn</i>	—	no ending	no ending
(8) thou—me	— <i>giⁱ</i> — <i>ga^sn</i>	—(<i>giⁱ</i>)	no ending	no ending
(9) ye—me	—(<i>la</i>) <i>tik</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>tik</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>ntik</i>	—(<i>la</i>) — <i>tik</i>
(9') ye—us	—(<i>la</i>) <i>mitk</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>mitk</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>mitk</i>	—(<i>la</i>) — <i>mitk</i>
(10) ye—him, them	—(<i>la</i>) <i>têa</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>gitêa</i>	—(<i>la</i>) <i>ñitêa</i>	—((<i>la</i>) — <i>itêa</i>)

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORM

(11) they—me	—gūm ^a	—	—gūm	igūm
¹ we—thee -lage				^a we—him -lage ⁿ

In the derived modes, *la* occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding *-ikin*.

The suffixes *-gi* and *-gaⁿ* (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to *-i* and *-n*. The former is similar to an intransitive form.

genapela'e and *genapelai'* leave me!

In Chukchee these forms are quite rare (see p. 741)

PREFIXES

	Indicative I	Subjunctive		Imperative II	Future III
		I (a) Exhort.	I (b) Subj.		
I	<i>t</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ta^a-</i>		<i>tya-</i>
we	<i>mit-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>mina^a-</i>		<i>missa-</i>
thou, ye, he—me . . .	<i>ina-</i>	<i>nina-</i>	<i>na^aina-</i>	<i>qina-</i>	<i>yina-</i>
they, he—thee, you, us	<i>na-</i>	<i>aⁿ-</i>	<i>nana^a-</i>		<i>naya-</i>
thou, ye—us					
he—him, them	no prefix	<i>ni-</i>	<i>na^a-</i>	<i>qa-</i>	<i>ya-</i>
thou, ye—him, them					

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix *qu-*, *ku-* (*k-* before vowels) and the future endings, except that

he, thou—me has the ending *-ñ*

I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending *-ñtik*

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	— <i>k</i>	
2	— <i>k</i>	
3	} missing	<i>ga—ta</i>
4		
5	— <i>mači</i>	

As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

Future	<i>ya--ñ</i>
Exhortation, sing	<i>ni--a^εn</i>
Dual	<i>ni--nat</i>
Exhortation, period, pl. . . .	<i>ni--nou</i>
Sing.	<i>ni--ikín</i>
Dual	<i>ni--ikínat</i>
	<i>ni--ikínau</i>

KAMCHADAL (§§ 69-71)

§ 69. Types of Transitive Verb

The Kamchadal transitive verb shows peculiarities of structure similar to those of the Chukchee and Koryak. Only the forms with the objects **THEE**, **YOU**, **US**, are formed with the pronominal forms corresponding to the intransitive suffixes. The combination **YE**—**US** is here also excepted, although no indication of a change of the verb into an intransitive form by means of a special suffix is found. Instead of that, the forms **THOU**, **YE**—**ME** have the ending *-mĩñk*, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to *-mĩk* **WE** of Chukchee-Koryak. It may be mentioned here again that in Koryak this ending tends to be dropped. In the Kamchadal forms here discussed it may express the intransitive first person plural, as though we had, for instance, instead of **THOU LEAVEST ME**, **WE PART**. When used for the singular **THOU**—**ME**, the ending is often pronounced *-mĩñ*, which may be an older form. The form **YE**—**ME**, **US** takes, in addition to *-mĩñk*, the ending *-cx* **YE**, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has *-εn*. The nominal-predicative form is used here for both singular and plural of the third person with the object **ME**.

The forms of a second type of conjugation are not quite so clear.

§ 70. Type I

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee	<i>-hĩn</i> [he, <i>-n</i>	<i>-hĩn</i>	—	<i>--hĩn</i> he, they, <i>-n</i>
you	<i>-cxĩn</i>		—	<i>-cxĩn</i>
us (except ye — us)	<i>-mĩñk</i>		<i>-mĩñk</i>	<i>-mĩñk</i>

THIRD PERSON FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
him (except he, they, ye—him) .	- <i>n</i>	- <i>n</i>	- <i>x</i>	- <i>n</i>
them (except he, they, ye—them)	- <i>ɛn</i>	- <i>ɛn</i>	- <i>ɛɪn</i>	- <i>ɛn</i>
he, they—him	- <i>nɪn</i>	- <i>nɪn</i>	—	- <i>nɪn</i>
he, they—them	- <i>nɪʔn</i>	- <i>nɪʔn</i>	—	- <i>nɪʔn</i>

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

thou—me	- <i>miʔk</i>	—	- <i>miʔk</i>	- <i>miʔk</i>
ye—me, us	- <i>miʔkɛx</i>	—	- <i>miʔkɛx</i>	- <i>miʔkɛx</i>
ye—him	- <i>ɛɪn</i>	—	- <i>ɛx</i>	- <i>ɛɪn</i>
ye—them	- <i>ɛɪʔn</i>	—	- <i>ɛɪʔn</i>	- <i>ɛɪʔn</i>

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

he—me	- <i>humniʔn</i>	<i>humniʔn</i>	—	<i>humniʔn</i>
they—me	- <i>humniʔn</i>	<i>humniʔn</i>	—	<i>humniʔn</i>

PREFIXES

Subject	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
I	<i>t-</i>	<i>m-</i>	—	<i>t-</i>
we	<i>n-</i>	<i>mɪn</i> or <i>xʔan-</i>	—	<i>n-</i>
he	—	<i>xʔan</i>	—	—
they	<i>ʔn-</i>	<i>xʔan</i>	—	<i>ʔn-</i>
thou, ye	—	—	<i>k-</i>	—

A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except *ʔn-* of the third person plural, are the same as those of the intransitive verbs.

An example of this type of verb is the stem *tɔl-* (present *tɔx-*) to BEAT. In verbs beginning with *t*, the prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped.

Indicative forms have the theme *tɔli-*.

Subjunctive forms have the theme *tɔli-*.

Present forms have the theme *tɔxɔʔ(i)-* with auxiliary vowel *i* before terminal *n* and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

tɔliʔhɪn I beat thee

tɔliʔn he beat thee

tɔlihɪmniʔn he beat me

tɔliʔmɪʔk you beat me, us; he beat us

ʔntɔliʔɛɪn they beat you

ntɔlɪn we beat him

ʔntɔliʔnɪn they beat him

Subjunctive:

mtæli'hin let me beat thee
x'antæli'nin let him beat him
x'antæli'miñk let him, them, beat us
x'antæli'hümnin let him, them, beat me
mintæli'cæin let us beat you

Imperative:

ktæli'miñk beat thou me, us
ktælimi'ñkcæ beat ye me, us
ktæliæ beat him
ktæliæ beat ye him

Present:

tæcjhin I am beating thee
ntæcjhin we are beating thee
tæcji^{en} thou art beating them
tæcjnin he is beating him
äntæcjæin they are beating you
ntæcjnin we are beating him

§ 71. Type II

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee	{ I - <i>xkin</i> he - <i>xiñin</i>	- <i>xkin</i>	—	- <i>xkin</i>
you	{ I - <i>xkixzin</i> he - <i>cæiñin</i>	- <i>xkixzin</i>	—	- <i>xkixzin</i>
us (except ye—us)	{ they - <i>xkmiñk</i> he - <i>xkimin</i>	- <i>xkmiñk</i>	- <i>xkmiñk</i>	- <i>xkmiñk</i>

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

I—him	{ - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiñin</i>	- <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiñin</i>	—	- <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiñin</i>
thou—him	- <i>xiñin</i>	—	- <i>xik</i>	- <i>ñin</i>
we—him	- <i>ñin</i>	{ - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiñin</i>	—	- <i>ñin</i>
I—them	{ - <i>ñi^{en}</i> - <i>kiñi^{en}</i>	- <i>ñi^{en}</i> - <i>kiñi^{en}</i>	—	- <i>ñi^{en}</i> - <i>kiñi^{en}</i>
thou—them	- <i>xiñi^{en}</i>	—	{ - <i>xkin</i> - <i>xñiⁿ</i>	- <i>ñi^{en}</i>
we—them	- <i>ñi^{en}</i>	{ - <i>ñi^{en}</i> - <i>kiñi^{en}</i>	—	- <i>ñi^{en}</i>
he—him	- <i>xiñnin</i>	- <i>xiñnin</i>	—	- <i>nin</i>
they—him	- <i>iñnin</i>	- <i>iñnin</i>	—	- <i>iñnin</i>
he—them	- <i>xiñni^{en}</i>	- <i>xiñni^{en}</i>	—	- <i>ni^{en}</i>
they—them	- <i>iñni^{en}</i>	- <i>iñni^{en}</i>	—	- <i>iñni^{en}</i>

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thou—me	- <i>xkmiñk</i>	—	- <i>xkmiñk</i>	- <i>xkmiñk</i>
ye—me, us	- <i>xkmiñkca</i>	—	- <i>xkmiñkca</i>	- <i>xkmiñkca</i>
ye—him	- <i>čxiñin</i>	—	- <i>čxiñin</i>	- <i>čxiñin</i>
ye—them	- <i>čxiñin</i>	—	- <i>čxiñin</i>	- <i>čxiñin</i>

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

he, they—me	- <i>xkumni'n</i>	- <i>xkumni'n</i>	—	- <i>xkumni'n</i>
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Evidently these forms are closely related to those of Type I, but the symmetry is disturbed by a number of peculiar contractions, some of which seem to be due to misunderstandings. The prefixes are the same as those of Type I.

As an example may be given forms of the stem *kej* TO ACCEPT.

Indicative and subjunctive have the theme *kej*-.

Present has the theme *kejij*-.

Indicative:

tk'e'jăkin I accepted thee
ke'jčrñin he accepted thee
ănke'jăkimiñk they accepted us
nke'jñin we accepted him
tk'e'jñin or *tk'e'jkičrñin* I accepted them
ke'jčxiñin ye accepted them

Subjunctive:

mke'jăkin let me accept thee
x'ankejăkumni'n let him accept me
mınke'jñin or *mınke'jkičrñin* let us accept them
x'anke'jăkin let him, them, accept thee

Imperative:

xkejăčr'k accept him
xkejăčr'k or *xkejăčrñin* accept them (*k* before *k* changes to *x*)
xkejăkmiñk accept me, us
xkejăkmiñkca accept ye me, us
xke'jčxiñin accept ye him
xke'jčxiñin accept ye them

Present:

tkejijăkr'sxin I am accepting you
nke'jijñin we are accepting him
ănke'j-ij-iñnin they are accepting him
ke'jijniñin he is accepting them
ke'jijñin thou art accepting him, them

The nominal forms of these two types are—

	Type I	Type II
1 }		
2 }	. . . -ic, -il	-čwč
3	. . . -čka (rare)	-čwčeka (rare)

As in the intransitive verb, the future is expressed by the present of the desiderative.

taxlaxin I shall beat thee

taxlalin I shall beat him

čkeja'axin I shall accept thee

čkejalñin or *čkejalkičin* I shall accept him

The two types of conjugation depend upon suffixes which precede the pronominal elements. Some verbal stems are used with and without these suffixes, with a modification of meaning.

tčaxl'jin (Type I) I take away my boots

tčaxl'jñin (Type II) I take away something from the table

The loss of modes in Kamchadal may be due to Russian influence. There are a number of Kamchadal forms, evidently remains of older forms, which resemble the Chukchee even more closely than the forms just described. Thus we find—

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
<i>jiljin</i>	<i>yil'lrkin</i>	thou givest him
<i>jil'ljhüm</i>	<i>ne'yil'hüm</i>	they gave me
<i>(ä)njil'ljimük</i>	<i>ne'yilmük</i>	they gave us

§ 72. Examples of Verbal Suffixes

CHUKCHEE

The phonetic rules discussed in §§ 1-23 bring about frequent changes in the verbal suffixes. As a matter of convenience I will summarize here the most common modifications, a few of which can not be explained by the general phonetic laws.

1. Verbal stems terminating in a vowel add the verbal suffix without auxiliary vowel. Whenever the initial *g* of the suffix stands in intervocalic position, it is either dropped or pronounced very weakly.

telere'äsk < *t-elere'-gäsk* I felt lonesome

naŋyo'ēññogē < *ne-yogēññog-giē* he began to be overtaken 10.7

In stems ending in a double vowel this may lead to trivocalic clusters, which are never contracted.

tipa'aašk < *ti-pa'g-gäšk* I ceased 21.1

trya'aašk < *tri-ya'g-gäšk* I used

2. When stems ending in consonants would form consonantic clusters of more than two consonants, when combined with suffixes, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before the suffix.

pê'nřnên < *pênr-nin* he attacks him

te'kinin < *teik-nin* he made it

qêna'nmüê < *qênq-tm-gi* kill me!

3. In a few cases auxiliary vowels are also introduced when two consonants come into contact that would form inadmissible clusters.

pegtime'tilin < *pegti-met-lin* hauling a sledge 15.3

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal *u* diphthong transform the combination *ug* into *wkw*. The following auxiliary vowel is *u*.

tima'rawkwa^εk < *ti-ma'rau-gä^εk* I quarreled.

timara'wkut < *ti-mara^u-git* I blamed thee

i'wkwⁱ < *i^u-gi* he spoke 8.14

res'qi'wki^ε < *res'qiu-gi^ε* he entered 11.2

When the diphthong is accented, and followed by a consonant with which *w* would form an admissible cluster, the *u* has a vocalic character.

mara'urkin he quarrels

With those stems in which *u* is by origin a weak vowel or an unchangeable vowel, the *g* of the suffix, being an intervocalic sound, drops out.

i'urkin he rows (perhaps from *i^uy^u*)

tê'urkin he shakes

titê'uq^εn I shook

5. Stems ending in *t* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y*.

ewkwe'tyi^ε < *ewkwet-gi^ε* he left 8.7

trye'tyä^εk < *ti-yet-gä^εk* I came 124.11

tewkwe'tyä^εk < *t-ewkwe't-gä^εk* I left

6. Stems ending in *l* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y* or *h*.

uñe'lyä^εt < *uñel-gä^εt* they gathered fuel 30.6

ne'lyä^εt < *nel-gä^εt* it became 12.2

quñe'lhⁱ < *q-uñel-gi^ε* gather fuel! 27.1

mi'ilhit < *mi-yil-git* let me give thee 121.24

7. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *č*, *t*, with following *l*, form *L* or *č*.

gi^εL₁n < *g-i^εr-lin* he has gone across

gene'L₁n < *ge-nel-lin* he became 10.8

ge'lgälin < *ge-lgät-lin* he left 59.1

gakitmalên < *ga-ki'timat-lên* he had his hand extended 47.6

8. Terminal *ñ* of the stem before *l* changes to *n*.

gataaronlên < *ga-taaronñ-lên* he has brought sacrifice

9. In the pronunciation of men, among the Reindeer Chukchee, *t* and *n* between vowels are dropped, and the vowels are assimilated to *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, and after preceding *q* to *äe*.

ewkwe'erkîn < *ewkwe't-r-rkîn* he leaves

gênatva'Laat < *ge-ine-tvat-lînet* they promised 71.4 (see § 73)

ninenlîpe'tqâet < *n-ine-r-lîp-et-qînet* he broke them 20.11

I give here a series of examples of the forms described before.

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past I:

2d pl. *pr'ntîqättik* you appeared 74.21

3d pl. *pûki'rgä^εt* they came 64.2

tara'ngä^εt they pitched a tent 56.9

ñipe'ä^εt < *ñipe-gä^εt* they came ashore 7.8

tîle'ä^εt < *tîle-gä^εt* they walked 64.9

qamî'tvää^εt < *qamî-tvā-gä^εt* they ate 87.32

yîlqä'tyä^εt < *yîlqät-gä^εt* they slept 8.4

2d sing. *ye'tyi^ε* < *yet-gi^ε* thou hast come 37.6

qätî thou art going 82.23

gîtte'wkwi^ε < *gîtteu-gi^ε* thou art hungry 9.13

3d sing. *e'gripgi^ε* she felt pain 63.8

i^ε'rgi^ε he crossed over 13.13

pûki'rî he came 90.26

ñg'wtîngê^ε he married 58.8

pûki'rgi^ε he arrived 57.8; 58.1

lîle'pgi^ε he looked 7.6

kê'rgüpgê^ε she dressed up 52.9

eîñe'utkui^ε < *eîñe'u-tku-gi^ε* he called 8.5

wa'qgê^ε < *wāqg-gê^ε* he sat down 15.7

euño'ê^ε < *iñ-ñño-gi^ε* he began to say 117.25

ra'gtîê^ε < *ragti-gi^ε* he came home 122.7

ewkwe'tyi^ε < *ewkwet-gi^ε* he left 8.7

têrga'tyê^ε < *têrg-et-gi^ε* he cried 7.6

kîye'wkwi^ε < *kîyeu-gi^ε* he awoke 9.4

kî'wkwi^ε < *kîu-gi^ε* he passed a night 8.4

notas'qa'wkwe^ε < *nute-s'qeu-gi^ε* land approached 8.8

1st sing. *te'gripgä^εk* I felt pain 101.17

tiye'tyä^εk < *t-yet-gä^εk* I came 124.11

teiu'ä^εk < *t-eiu-gä^εk* I revived 83.14

tîlva'wkwa^εk < *t-lvāu-gä^εk* I could not 16.9

Derived Modes in *-rkin*.

Past I:

- inenreqeurkini' tik* < *ine-r-req-eu-rkin-itik* what are you doing with me 10.10
ewkwé'erkít < *ewkwet-rkit* they leave 13.6
mñi'rkít they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29
pilqä'erkín he dived 9.7
va'rkin he is 19.2
riqamítva'urkinên he was made to eat
kime'urkin thou causest delay 18.6
re'qärkin how art thou? 18.9
tinqäe'rkin I refuse 19.7
mittegiñi'n'ñirkín we suffer 32.2
mitteñiçe'erkín we feel merry 69.8
minqamí'tvarkín let us eat 65.4
qatva'rkin stay! 57.3; 67.23
remeiñe'erkín he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

- 3d pl. *is'hımlavai'ñalai* they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6
 2d sing. *i'yi* thou hittest Kor. 26.1
 i'ti thou wert Kor. 16.3
 ya'ti thou camest Kor. 68.12
 qati' you went away Kor. 18.5
 3d sing. *vannınta'ti* she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1
 a'wyeñvoi he begins to eat Kor. 20.7
 vi^ε'gi he is dead Kor. 22.1
 1st sing. *tıvi^ε'yak* I died Kor. 84.14
 tıtva'ñvok I began to be Kor. 18.6
 tuva'nnıntatık I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1
 tapka'vık I could not Kor. 35.2
 tı'yak I hit Kor. 26.2
 trına^ε'lık I remained Kor. 16.2
 1st dual. *mitqugıta't* we are hungry Kor. 74.17

Subjunctive (a):

- 2d sing. *nına^ε'lın* may it become Kor. 20.2
 3d sing. *ne'wñırvon* he would begin to say Kor. 27.6
 1st sing. *mılqa'tık* let me go! Kor. 33.10
 mas'hı'ntılık I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19
 mınan'ačo'mık let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20
 1st dual *mını'lqat* let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62,1)
 mına'wyi let us eat! Kor. 28.9

- 1st pl. *minilqala'mik* let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6
mino'yitvala let us play! Kor. 32.7
minikya'wla let us get up! Kor. 39.4.
mina'wyela let us eat! Kor. 27.7
minno'tantala let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (b):

- ni^etva^e'an* it should be Kor. 34.12
nani^e'win one could say Kor. 24.10
ti^e'wik I should say 45.9

Imperative:

- sing. *quvr^eyas'qi'wgi* die! Kor. 35.1
qa'lgathi go away! Kor. 35.3
qimla'we dance! Kor. 37.6
qamla'wge dance! Kor. 45.9
qita'pan cook soup! Kor. 42.10
qawas'vu'gi look in! Kor. 27.3
- dual *qamalitva'thitik* make it better! Kor. 13.2
qanto'tik go out! Kor. 74.15
qiyai'titik go ye two home Kor. 21.1
qi'thitik be ye two! Kor. 21.2
- pl. *qawas'vila'tik* look ye in! Kor. 27.1
qikyawla'tik awake ye! Kor. 39.3
qaiivilala'tik carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12
qalqala'tik go away! Kor. 14.7

Future:

- 3d pl. *yewñirvola'ñe* they shall tell Kor. 22.5
 1st sing. *tyavi^e'yañ* I shall die Kor. 33.1
tryayaⁱ'tiñ I will go home Kor. 30.5
- 1st pl. *missavi^e'yala* we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in *-rykin*:

- 2d pl. *yaqlaikine'tik* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
- 3d dual *vai'ke* they two are Kor. 48.7
- 3d pl. *krya'wlaⁱike* they awoke Kor. 12.6
vañvolaⁱ'ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.
kokaivilaⁱ'ke they are cooking Kor. 27.4
enkayalaⁱ'ke they are snoring Kor. 28.4
- 3d sing. *ləlapitčoonvo'ykin* he looks up Kor. 42.8
kaña'trykin he is fishing Kor. 45.1
va'ykin he lives Kor. 18.4
- 1st sing. *tigitta'trykin* I am hungry Kor. 35.5
tryañlanñirvo'ykin I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10
- 1st pl. *mititvañvolaⁱ'kin* we remain Kor. 17.11

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Subjunctive:

1st sing. *mañinmīla'trykin* I should feel elated Kor. 84.17

Imperative:

2d sing. *qīwrykin-i'-qī* say! Kor. 25.4

TRANSITIVE VERB

Transitive Forms

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

ti'łhi-grt I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*)*ne'nti-grt* they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)*minlete ttik* let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)*ne'ntitik* he bid you 74.24 (I 2)*nayo' māk* they visit us 34.6 (I 3)*nantimla'nmik* they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

Future:

nara'nmūgrt they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1)*nara'nmüntik* it will kill you 70.12 (III 2)

Derived modes:

nayo'rkīn-ê-grt they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1)*nanmirkinē'mik* let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3)

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

tre' tyān I brought it 20.1 (I 4)*ti'łhi'ān* if I should do for it 38.12 (Ia 4)*mīlu'ān* let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (Ia 4)*mīpē'nriān* let me catch him 66.16 (Ia 4)*mītlu'ān* we saw it 33.7 (I 4)*napēla'a'n* they left it 30.12 (I 4)*mīnpē'laa'n* let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)*gīna'n lī'ngān* thou hast put it 38.11 (I 4)*tulē'tinet* thou hast stolen them 18.1 (I 5)*nenu'net* they ate it 14.8 (I 5)*ānlu'net* they might see it 62.1 (Ia 5)*yopa'nnēn* he visited him 7.4 (I 6)*lu'nin* he saw it 18.11 (I 6)*nīyo'nēn* they would visit it 53.1 (Ia 6)*tīmnē'nat* he killed them 34.1 (I 6')*pīnlo'nēnat* he asked them 13.9 (I 6')*īu'ninet* he said to them 8.10 (I 6')

* Numbers in parentheses refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.

Imperative:

- qägrt'gín* fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
qärrí'lhín put it down 40.6 (II 4)
qai'pügún put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
qätei'kígínet make them! 49.4 (II 5)
gre'tínet fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:

- tre'ntíñín* I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
mirraio'ñín we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
mirri'wkut-hít we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)
repli'tkuñínet thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
ra'nmugnên he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:

- goi'pitkoí'vürkín* thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
tílhí'rkínet I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
nata'rkínat they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
tímr'rkínên he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
té'grírkínín he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)
tímr'rkínênat they kill them 44.8 (IV 6)
nelu'rkín they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

Intransitive Forms.

Past I, and derived form:

- inélhíi^ε* thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
gínd'n inelu'í^ε thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
ênáplárlarkínê'tík ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
inenregeurkíní'tík what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
inente'l'urkín thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
mítíwku'tírkín-i-gít we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:

- qíné'ilhí^ε* give me! 15.12 (II 8)
qênata'gê^ε move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
qênankêrgípa'tyê^ε dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
qígíte'tkui^ε look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
qeiñê'tkutík carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
qínerrí'lhítík (*qínerrí'ltík* 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
qênagta'tyítík haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
qínelu'í'tík look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
qáivalponaurkínê'tkí hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)
qánu'utkí eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)
gata'gítíkí pass it! 70.10 (II 10)
gata'Lin^ystíkí answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
qánnle'wku'tkí light ye them 68.13 (II 10)

Future:

raala'ñitkɪ ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)

relw'e'ñitkɪ ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

Nominal Predicative Forms

napêla'-üm they left me 31.9 (I 11)

nančaatwa'wküm they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)

nanlimalawa't-ê-üm they make me obey 21.3 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

KORYAK

1. Stems with terminal vowel form a diphthong with the ending *-ykin* of the derived forms.

tɪ-tva'ikin < *tɪ-tva'-ykin* I am

tɪ-čv'i'ikin < *tɪ-čv'i'-ykin* I cut

va'ykin he lives Kor. 18.4

2. The *g* of the suffix is never dropped.

tɪ-čv'i'-gän I cut off

3. Stems with terminal consonant have for the derived forms in *-ykin* the form *-ikin*, an auxiliary vowel being introduced on account of the formation of a triconsonantic cluster.

tɪvalo'mɛkin (Chukchee *tuwalo'mırkin*) < *tɪ-valom-ykin* I hear

tapatɛkin (Chukchee *tapatırkin*) < *t-üpat-ykin* I cook

tɪ'v'ikin (Chukchee *tiurkin*) < *t-iv-ykin* I say

4. Terminal *v* of the stem (which corresponds to Chukchee *u*) is not regularly assimilated by the initial *g* of the suffix.

ti'vgäsk I said

In other cases *vg* is changed to *wg*, which corresponds to the Chukchee *wkw*.

tyi'wgi (Chukchee *tri'wkuł*) < *t-y-iv-gi* (Chukchee < *t-r-iu-grı*)

I shall say to you

quv'ıyas'qı'wgi die! Kor. 35.1

5. Terminal *t* does not influence the *g* of the suffix.

pɛlqa'tgi he grew old

6. Stems in terminal *i* of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in *r* of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in *-ikin* (Chukchee *-ırkin*).

Kamenskoye
ti's'yikin

Chukchee
ti'sırırkin I cross over

7. Terminal *t* before *l* either forms the Koryak analogue of *ɬ* or drops out.

gapa'len < *ga-pat-len* he has cooked

gapelqal'in < *ga-pe'lqat-lin* he has grown old

Examples:

tryanu'wgi I shall swallow thee Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)

mitri'mtingi I shall carry thee Kor. 21.4 (Ia 1)

mininyai'tala-ge let us take thee home Kor. 33.3 (Ia 1)

a'ntai'ki-gi one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)

nalñilaikine'tik they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)

minyai'tatik I'll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63¹ (Ia 2)

nenenela'mik he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)

nana'yiva'wmik he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)

nalñilaikine'mik they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)

lu'wa'n thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)

mryo'ogan let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (Ia 4)

mitla'wla'n we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)

qya'thin bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)

minu'mkawin I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)

tryai'lin I'll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)

tryanñawtriña'nñin I'll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)

ya'nmin you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)

natalaikine'mik it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)

ti'nmin I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)

lu'nin she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)

tai'knin he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)

nayo'onau ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)

qutei'kininau you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)

qupka'wñunenau it could not do them Kor. 40.2 (I 6')

nayo'ñvo'ykinenau they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5')

yileñvo'ykinen she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)

yawa'ykinen she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)

ina'nui he swallowed me Kor. 84.13 (I 7)

tenaniky'o'nñivoi he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)

ninanuva'an let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)

yenda'nmi she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)

qina'nu swallow me! Kor. 84.22 (II 8)

qinanu'wgi swallow me! Kor. 84.24 (II 8)

qenanyai'kini'gi cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)

qinam!ila'tik ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)

qinatinn!a'tik prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)

qwu!a'gitča tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

¹ Waldemar Jochelson, The Koryak. Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.

q'i'wgutča tell ye him! Kor. 74.20 (II 10)

qıyo^ooła'qıtča visit ye her! Kor. 23.7 (II 10)

nıyanñepñıvoı'gũm they will keep me back Kor. 60.5 (I 11)

naya'nıw-gũm they will eat me Kor. 78.21 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

§§ 73-74. *Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb*

§ 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea TO BE ——. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

1. sing. *nı—qın* } one who is in a condition or performs an action
pl. *nı—qınęt* }
2. sing. *ge—lın* } one who has attained a condition or who has
pl. *ge—lınęt* } performed an action

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses ONE WHO HAS ——. In the singular a connective *ı* occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective *ı* forms a syllable and the initial *q* of the suffix *gũm* drops out. In Koryak, on the other hand, it is retained. When the stem ends in a vowel, the *ı* forms a diphthong with it and the *q* of *gũm* is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

	Prefix		Suffix	
	Noun	Nominalized Verbs	Noun	Nominalized Verbs
		(a) (b)		(a) (b)
3d sing.	—	<i>nı-</i>	<i>-ęl-, -t-, -ti</i>	<i>-qın</i>
3d pl.				<i>-lın</i>
1st sing.				<i>-qınęt</i>
2d sing.				<i>-t-ũm</i>
1st pl.				<i>-ıgıt</i>
2d pl.	—	<i>gd-</i>		<i>-mırtı</i>
				<i>-tırtı</i>

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	Prefix			Suffix		
	Noun	Nominalized Verb		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
3d sing.	—	ni		—	-q̄n	-l̄n
3d dual				-at, -t, -i	-q̄nat	-l̄inat
3d pl.				-au, u, -wwi, -wgi	-q̄nau	-l̄inau
1st sing.				-iḡm		
2d sing.				-iḡ!		
1st dual				-muyi		
2d dual				-muyy, muy, mu ¹		
1st pl.				-tuyi		
2d pl.				-tuyy, tuy, ty ¹		

¹ The contracted forms *mu* and *tu* do not change their vowels in harmony with hard vowels of the stem.

Examples:

Nouns:

1st sing. *o'rgukäl-ê-üm* I am one who has no sledge 78.6.

ke'lei-(g)üm < *kele-i-güm* I am a kele

qla'ul-ê-üm I am a man 116.32

2d sing. *ñe'us-qät-i-gır* thou art a woman 136.15.

ke'lei-git thou art a kele 15.11

1st pl. *ili'zä-mu'ri* we are islanders 11.11.

Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. *nignopitva'qên* he was one who remained crouching 7.4.

nine'lqin he is one who becomes a -- 8.7.

3d pl. *nımitva'qênat* they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing. *nı'lqät-i-üm* I am one who was there 66.36.

nq̄'laioi'güm < *n-q̄'laio-i-(g)üm* I defecated 76.5

2d sing. *wu'tku nitvai'-gır* you are one who stays here 7.5.

nıne'l-i-git you are one who becomes a — 10.11.

1st pl. *nı'pkir-muri* we are those who came 11.1.

2d pl. *me'ñkı nı't-turi* where are you? 12.2.

Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. *ganto'lên* he was one who had gone out 8.4.

ge'tkulın he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. *gi'ulinet* they were those who had said 11.11.

gene'l̄inet they were those who had become — 9.4.

1st sing. *gene'l̄-i-üm* I am the one who has become a — 17.6.

geleregi'-güm < *g-elere-i-(g)üm* I was feeling dull

1st pl. *ge'l̄ır-muri* we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.

Koryak:

Nouns:

1st sing. *qla'wul-e-gũm* I am a man Kor. 22.1.1st pl. *kmi'ni-mu'yi* we are children Kor. 70.20.

Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. *na^ečaŋvogen* he was the one who was urinating Kor. 14.2.*nqahaiaŋvogen* he was the one who began to cry aloud Kor. 78.10.3d du. *nalniqa'tvuqinet* they were the ones who were quite successful Kor. 88.21.3d pl. *nanyamča'čagenau* they are those that taste of fat Kor. 25.5.1st sing. *nanŋičvrna'w-gũm* I am one who is getting angry Kor. 31.2.2d sing. *nita'witkriŋi-gi* you are one who is doing mischief Kor. 82.9.

Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. *gaya'lqrwlŋ* he was the one who had entered Kor. 14.1.3d du. *gata'waŋlenat* they were the ones who had moved on Kor. 19.9.3d pl. *gaqi'tilinau* they were the ones who were frozen Kor. 14.2.1st sing. *gatuyikmiŋa't-i-gũm* I am the one who has given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.1st pl. *gano^e'l-mu'yu* we are the ones who have become — Kor. 37.4.2d sing. *galu'tai-gi* you are the one who has urinated Kor. 66.6.

§ 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the *n(i)*-form throughout the prefix *inε-*, which makes the verbal theme passive.

	Prefix		(a)	(b)	
	(a)	(b)			
3d sing. . . .			(inε)—qŋn	(inε)—ŋŋn	
3d pl.			(inε)—qŋnεt	(inε)—ŋŋnεt	
1st sing. . . .			(inε)—i-gũm	—i-(g)um	
2d sing. . . .	<i>n(i)</i>	<i>gε</i>	(inε)—iŋit	(inε)—iŋit	<i>-tŋy-iŋit</i>
1st pl.			(inε)—mŋyŋi	—mŋyŋi	
2d pl.			(inε)—tŋyŋi	(inε)—tŋyŋi	<i>-tŋy-tŋyŋi</i>

KORYAK

	Prefix		(a)	(b)
	(a)	(b)		
3d sing.	n(i)	ga	ina-qin	-lin
3d dual.			ina-qinat	-linat
3d pl.			ina-qinau	-linau
1st sing.			ina-igūm	-igūm
2d sing.			ina-igit	-igit
1st dual.			ina-muyu	-muyu
1st pl.			ina-tuyu	-tuyu
2d dual.			ina-muyi	-muyi
2d pl.			ina-tuyi	-tuyi

In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb. It may be translated THE ONE WHOM I —, etc.

elo'n nēnapēla'igūm he is the one whom I leave

git nēnapēlai'gūm you are the one whom I leave

qa'at ninei'mitiūm the reindeer are the ones whom I take

nēna'nmē-git they are the ones whom you kill 23.4

Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without *ine-* and has active sense.

qa'at nipēlā'qēnat the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).

qa'at nīngēi'mitqīnet the reindeer are the ones whom he takes

nī'nmūqēn ora'wēlan Eiwuē'lā the St. Lawrence people were the ones who killed the men 12.11

pipe'kilkin nēna'nmūqēn a mouse was killed by him 89.24

nī'uginet qu'tti several were the ones who said to them 59.2

nini'uginet they were told by him 73.13

ti'lik neime'ngāet they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1

nineimeu'qin wā'lqar he was one who approached the house 57.6

tayo'lhut nēnqimē'qēnat he was one who hung up the needlecases 82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in *ge-* has two forms—one the passive, meaning I, THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN—, etc.; the other active, derived from those forms of the transitive verb which are replaced by intransitive forms (see p. 741), except *-tki*.

The third person, with or without *ine-* may be used in an active or passive sense.

gapé'lalén he was leaving him, or he was left
genlete'n-muri he was the one who took us away 74.23
geniggewgu'ulinet he was the one who awakened them 12.12

Examples, Koryak:

- (a) *nenañawñro'gen* she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29
nenanuñvo'genau she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9
ninataikriñvo'genau she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5
nassi'ñvo-güm they are the ones who are untying me Kor. 39.3
nenemeye'ye-ge art thou the one who is seeking it? Kor. 49.9
nenavo'ñvo-mu'yu we are those who find them Kor. 59.9
- (b) *gêwñro'lenat* they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2
ga'nmiñenau they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8
ganta'witkriñau-mu'yi we are the ones whom they have defiled
 Kor. 29.6
ganta'witkriñaw-i-g-i thou art the one whom they have defiled
 Kor. 31.1

§§ 75-81. Notes on Certain Verbs

§ 75. To be, —*it*

The Chukchee verbal stem *-it*, Kor. Kam. *-it*, expresses the idea TO BE. In the pronunciation of men the *t* is lost in Chukchee in intervocalic position. The women say instead of *i'irkin* of the men *i'tiššin*. In other words with terminal *t* of stem they may drop it, as in *yilqaeššin* he sleeps.

i'irkin, Kor. Kam. *iti'ykin* he is
me'ñki nit-turi? where are you?
mi'ñkri ni'tqin? how was he? 17.12

It is used with the verbal noun in *-tä*, and with the noun in *-nu* (see § 95, p. 784, § 103, no. 34).

čaučuwa'-va'rat čir'mqūg viri'tä-ñ i'irkin the Reindeer Chukchee people are partly self-destroying

Ta'n'ñičhit ūm em-vi'tä ni'tqinet the Russians are just dying
leñ-gamr'tvata i'tyi he could not eat 80.7

aqamr'tvaka q'i'tyitk don't ye eat (of it) 64.19

e'rmu ti'tyäk I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)

gai'mičle tr'i'tyäk I am going to be rich

qarêmêna'nô ri'tyäk thou shalt not be it 23.6

lr'ê-ñarautile min'i'nmik (< *min-it-mik*) let us really try to get wives 57.1

êna'nmiču i'tkäl-i-üm I am not a murderer 24.8

It seems possible that the element *ĩ* in the nominalized verbs is derived from this stem (see note 1 p. 734).

nu-wa'lom-ê-um I am hearing

ni-yi'lqät-i-ũm I am sleeping

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE *-tvq*

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than *ĩt*.

äqäliñe'tä ti'tyäk I was in fear

em-äqäliñe'tä titva'a'k I was continually just in fear

va'rkin (Chukchee), *va'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) he lives

awgo'lika titva'rkin I remain without an assistant 124.5

ni'mnim vai č'i'mčeqäi va'rkin a settlement then quite near is 7.7

i'lukä qatva'rkin remain without motion! 57.3

mi'ñkri mititva'rkin how shall I be? 124.3

em-nu'ñičin mi'ñkri ni'tvagên how are those from the mainland?

13.9

wu'tku nitvai'gir you stay here 7.5

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

ratva'rkin (<*ra-tva*) he house-lives (i. e., he is at home)

oratva'rkin (<*ora-tva*) he stays long

wagotva'lik (*wago-tva*) he (remained) seated 102.24

a'ñgak nimitva'qênat (<*nim-tva* settlement remains) they lived on the sea 13.3

nuwkotitva'qên (<*wkot-tva*) he was tied

gawketitva'ta being tied 122.24

gamitva' to eat

čulëtê'l-va'lin being of elongated form 91.15

In Koryak the stem *ĩt* occurs much more frequently than *tva* in independent form.

en'ñi'n-va'lin (Chukchee), *enñā'ēan i'talaēn* (Kor. Kam.) one being thus

Still in compounds the stem *tva* occurs with great frequency.

vaha'le-tva'ykin (Kor. Kam.) he is seated

Some stems when combined with *va'lin* do not take the *ablaut*:

mi'ñkri-va'lin of what kind

mē'čēn'ku-wa'lē-ũm I am a fairly good one

A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with *-tva-* (*it-* Koryak), in the form *va'lin* (*i'talaēn* Koryak) (see p. 814).

koulo'qu-wa'lin (stem *koulo'qr*) round

wi'čhiñ-vi'lin (stem *wi'čhiñ*) flat

Koryak:

qo'loñ-i'talaⁿ (stem *qo'loñ*) round

vičhryñ-i'talaⁿ (stem *vičhryñ*) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(i)ñ, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as *ta'ñum-wa'lin* a good one, from *ta'ñiñ-wa'lin*.

The stem in composition with *va'lin* may also take postpositions.

ē'mpum-wa'lin or *ēmpa'qu-wa'lin* (stem *imp*) the one who is downcast

vičha'qu-wa'lin flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:

qa'tvum-wa'lin (stem *qatv*) the stronger one

Kor. *qa'tvriñ-i'talaⁿ* (stem *qatv*) the stronger one

qa'mja-qla'ulik *qa'tvum-wa'l-ē-ñm* I am stronger than all (the other) men

qūm gini'k mai' Eñku-wa'l-ē-ñm I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with *va'lin* signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.

čēutē'tu-wa'lin (stem *čiut*) somewhat low

tañē'tu-wa'lin (stem *teñ*) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME *neł*

The stem Chukchee *neł*, Kor. Kam. *nał* is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

gū'mūk ēmño'l-to'ingo qine'łhi^ε become ye what serves as my spleen companions¹ (i. e., became ye my friends)

rirk'a'nə nine'ligit you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)

ginnī'ku ne'lyä^εt they became the quarry 12.2

ñe'us-qātu gene'lin he became a woman 116.21

mī'mbu gene'lin it became water 101.27

a^εqa'-rkila gene'liñm I became one to be pursued hard 17.6

em-ginu'n-niki'tä ne'lyi^ε it came to be just midnight 9.11

girqo'l gene'linet they came to be high 9.4

a^εttō'ōča nine'lin he came to be in front 8.7

ne'liṛkin (Chukkee), *na'likin* (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.

¹ See The Chukchee, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 563, Note 2.

§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS — *lñ*

The Chukchee stem *lñ* (medial *lh*), Kor. Kam. *lñ*, signifies TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

- lñ'ñirkin* (Chukchee), *lñ'nykin* (Kor. Kam.) you take him for
gitta'p-qla'ulə m'lhigɪt let me take you for a clever man
giu n'lhäqinet ne'lhɪt as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e.,
 they did not know them)
pu'relu nathinño'aɛn they began to have him for a slave 8.2
va'lat r'lhe nñe'lhäqin he has knives as wings 15.2
wi'yolu qinelhr'rkɪn have me as a servant 95.7
leule'wu inel'hriɛ he has me as something to be wronged 25.1

With nouns expressing emotions this verb is used throughout as indirect object, to express emotional conditions.

- yei'veču l'ñirkin* (Chukchee), *yairə'ču lñ'nykin* (Kor. Kam.) as
 one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him
te'ñnu l'ñirkin (Chukchee), *ta'ñnu lñ'nykin* (Kor. Kam.) as one
 serving as laughing-stock you have him
re'qä leule'wu qelhrüm what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19
pegč'i'ñu t'lhigɪt I have thee as an object of interest 15.8
pegč'i'ñu inel'hriɛ you have meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING *rtč*

The stem, Chukchee *rtč* (medial *tč*), Kor. Kam. *ytč* (medial *tč*), Kor. Par. *yss* (medial *ss*), signifies TO MAKE SOMETHING INTO SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

- ritč'rkɪn* (Chukchee), *ytč'nykin* (Kor. Kam.), *yssi'nykin* (Kor. Par.) you make him into
enqa'n vai rawku'tč'rkɪn moo-qa'anə mitč'rkɪn that here doe, one
 serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her
elqu'tkä ritč'rkɪn he made him not standing 115.4
eñi'ngäikä nere'tč'mäk they will make us childless 39.4
pai'wakə r'tč'rkɪn he rejects it 136.28

§ 80. TO HAVE SOME ONE FOR SOMETHING *rt*

The stem, Chukchee *rt* (medial *nt*), Kor. Kam. *yt* (medial *nt*) takes the direct object in the absolute case, the indirect object with the ending *-nu*.

- ekke'nu t'ntriɛn Ri'nto* I have Ri'nto as what serves as a son

It is often combined with the verbal noun of transitive verbs in *-tä* to express the same idea, thus forming a periphrastic expression. The verb *rt* is referred directly to the object of the transitive verb, to the nominal form of which it is joined.

gümna'n ċini't lu'ä'tä trenti'ninet qa'at myself as something to look on I shall have the reindeer (i. e. I myself shall look on the reindeer)

luñ-lu'ä'tä n'ntäqinet not having seen they had them (i. e., they had not seen them) 11.9

riti'rkın (Chukchee), *yiti'ykın* (Kor. Kam.) you have him for *en'ñe' gına'n enne'kä qänti'gınet* do not you carry them out 88.3

ımgêta'ta nıne'ntri-üm I have them to look after 92.36

tulê'tä nıne'ntri-üm ora'wêlat I also treat the people as something to steal (i. e., I can steal people) 93.14

gına'n tulê'tä nıne'ntri-ğıt you steal them 93.15

em-ğınrı'tä nıne'ntri-ğıt you lay in ambush for them 93.21

§ 81. NOTES ON CERTAIN KAMCHADAL VERBS

The special verbs discussed in the preceding pages are represented in Kamchadal by a number of very irregular forms of a number of evidently related stems: *ċh*, *ċk*, for the present or derived forms; *l'*, *lh*, *lk*, for the indicative and exhortative. The forms with *k* correspond, on the whole, to the transitive forms of the paradigm on pp. 744-745, although not all the forms can be interpreted in this manner. The derived form of the intransitive form is defective, only the second person singular and the third person plural being found. The verb, when relating to objects or animals (i. e., not to persons), has forms which recall the transitive forms. Their use corresponds to the use of the Chukchee stem *tva*.

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
<i>kıma'nk ċhi'jin</i>	<i>gü'mık va'rkın</i>	it is (belongs) to me
<i>kıma'n l'in</i>	<i>gü'mni'n va'ê</i>	it was mine

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor's and with the possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

tċki'nin p!e'ki I am to him (as) a son

VERBAL STEM *čh, ck, l', lh, lk*

PRESENT

	Intransitive TO BE	Non-personal	Personal	
		TO ME MINE } IT IS, etc.	TO BE TO HIM (AS) A—	TO BE TO THEM (AS) A—
1st sing. . . .	—	<i>kima'n(k) čhi'jin</i>	<i>tcki'nin</i>	<i>tcki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>čhičē</i>	<i>kini'n(k) čhi'jin</i>	<i>cki'nin</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	—	<i>ena'n(k) čhi'jkinen</i>	<i>c'in</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>
1st pl. . . .	—	<i>mi'jhin(k) čhi'jin</i>	<i>ncki'nin</i>	<i>ncki'pnin</i>
2d pl. . . .	—	<i>ti'jhin(k) čhi'jkiszin</i>	<i>c'isz</i>	<i>c'isz</i>
3d pl. . . .	<i>čhičēn</i>	<i>toi'in(k) čhi'jkipnin</i>	<i>c'in</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>

PAST

1st sing. . . .	<i>ti'ik</i>	<i>kima'n(k) i'in</i>	<i>lki'nin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>i'ičē</i>	<i>kini'n(k) lhin</i>	<i>lki'nin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	<i>i'ičē</i>	<i>ena'n(k) i'i'nin</i>	<i>lhin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
1st pl. . . .	<i>ni'ik</i>	<i>mi'jhin(k) i'in</i>	<i>nlki'nin</i>	<i>nlki'pnin</i>
2d pl. . . .	<i>i'icz</i>	<i>ti'jhin(k) lki'szin</i>	<i>i'isz</i>	<i>i'isz</i>
3d pl. . . .	<i>i'ičēn</i>	<i>toi'in(k) i'ki'pnin</i>	<i>lhin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>

EXHORTATIVE (ALSO FUTURE)

1st sing. . . .	<i>mi'ik</i>	<i>kima'n(k) xanli'hin</i>	<i>mlki'nin</i>	<i>mlki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>k'ičē</i>		<i>klki'nin</i>	<i>klki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	<i>x'anli'hin</i>	<i>ena'n(k) x'anli'nin</i>	<i>x'anli'hin</i>	<i>x'anli'pnin</i>
1st pl. . . .	<i>minli'k</i>		<i>minlki'nin</i>	<i>minlki'pnin</i>
2d pl. . . .	<i>k'icz</i>		<i>kl'isz</i>	<i>kl'isz</i>
3d pl. . . .	<i>x'anli'hin</i>	<i>toi'in(k) x'anli'pnin</i>	<i>x'anli'hin</i>	<i>x'anli'pnin</i>

VERBAL STEM *le*

The auxiliary verb *le* TO BECOME has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

tlejk I become something

tlejkipnin I become something for them

VERBAL STEM *si*

The stem *si* TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

sič you were

VERBAL STEM *is, il*

The stem *is, il* corresponds to the Chukchee *lñ-*, and *rt-*. It is used often with the nominalized verb 2, 3 (see p. 748). With the intransitive verb it has intransitive forms, while the corresponding Chukchee verbs are always transitive.

æ k!ö'lkí milk not coming I will be
älxtalka tışjhn I like thee (*älxtalka* modalis of **LIKING**; *t-* I;
ış stem; *-j-* present; *-hn* thee); compare Chukchee *älhu-*
tılhrkını'gıt (*älhu* as object of **LIKING**; *t-* I; *lh-* to have for—;
-rkın present; *-ıgıt* thee)
l'a'mal mī'lin I will kill him (*l'a'mal* to killing; *m-* let me; *ıl*
 stem; *-in* him); compare Chukchee *am-tmā' mī'ntiā'n* (*am-*
 merely; *tm-* to kill; *-a* modalis; *m-* let me; *-nt* medial stem;
-ā'n him)

VERBAL STEM *issi*

This stem corresponds to Chukchee *tē-*, Kor. Kam. *ssi-*, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

gam ke'jkek t'ışsıhn I do not accept you (*gam* not; *kej* to accept; *-kek* negative ending; *t-* I; *ıssi* stem; *-hn* thee)
 compare Chukchee *ehn-ei'mitkä tı'tıgıt* (*ehn—kä* negation; *ei'mit* to take; *t-* I; *tē* stem; *-gıt* thee)

VERBAL STEM *tel*

The stem *tel* has a meaning similar to the last two, but expresses prolonged action. It follows Type II of the transitive verbs.

xtel tite'lijñın I came to fear him (*xtel* fear; *t-* I; *tel* stem; *-j-* present; *-ñın* [I]—him)

THE PERSONAL TRANSITIVE FORMS.

A number of intransitive verbs have forms analogous to the personal transitive of the auxiliary verb (p. 767), which are used to express relations to a personal object.

tvetatköju'jkıpnên I am busying myself on their behalf (*t-* I; *vetat* to be busy; *-köju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *-kıpnên* see p. 767.

i'sx txi'in no'nul' intılıtköjujkıpnı'n they always bring food to their father (*i'sx* father; *txi'in* their; *no'nul'* modalis, with food; *ıntıl* to bring; *-t* durative; *-köju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *kıpnın* as before)

The Chukchee sentence

tu'mgıtum e'če muwi'ā'n I will cook fat for my companion (*tu'mgıtum* absolute form, **COMPANION**; *e'če* modalis; **WITH FAT**; *m-* **LET ME**; *uwi* **TO COOK**; *-ā'n* **HIM**) is quite comparable to this (see p. 741).

§ 82. *Predicative Forms of Pronouns and of Numerals*

Indefinite (interrogative) pronouns and numerals are frequently used in predicative form, and take all verbal forms. They may also take verbal affixes, but of these only a few are in frequent use.

Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	WHAT
<i>req</i>	<i>yaq</i> ¹	
<i>re'qärkin</i> (<i>req</i> + <i>rkin</i>)	<i>ya'qikin</i> ¹ (<i>yaq</i> + <i>ikin</i>)	what do you do,
	<i>ya'qiykin</i> Kor. 28.10	want?
<i>rireqe'urqin</i> (<i>ri</i> — <i>eu</i> to cause)	<i>yryaqa'wikin</i>	what do you make him do?
<i>raqiñg'rkin</i> (<i>-ññg</i> to begin)	<i>yagñirvo'ikin</i>	what do you begin to want? (expres- sive of annoyance)
<i>raqičñä'tirkın</i> (<i>-čñat</i> annoyance)	<i>yagičñä'tekin</i>	what do you want? (expression of strong annoy- ance)
<i>nike</i>	<i>nika</i> Kor. 80.9	SOMETHING
<i>nike'rkin</i>	<i>nika'ikin</i>	you do a certain thing
<i>rinike'urkin</i>	<i>nika'ikin</i>	you make him do a certain thing
<i>ñireq</i>	<i>ñiyeq</i>	TWO
<i>ñireqe'urkin</i>	<i>ñiyeqr'wikin</i>	you are the second
<i>mi'LIññ</i>	<i>mi'LIñen</i>	FIVE
<i>mILinkau'kin</i>	<i>mILinka'wekin</i>	you are the fifth
Here belongs also		
<i>terke'urkin</i>	<i>ta^eika'wikin</i>	what number in the series are you?

Koryak:

ya'qlau what are they doing? Kor. 24.5

yaqlaikine'tik what are you doing Kor. 24.8

gaya'qlinat what happened to them Kor. 30.9

nrya'qi-gi what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

gümnñ'n e'kik kitu'r mingitka'wkw^e (Chukchee) my son last year
ten reached (*gümnñ'n* my; *e'kik* son; *kitu'r* last year; *mingit*
ten—*-kçu* verbal suffix of numerals; *gi^e* 3d sing.)

kiu'ki timILinka'wkw^ek I stayed there five nights (*kiu'ki* passing
nights; *t-* I; *mILin* five; *-kçu* verbal suffix of numerals; *-gä^ek*
1st sing.)

¹ Koryak II *taq* WHAT; *ta'qatkin* WHAT DO YOU DO, WANT?

KAMCHADAL

The indefinite (interrogative) pronouns of Kamchadal occur also in predicative form. At present only a few forms of the present tense are used.

enka'nejč what are you (sing.) doing?

enka'nejčə what are you (pl.) doing?

la'jč how are you (sing.)?

la'jčirən how are they?

səuzijč you (sing.) do a certain thing

ñuən səu'sijčrən Črja'l-ku'təən there the people of Črja'l-kutx live (*ñuən* there; *səu'sijčrən* they do a certain thing; -*ən* plural)

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

enka'nkê k!öjč for what do you come?

lact cunljč how do you live?

Sentences which contain the verbalized and the nonverbal pronoun also occur, and are probably the result of a mixture of Kamchadal and Russian syntax.

enka'j kimma tE'niĵin what now have I done to him?

E'nkuj E'nin what now has he done to him?

E'nkaj Enk!ö'lčirĵin why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

enkank!ö'lčirĵin = *enka'nke k!ö'lčirĵin* (cf § 59, p. 731)

There are also two demonstrative verbs:

tea here

hei look here!

té'a-sĵk here I am

he'yisĵk here I am (close to the person addressed)

Both contain the auxiliary verb *sr* (see p. 767).

§§ 83-90. Syntactic Use of Tenses and Modes

§ 83. Declarative Mode

Declarative forms of the simple, derived, and nominalized forms are used to express the predicate in declarative and interrogative sentences.

Simple forms:

ñawanê'ti i'wkwîs he said to his wife 83.23

gr'thin lu'ñin he saw a lake 37.4

ñi'ngäi ra'nmügnên she will kill the child 37.14
ralaulawa'tñoa thou wilt do wrong 21.5
kuwi'ên tre'tyän I brought children's death 20.1

Derived forms:

mč'imqumge'erkın we are terrified 63.4
tinqäe'rkın I refuse 19.7
čir'mquk pēla'arkın some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:

näq'älilē'tqın rē'mkın the people were at war 97.23
nre's'qiuqın ñe'us'qät the woman entered 63.3
čēq-a'lvam-va'lı-tē'rē ye are quite strange 63.4
evi'rä getulē'Leet they have stolen clothing 13.6
elere'i dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:

ēñēñitvi'i hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
mē'nko pī'ntiqättik whence did ye appear? 74.21
mī'ñki-m ra'tvaa where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:

rē'qärkın what are you? 18.9
rē'qä timi'rkinên what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:

mī'ñkri gewkwē't-i-qıt where have you gone?
mī'ñkri nı'tvaqên how is he? 13.10
rē'q-i-qıt what do you want? 18.12
gei'čemit-tu'mqı-qır hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:

Simple forms:

ñawa'kak naya'tın they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vik olñaga'tik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
tıyayı'lqatırñ I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tıqa'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Miti'nak ena'nme, enapa'te Miti has killed me and cooked me
 Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:

tıgıtta'tıykın I am hungry Kor. 35.5
ēññae'an Amamqu'tinu vañvolai'ke thus Ene'mqut and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penye'kinen talai'vik he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
milu'ykrıninaru she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
pelhanñvolai'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17

Nominalized forms:

va^s'yuk gayo^s'olen vai'amn'aqu then they found a large river
Kor. 21.3

gaḷa^swkal'i'lin wū'lka they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9
gaqqaika'makata gana^s'l-mu'yu we came to be with (to have) a
small kamak Kor. 37.4

ñā'cñin nenanyopanñivo'genau outside they were hung up Kor.
60.9

atau' ñā'no enñā^s'an nitva'ñvoqen that one was living thus
Kor. 61.3

ñā'no nitinma'tqen that one is telling lies Kor. 62.3

In the indefinite nominalized predicate the subject pronoun may be repeated to emphasize the question.

geet-tu'ri tu'ri have you come?

Impersonal verbs do not differ from the ordinary intransitive verbs.

ile'erkin (Kor. Kam. *muqa'tikin*; Kamchadal *čxu'jin* or *čxujč*) it is raining

ile'tyi^s (Kor. Kam. *muqa'thi^s*; Kamchadal *čxun*) it has been raining

lä^sleuru'i^s winter came 14.9

čélhiro'č^s it becomes red 23.9

§ 84. Tenses

Tenses are not clearly distinguished. The declarative form of the verb, unless modified by the future prefix, is used to express a past action, although cases occur in which only a present can be meant.

tiqêwgañño'a^sk I begin to be called 94.31

In Koryak the declarative form is rarely used in narrative, while it is in common use in direct discourse.

mai, ya'ti halloo, have you come? Kor. 68.12

Valvi'mtiḷa^sn ti'nmin I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

e'nmen niki'rui^s then night came 36.12

lu'ur wêthau'ñoč^s then he began to speak 31.11

The derivative is generally used to express a present continued action, but it occurs also frequently in narrative. This use is more frequent in Koryak than in Chukchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (*a*) expresses a continuative regardless of time. When coordinated with another verb it expresses contempo-

raneity (see § 88). The nominalized verb (*b*) is used commonly in narrative to express the progress of an action. When coordinated with another verb, it expresses an antecedent (see § 88).

The future is formed by the prefix *re-* and the correlative pronominal forms. Quite commonly the future is given the form of an exhortative.

§ 85. *The Subjunctive*

The subjunctive (*a*) and (*b*) are, the former an exhortative form, the latter the form used in conditional and other subordinate clauses. The former is frequently used for expressing the future, particularly when it implies the idea of intention.

Subjunctive (*a*):

nuwa'lomgaⁿ let him know

va'nivan nuwa'lomgaⁿ he would not hear anything

mewkwe'tyā^k let me depart 17.10

mīlmala'ññoa^k let me begin to obey 21.4

mīnranto'mīk let us leave the town 56.8

nryr'lgätyäⁿ let him sleep 9.1

niča'atvaaⁿ let her be cast away 39.3

mī'ilhr let me give thee 15.13

mīmata'gīr let me marry thee 77.1

mīnlete'ttik let us carry you away 74.15

ñīro'q ya'rat va'nēvan ā'nhr^e'net three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10

ñēuwi'rit a'nei'mityäⁿ she would take the soul of the woman 37.11

Koryak:

mīnyaitīla'mīk let us go home! Kor. 26.8

nayanva'nñīnīn let them skin it! Kor. 26.10

mīnīlga'la'mīk let us go! Kor. 28.5

mīkīrplīs'gewīla'tik I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7

ya'qu-yak quwaī'matīn a'ntai'kr-gī into what desirest thou one should make thee? Kor. 38.4

Subjunctive (*b*) does not appear very often in the texts.

e'ur EN'ñī'n nī^e'tyäⁿ, qora'ñr mīnī^e'yīlhr if you were like this, we should give you reindeer

ENqaⁿ nī^egite'nīn, nu^ewī'āⁿ if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12

īa'm leulēwu tī^elhr'āⁿ why should I harm her? 38.12

va'nēvan nute's'gān nī^eyo^e'nēn he would not at all reach the ground

enqa'n ora'wêlat ê'čča nr'tva'nat, nr'čvitku'vunet vi'u'ta if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (*enqa'n* THAT; *ora'wêlan* MAN; *-tva* TO REMAIN; *nr'* -for full form *nanr'*; *čvi-* TO CUT; *-tku* suffix ALL; *-v* suffix GREAT QUANTITY; *viut* WHALEBONE; *-a* subjective)

čitê'un im gümna'n wu'tku ti'nri'qä'n if only I could keep it R 45.21

čitê'un kinta'irga memilqa'a ne'na'lpinrie if only good luck would give me seals R 46.42

čitê'un vê'wgênto'ê' in order that he should give up his breath R 49.15

ekēna'n gümna'n tr'pi'reä'n I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

me'ñqañ nr'tva'an how could she be? Kor. 34.12

nanr'w'n one might say Kor. 25.2

§ 86. The Imperative

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

nota's'qêti qäčipe'tyi' into the ground plunge! 17.2

qineti'ñwi' haul me up! 131.22

ñe'lvül qagtr'gıtkı bring ye the herd! 129.19

qınılhe'tyıtkr lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

appa', qakya'wgi grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9

quwa'ñilat open your mouth! Kor. 34.7

qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3

ne'nako qıyo'oge čača'me then you will find an old woman Kor 51.1

Quyqınn'aqu'nak qıyaipıla'tık live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2

qanto'tık go ye outside! Kor. 74.12

qi'wgutēa tell ye him! 74.20

§ 87. Derived Forms

The derived forms express continued action. For this reason they are found most frequently in direct discourse when a continuous condition is described.

ia'm tērga'arkın why art thou weeping? 48.12

güm ñe'uk tle'rkın I am walking about to get a wife 57.2

mıthıtte'urkın we are hungry 70.24

kele'tä nayo'rkın-ê-ğıt the kele are visiting thee 52.4

Koryak—

mɪtpaʃlai'kɪnɛn we are thirsty Kor. 16.9

yaqlaɪkɪnɛ'tɪk what are you doing? Kor. 24.8

kokaivɪlai'ke they are cooking it Kor. 27.4

tɪtaʃ'liɪɪkɪn I am feeling unwell Kor. 84.26

In Chukchee the derived forms are not often used in narrative as an historical present, while in Koryak this use is quite common.

temyu'ɲɪrkɪn ELA' she was deceiving her mother 29.2

pūkɪrgɪʃ. Aɪwana'čɪn ʌm nɪčvɪ'tkurkɪn rɛʃw. He arrived. The

Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10

e'nmen yɛ'gɪčɪn rɪnɪ'rɪkɪnɪn he was carrying about a walrus penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

qolɛ-tkɛ'unvuk ewkwɛ'erkit, evɪ'rä getulɛ'Leet. E'nmen ewkwɛ'tyät during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (*qul* ANOTHER; *tkɪu* TO PASS THE NIGHT; -*nv* PLACE OF [§ 109, 50], -*k* LOCATIVE; *ewkwɛt* TO LEAVE; *evɪrit* CLOTHES; -*ä* subjective [§ 37]; *tulet* TO STEAL; *getulɛ'Leet* < *ge-tulet-linet*) 13.5

Koryak—

gaimanɲɪvo'ykɪn he had a desire Kor. 12.2

ɭümɲɛua'ykɪn she was following Kor. 23.3

vaɲvolai'ke they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7

nanoɲvo'ykɪnenau they were beginning to consume them Kor. 42.7

This form is used even when it is difficult to conceive of the action as continued:

ɲɪto'ykɪn he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15

ɲɪvo'ykɪn she began Kor. 72.16

yaɭɪr'wikɪn he entered Kor. 13.9

newɲɪvo'ykɪnenat they began to say to both of them Kor. 12.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:

ča'maɲ enɢa'nɛna ɢɪnnɪg-gɪli'liqä'gtɪ tɪmɪ'rɪkɪnɛnat also by this one are the little game-procurers killed (i. e. he is in the habit of killing the hunters) 44.8

With the imperative the derived forms express a continued condition, or a repeated action.

ɪlu'kä qatva'rɪkɪn stay without motion! 57.3

qaiɪvalponaurkɪnɛ'tkɪ you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32

quwalo'mɪrkɪn listen! 32.1

Koryak—

aqalhai'aka qitr'ykin-i'-gi do not cry! (not be without crying)
Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

miqami'tvaa^k I shall eat now
miqami'tvarkin I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)
inenregeurkini'tik what are you going to do with me? 10.10
ti'gtirkin I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

triyanto'ykin I shall go out Kor. 14.5
trigañlanñivo'ykin I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

trêrevilitku'ñirkin I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

minqami'tvarkin let us continue to eat! 65.4
miniwkurkini'git let us tie thee! 20.9

§ 88 Nominalized Verb (a)

The nominalized form (a) of the verb, *ne—qin* expresses the condition of an object or a person, or the condition of performing an action. Its use is not confined to intransitive verbs which in this form often have the meaning of an attributive term (see p. 713), but it is also used with transitive verbs. When the noun to which the nominalized verb stands in an attributive relation is the subject of a clause, the nominalized verb often indicates that the two verbs express contemporaneous conditions or actions and may be translated by the conjunction WHILE. Examples of the attributive use of this form have been given on p. 713. Additional examples are the following:

u'nel va'rkin nime'yñqin (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7
niçu'uqin kê'rgäqai a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

nepplu'qin a small one Kor. 15.2
gatai'kilin nima'yñqin he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4
nima'yñqin ñai'ñai the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (a) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

qača'ken læ'qač nu'uqin, qol ñm niče'Loqên læ'qač one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16

niu'läqin it was long 91.24

yara'ni nite'nqin the house is good 92.9

mi'nkri ni'tvaqên how (of what kind) are they 13.10

wu'tku nitvai'-gir you are staying here 7.5

niggi'nqin merêga'gti they are eager for us 8.9

inpinači'yün neiñe'tqin the old man was the one who called out 86.13

ninei'mitqin u'nelti he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:

nilhikyū'qin it is watchful Kor. 39.9

nima'lqin it is good Kor. 64.24

nanñiēvina'w-güm I am angry Kor. 31.2

nitrñpuvaqa'tqen she is one who is striding and pecking Kor. 47.11

Tanño nigala'qenau the Chukchee were the ones who passed by Kor. 66.12.

Examples of relative clauses:

inpñawqa'gčirn . . . *pako'lčirn* *nine'nraqin* it was an old woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21

gri kele'tä nayo'ikrñ-ê-gri you are one who is being visited by the kelet 52.4

yara'qai . . . *kele'tä nëna'yo'qên* it was a small house . . . which was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:

vel'lnu nenataikrñvo'qenau (those are) thimbles that had been made Kor. 60.8,9

Miti'nak nenačñawñvo'qen; e'wañ it was Miti who called him she said Kor. 74.29

nigalhai'agen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1

nñnipñvo'qen they were the ones who began to keep it Kor. 41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:

ti'ttil nënarkrñčeu'qên, ê'nk'i në'wän ure'wkwî (at the time) when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6

qän'ver ni'nqäi nitê'rgilatqên, qän'ver i'wkwî urwa'quč when the child cried, the husband said 38.3

qäa'qañ e'ur neimeu'qin, êwkurga niginteu'qin whenever he was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14

nitrñpřčë'tqênat . . . *en'qa'm* . . . *qolê-ra'gti qä'tyä't* while they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house he went 12.9, 10

Koryak:

nenavo^sñvo-mu'yu e^s'en ganu'linau when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10

mi'mla ninu'qen, galñe-key gate'włalen when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4,5

On the whole the forms in *ne—qin* are used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak, in which dialect the progress of the narrative is more prominent.

§ 89. *Nominalized Verb (b)*

The nominalized verb (*b*) *ga—lin* expresses a completed transition and may often be translated by TO HAVE BECOME.

ya'rat qaño'twe^slen she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22
ño'č-e-um gene'l-i-um poor (I) I had become R 45.28

Koryak:

gama'łalin it had grown better, Kor. 14.11

gaqi'tilinau they had become frozen Kor. 14.3

In narrative it expresses the progress of action, but apparently not with the same intensity as the verbal forms.

gâmni'n pe'nin-ñe'w gêwi'lin my former wife died R. 45.29.

yicemre'tti gettwile'linet a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3

e'ur girgirona'lên a^s'ttwılä then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

Koryak:

va^s'yak gaya'łqrwlin afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1

ga'łqazın he went Kor. 16.3

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

e'nmen gequ'pqäntelin i'wkwı^s after she was quite starved she said 39.1

Ai'wan-a'kkata ñi'łhin gečheirulu'ulin a'ñqa-čö'rmı, enña'q ũm ñi'łhin getiñus-qiče'lin e'ur ũm nêčhêtau'qên mêmle'ti the Aiwan's son had hidden a thong on the sea-shore, then (when) he had tugged the thong, then he made him fall into the water 48.3-5

gitte'ulıt ũm ñan, ki'pu-ri'ıu nelu^s'ä^sen after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1

gaa'lomle^sen, i'wkwı^s after he had heard it he said 56.12

qanto's'qêulên e'ur Enqa'n . . . ninerkile'qin after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

Koryak:

miti'w gečha'len enka'ta tilai'vikiñ ñe'la next day, after it
had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form *ga—lin* expresses possession (see p. 712.)

§ **0. Negative Forms**

Negative forms are partly expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in *ε—kă*, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

va'nêvan not at all (see p. 882)

ga'rêm always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)

ča'mam always with the future (see p. 883)

See also *e'le*, *en'ñe*, *u'ñä* (p. 883).

The forms in *ε—kă* and in *egn-* will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in *x'ë—ki* for intransitive verbs, *x'ë—kie* (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

x'ënu'ki ml'ik I will not eat

x'ënu'ki ksr'xë do not eat!

§§ **91–94. Syntactic Use of Nominal Forms**§ **91. The Absolute Form**

The absolute form of the noun and pronoun is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb. Independent pronouns may be added to the verb in this form for the purpose of emphasis.

Subject of intransitive verb:

yaa'pü ye'tyi^ε ri'rki from afar a walrus came 8.5

kitve'yu i'wkwie the old walrus spoke 8.14

mu'ri . . . mirreyr'lqätyä^ε we shall sleep 9.3

rirkanpina'čhin pilqäe'rkin the old walrus dived 9.6

re'mkin ni'lqätyä^εn the people shall go 13.12

i^εrgi^ε re'mkin the people crossed over 13.13

ri'rki ge'pkiḷin a walrus arrived 8.6

nite'rmečinqin ramki'yñin the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

Koryak:

atta^syol-ya^smkĩñ galai'vĩñvolen people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1

Ama'mqut e'wañ Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7

i'npi-qł'a'wul gewñivo'len the old man said Kor. 47.1

ñalvıla'n'aqu . . . gałañvo'ykin a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9

ñ'a'wis'qat va'ykin a woman was there Kor. 52.1

Object of transitive verb:

u'ttuut tičv'i'ä^sn I cut wood

yo'nên lauti'yñin she pushed the big head into it 28.6

wwi'łkan qätei'kıgin make a woodpile! 31.12

wü'rgirgin walo'miñonên she heard a noise 32.10

kokai'ñin yire'nnin she filled the kettle 33.10

ñewwi'rıt a'nei'mityä^sn she would take the woman's soul 37.11

mač-čwga'n titvı'rkin I tell it as an incantation 39.13

u'ttuut ne'npüä^sn they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

Koryak:

tryo^san i'npi-qł'a'wul I found an old man Kor. 52.4

gaqa'yıčulın lo'łqal he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6

qai-mi'mič gayo'olen she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1

čr'lıl čvitčü'ykrnin he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4

eni'n kmi'ñipil gaqułumti'lin he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

tu'mgitum mawı'än let me cook for (my) friend

ğümnı'n e'kik keli'tulä mi'lpınrıga^sn I will give money to my son

§ 92. The Subjective

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

wo'tqan ñan a'äčëk eni'k-eli'gä ki'plinên the father struck this young man (*wo'tqan* this; *ñan* here; *a'äčëk* youth; *eni'k* subjective third person singular pronoun; *eli'gin* father; *rčpl* to strike; *-nin* he—him)

imılo re'mkä nap'elaa^sn ni'mnim the whole people left the camp

čo'urgin tılo'mnên keletä the kele opened the door-flap 106.16

kitve'yuta i'unin the old walrus said to him 8.7

Aiwhuyanpına'čha pınlo'nênat a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9

Ta'n-ña gai^slaat the Ta'n-ñit attacked them 97.25

mergina'n mo'rêg-ra'k ñe'wänti gi'wä we in our houses to our wives say 84.16

Koryak:

atta'yol-ya'mka gava'lomlen the people down the coast heard it
Kor. 39.7

Amamqu'tinak u'tti-yu'ñi gatai'kilin Eme'mqut made a wooden
whale Kor. 40.8

iḷa'ga ini'wi mother told me Kor. 46.1

an'a'nak ini'wi grandmother¹ told me Kor. 46.2

i'npi-qla'wula gai'liḷin ki'plau the old man gave him mortars
Kor. 51.5

kmi'ña gama'talen the son married her Kor. 80.1

mi'mla nnuḡin the louse ate her Kor. 76.4.

gūmna'n nawa'kak tiyai'liḷin I will give (him) the daughter
Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with *-ine*, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

Ta'n'ña nini'uḡin she was told by the Ta'n'ñit 98.8

The subjective is used with some transitive verbs to express the object with which something is done to some one. In these cases the person to which something is done is given the absolute form. Such verbs are *-(l)pinř* TO GIVE, *o'nti* TO REFUSE.

gūmni'n e'kik keli'tulä mi'lpinřiga'n I presented my son with
money

teki'čhä qēna'lpinřigē I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

tu'mḡitum e'če muwi'ä'n I shall cook for (my) companion (with)
fat

qla'ulqai riḡamitva'urkinēn tenm'netä he made the little man eat
(with) a shellfish 9.8

In Kamchadal also the subjective form is used with transitive verbs to express the object that is used in the performance of the action expressed by the verb.

he'ulil' xkoka-ju'jcx (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee
e'nni-leu'tä quwi'tik

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

añqa'ta leule'wu ge'lhī-mu'ri by the sea we were badly treated 65.27

genilule'ññilin keñuneñē'tä he moved it with the staff 101.8

ē'tin yiki'rga pi'rinin it took its master with the mouth 104.33

qrilu'tkui vala'ta move about with the knives! 16.4

mu'lä gakañoi'palēn with blood he is besmeared 19.3

¹ Treated here like a personal name.

Koryak:

va'e'ga tyančima'wikriniñin I shall tear him with (my) nails
Kor. 84.16

tui-ñi'lña gata'kyrlin they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor.
41.3

ma'gmīta tuva'nūintatik I lost a tooth by means of an arrow
Kor. 33.1

a'la'ta awyeñvo'ykin he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5

ai'kipa gapr'wyalin she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2

vala'ta gaga'yřulin he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6

vai'čita qatha'ai they two went on foot Kor. 22.8

§ 93. *Locative, Allative, and Ablative.*

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

čotta'gnik in the outer tent 52.7

ro'čen'ki nıtvā'qēn it stays on the other shore 52.11

ēnno'tknik tara'nga'ēti they pitched their tent on the slope of a
hill 56.9

Telqā'pik . . . gekē'ñilit in the Telqā'p country they were driv-
ing reindeer 61.8

em-ñi'lhın nuwotıtvā'qēn ti'mkık only the thong remained tied to
the hummock 62.7

ñe'wānik pēla'nēn he left him with the wife 105.7

re'mkık oratva'ē he stayed long with the people 54.2

gınr'k čauču ge'e'pın a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

Koryak:

i'ya'g ga'plin to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3

gūmnē'n ya'yak valai'ke my things are in the house Kor. 19.9

gū'mma a'ñqak ti'yak I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2

ña'nıko va'amık yıwgrēi'ta there in the river have a drink! Kor.
32.1

ga'la'lin va'amık he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2

gawga'len ena'tik he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

a'qa'-kamaanvē'ti nıne'il-i-üm I give them to the possessors of bad
dishes 96.7

kala'gtı qaiñe'utkurkin call to your kele 102.5

kala'gtı nıpēnrē'ē'tqēn it rushed at the kele 104.25

čei'vulkui' nımnıme'ti he went to a camp 105.5

notas'qačıkou'ti ničipe'tqın he dives into the interior of the surface
of the ground 131.7

Tñairgē'ti, gırgola'gtı nuwēthau'qēn he talks to the Dawn, the One
on High 135.16

Koryak:

ga'lqazin é'e'ti he went to the sky Kor. 14.9

é'e'tiñ gani'n̄lalin he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7

qalté'n̄ñin ganqu'lin yayačiko'i'tiñ the stopper was thrust out into the house-interior Kor. 15.2

panenai'tiñ gayi'n̄alin to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5

yaité'ti ga'lqazin he went to the house Kor. 17.3

gata'wañlenat Qoyqinn'uqoyika'i'ti they moved to Big-Raven's Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

qaa'gti gilo'lén sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12

uwaqočé'gti gilo'rkin do you sorrow on account of the husband 48.12

n̄lvau'qên ergip-ya'lhêti he was tired on account of the bright moon 14.11

The allative is often used to express the indirect object, corresponding to our dative, even if in the incorporated pronoun the direct object is used.

gũ'muk-akka'gti keli'tulti m̄'ilinet I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

qêti-notas'qê'pũ n̄ipiu'riqin from the frozen ground he emerged 102.18

golé'-notai'pũ nua'lomga'en I heard it far and wide 104.14

têrkira'irgêpũ n̄rye'tqin he came from sunset 105.14

yoročiko'i'pũ nuwa'lomqên he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13

čučai'pũ m̄iñño'a'en let us begin from below 131.5

pêpêggüpũ nei'mityä'en they took him by the ankle 35.3 .

pottiñai'pũ eimi'n̄nin he took it by the holes 47.2

Koryak:

ega'ñko nalqaine'w-gũm from the sky have I been shot Kor. 33.4

kipla'gigĩñko gačé'pñitolen out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3

mañe'nqo yatha'an? nuta'nqo. Whence did you bring her? from the country Kor. 60.10

§§ 94. Designative.

On account of its nominal character I have not included in the list of post-positional suffixes the element *-nu* (see § 103.34), which, however, is used syntactically very much like the suffixes treated in the last section.

Taaro'n-Va'irgu ūm qān've'r he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9
Var'rgu ne'Le'n (destined) to (be) a "Being" he became 41.10
yara'nə ne'lyi^ε it became a house 43.5
rirra'nēn . . . taikaus'qio'lvu he spread it for a place to wrestle
 47.4
wi'yole mi'lhigit let me have thee as assistant 124.2
gaqanqa'anə nīya'anat let him use them for driving reindeer
 124.8

Koryak:

mał-i^ε'yu nina^ε'lin a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
ya'gu mīntaikiłā'-gi into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
kmēñā'tinvu no'tañ nīlai'-gām for delivery in the country I
 went away Kor. 60.6
i'ssu gana^ε'līnau they became dresses Kor. 60.10
a'nku nalñīlāikine'mik we are rejected (put to refusal) Kor. 62.5

§ 95. Verbal Nouns

As stated under the sections dealing with various post-positions nominalized verbs appear often with these endings. Following is the series of forms observed.

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye
Allative	- <i>łtI</i>	- <i>(I)k</i> , - <i>(ā)k</i> , - <i>ka</i> , <i>kka</i>
Locative	- <i>(I)k</i> , - <i>k(I)</i>	
Subjective	- <i>tā</i> , - <i>ā</i>	- <i>ta</i> , - <i>a</i>
Comitative I	- <i>ma</i>	
Comitative II	- <i>małI</i>	- <i>małI</i>

Among these forms, the last one does not correspond to a nominal post-position; the Comitative I is analogous to the nominal suffix, which, however, has the prefix *ga-*, which is absent in the verbal noun.

ALLATIVE

In Chukchee the allative of the verbal noun is used with verbs expressing attempt, desire, preparation.

awkwatē'ti tīgaičā'urkin I make haste to depart (*ewkwet* to leave;
t-I; *gaičau* to hasten; -*rkin* present)
le^εy'ti lile'pqi^ε he looked to see; (*ly^ε* to see; *lile* eyes; -*p* to put on;
 -*qi^ε* he)
nen'ni'ua^εn takēčhē'ti they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

| *penye'kinen talai'vik* he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3

It expresses temporal coordination:

kile'nin e'ur vai têrgatê'ti he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying 57.9

e'ur enqa'n têrgatê'ti ni'nerkile'qin while he was crying he pursued him 57.11

gevin'vuten'ne'ulin nrtou'ti he laughed secretly as he went out 71.30

nrtou'ti ki'tkit niten'new-i-üm as I was going out I laughed a little 72.13

a'un-tipaiñou'ti niçu'uqin kê'rgäqai wurre'tyi^s girqo'l while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2

le'utti nrtou'ti ri'nñminet he carried the heads going out 86.8

a'un-wêthawê'ti . . . while they were talking, he . . . 100.9

LOCATIVE

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify AT THE PLACE, AT THE TIME.

gaiñe'i yi'lqaññok roar at the time of beginning to sleep 10.6

geri'nelin pukê'rñok he flew up when (the other one) arrived 15.4

pükê'rñok riçipeu'nin when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12

awkwa'trñok nmeiñeu ga'tvülên a^s'ttin when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21

a'mkin-wolqatvê'ññok every time when it began to be evening 104.12

qaa'gti qa'tik qä'lakä i'tyi^s he had no knife while going to the reindeer (*qaa'* reindeer; *-gti* to; *qat* to go; *a--ka* without; *va'la* knife; *it-* to be; *-gi^s* he)

e'mkin -kiyeu'ki nênaio'gên whenever she awoke, she shoved it in 29.2

gemî'-pli'tkuk at the time of having finished eating 33.11

Koryak.

gas'sa!vrye'lin vi'ya'tvik she remained all day, being dead Kor. 64.9

The stems *lvau* NOT TO BE ABLE, *nkä* TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative:

lu^sk nilva'w-ê-üm I could not be seen 22.9

nênalwau'qên lu^sk he could not find her 38.7

üpa'u'ki tilva'urkin I can not drink (*üpa'u'* to drink; *t-* I; *lvau* to be unable; *-rkin* present)

qäi'rik tilwa'urkin I can not seek for her 38.8

vele'rki^slek luvä'wkwê^s he could not pursue him 15.6

taq-aimé'tik pinlé'tkə mītilva'urkin we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13

pīntiqä'tik nīlvar'qēn he could not disengage himself 101.34

glīke'tik nī'nkäqin she refused to marry 26.1

nīnkä'tqinet pūki'rik they refused to come 106.3

glīke'tik aa'lomkēlēn not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs *ñvo* TO BEGIN, *plī* TO FINISH, *nkau* TO CEASE, *pkan* NOT TO BE ABLE, always govern the verbal locative.

gañvo'len gīya'pčak she began to sing Kor. 16.10

gañvo'len čilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2

gañvo'len ñawa'kak kitai'ñak they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8

gañvo'len tenma'witčuk she began to prepare Kor. 18.3

gana'nkaulen tīnala'tik they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8

ganka'wlinau tula'tik they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9

quqka'wñunenau yanīkya'wñak it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2

tapka'vik olñaga'tik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2

napkawñvo'ykin tula'tik they could not steal it Kor. 39.8

tawi'tkīñik gava'nnīntalen when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3

gana^εlinau pa'yittok they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6

gaplī'tčulin kuka'vik she finished cooking Kor. 51.2

gañvo'lenau yu'kka he began to eat them Kor. 57.1

It serves also as iterative of numeral verbs.

Chukchee

ñireqew'kī the second time

ñiroqau'kī the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

vało'mīk tīgaima'tekin I want to know (*vało'm* to know; *t-* I; *gaimat* to want; *-ekin* present)

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

wa'qəta tuwañe'rkin I work sitting (*wa'qə* to sit; *t-* I; *wañe* to work; *-rkin* present)

am-īpa'wa nītva'gūm I was just drinking (*am-* merely; *īpa'u* to drink; *nī-* indefinite tense; *tva* to live, be; *-īgūm* I)

luñ-iwkuči'tä i'tyi^ε not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink) 37.3

luñ-i'rä i'tyi^ε not crossing it was 41.5

luñ-lu'tä ni'ntäqinet not seen they had them 11.9

wêtha'wa qäntr'gin speaking do to her (i. e. speak to her!) 29.12

li'en äq-eïne'wa quli'tä only badly crying (and) sounding 57.6

The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

taçai'wêwa lautr'yñrn nineninnuteru'gin by means of striking he made the big head swollen 48.10

ettir-kpçe'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in *q̄*—*tä* is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

qanto'ta, q'i'wä go out and say!

q'i'wä say! 21.11

gaan'eta he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

mergina'n q'i'wä we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

gayr's'qata sleep! Kor. 31.8

qala'xtata wu'tëau, gā'a'nñrvota take these along, haul them away!
Kor. 51.6

The corresponding forms of the transitive verb occur in the past, future, exhortative, and in the derived present and exhortative (see § 68, p. 741). They are also used impersonally.

anto', mi'ñkri re'ntin, ra'nmiñ well, how will it be done? will there be killing?

ga'nma killed

rā'nut gelu'tä whatever seen

tu'mgitum ra's'nutqäiä ga'lpinra give something to (your) companion

COMITATIVE I AND II

These forms express an action done while the subject of the sentence performed another action. Comitative I is used when the subject of both actions is the same; Comitative II, when the two subjects are distinct.

Examples of comitative I:

têrga'nma ninegepçiygi'ugin weeping she kicked it 31.8

uwê'ma takrmla'gnênat when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11

gr'nmil yrlkama garêtêlai'güm recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (*gr'nmil* recently; *yrlqa* to sleep; *ga—igüm* I; *rêtêla* to dream)

krye'wkwie' zaamya'ma he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

ipau'mači equ'likä while (the others) are drinking, be silent (*ipau* to drink; *e—kä* negative; *quli* noise)

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, when used in verbal forms, may have the Comitative II, which is used when the subject is the same as well as when two distinct subjects are concerned.

miñke'kin lu'e'äsn ñaus'qatıma'či when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

equ'likä rolma'či be silent, since you are weak (*e—kä* negation; *quli* noise; *rol* weak)

miñke'kin poi'gıñ lu'e'äsn ñaus'qatıma'či where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nıke'mači at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

-köj (intransitive); *-e, -l* (transitive) and *k!—enk*

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

qe'čel' nu'köj enough to eat

tu'tun tölil I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending *-köj* is not used.

xë nu'ki it is impossible to eat (*xë—ki* negative, p. 826)

xë töl'kic it is impossible to beat him (*xë—kic* negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)

xë nu'ölki it is impossible to eat (*-öl* to desire, p. 808, no. 64.)

The second form expresses an action done at the same time with the one expressed by the predicate of the sentence. It is derived from the *k!-* prefix of the corresponding form of the noun, and the suffix of the possessive.

k!-nu'enk qam qe'lkek while eating I do not talk (*nu* to eat; *qam* not)

§§ 96-129. COMPOSITION

§ 96. Introductory Remarks

We have seen that in the formation of grammatical forms both prefixes and suffixes occur. Their use is much more extended, and they

serve to express a great many modifications or amplifications of the meaning of the stem. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between the grammatical endings and those that add new significance to the word. From a purely morphological point of view the two classes merge into each other; and neither can a sharp line be drawn between the nominal post-positions treated before, and others of similar meaning, like *-nu* (p. 798, no. 34), *-mīl* (p. 798, no. 30), *-in* (see below); nor can the nominalizing endings in *-in* and *-n* be sharply separated from other, analogous forms. For this reason I repeat the nominal endings here in their proper places with reference to the sections in which they are more fully treated.

Neither is the line of demarcation clear between affixes and compounds of independent elements. This appears most clearly in those cases in which the same element may appear either as a prefix or as a suffix, like *qāi* and *mīl*; and also in those cases in which an element appears rarely alone. The line of demarcation between particle and incorporated adnominal or adverbial element is indicated through the occurrence or non-occurrence of vocalic harmony in the group.

The use of affixes is very extended, and a series of prefixes as well as of suffixes may appear combined.

gamitva-čhat-i-ño'-rkin he begins to gobble down

ru-wake-s-qê-čhat-a'u-rkin he makes him sit down once with great force.

§§ 97-112. Suffixes

§§ 97-109. Nominal Suffixes

§§ 97-105. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

§ 97. Nouns in *-in* and *-n*

These have been discussed in §§ 45-49, pp. 707-713, and in §§ 51-55, pp. 714-719. Here belong also the nominalized verbs (*a*) and (*b*), which have been discussed in §§ 73, 74, pp. 758-762.

§ 98. Augmentative and Diminutive

1. *-iñ-*, subjective *-iñIn*, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.¹

vā'lE knife

a'ettin dog

re'mkin people 13.10

vala'iñin large knife

a'ettiyñin large dog

a'ettiyñē'pu from the large dog

ramki'yñin big people 11.3

Aiwñuyānpinačh'yñin old big

St. Lawrence man 13.11

¹ Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to *mēñi*. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel *e* of this word is weak. —F.B.

Some words do not take the suffix *-ñ*, but use the definite form in its place.

ñe'wän woman

Kor. Kam. *i'ñui'ñin*

big nose Kor. 72.12

ñawq'nëñin the woman, the large woman

2. **-n'a'ku, -n'agu** AUGMENTATIVE (Kor. Kam.).

va'la knife

a'ttan dog

qlawul man

vai'amn'agu big river Kor. 21.3 big man

Quyqinn'a'qu Big Raven Kor. 24.5

kuka'-yicm'a'qu a big kettleful Kor. 43.1

vala'n'aku large knife

atta'n'aku large dog

qlawuln'a'quñgo from the

3. **-qo** AUGMENTATIVE.

ñawqo'lhñ the big wife 39.5; 40.1

pëtti-walkač'qlhé'ti to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8

4. **-qäi** DIMINUTIVE. Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed from this freely. This is evidently related to the stem *qäi* SMALL. It may also precede the noun, and be used in both positions at the same time. When preceding the noun it means THE YOUNG OF AN ANIMAL; compare also *gäin* FAWN; *ge'yigei* FLEDGELING.

kuke'-qäi a little kettle

qi'lqi-qäi a small skin 45.6

qla'ul-qäi a small man

wq'lqarq-qäi small jaw-bone house 44.13

inpi'ñe'w'qäyik to the little old woman 45.2

ñi'nqäi child 42.8

ñinqäetile'ki to those with children 20.7

inpiñawqa'gëñin the small woman

qäi-u'nel young thong-seal 70.26

gäi-a'ttiqäi pup

gäi-i-li'e'qgäi cub of wolf

qai (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

qai-qla'wul-pel a very small man

qai'-ñawis'qat little woman Kor. 33.10

qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 38.9

qai-pipi'kalñu little mice Kor. 25.6

qai-ka'mak-pel little kamak Kor. 37.2

-ai SMALL AND MISERABLE (Kamchadal).

ki'stai a miserable little house (*kist* house)

koxai a miserable little dog (*kox* dog)

5. **-p̄il** DEAR LITTLE.

ekke'p̄il sonny

tu'mgāp̄il dear little friend

Koryak:

-p̄il (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. **-p̄ilaq** (with the endings **-t** and **u**); **-pi** (Kor. II),—express the DIMINUTIVE.

ñawa'n-p̄il small woman (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-p̄ila'q̄rt two small women (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-p̄ila'qu small women (Kor. Kam.)

ql̄q'wul-pel small man

milya'qp̄il a little shell Kor. 23.8

va'ḡl̄ñip̄el a small nail Kor. 23.7

vi'tvitp̄il a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

-p̄iliñ (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix **-p̄il** with the additional suffix **-in**—conveys the sense of ENDEARMENT.

atta'p̄iliñ doggy

vai'amp̄iliñ a little river Kor. 17.2

il̄u'p̄iliñ little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7

ñi'!ñip̄iliñ little thong Kor. 39.4

6. **-čax, -čx, -cx** DIMINUTIVE (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the plural is formed by the suffix **-č** added to the plural form.

	Singular	Diminutive	Plural	Diminutive
dog	<i>kocz</i>	<i>ko'cxčax</i>	<i>kcxočn</i>	<i>kcxočnč</i>
game	<i>hu'rn̄ik</i>	<i>hu'rn̄ikčax</i>	<i>hu'rn̄ikr̄n</i>	<i>hu'rn̄ikr̄nč</i>
village	<i>a'tin̄um</i>	<i>a'tinocz</i>	<i>a'tinočn</i>	<i>a'tinočnč</i>

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

atino'cxčax a very small village

a'tinocxanč very small villages

7. **-liño** TINY. It always precedes the diminutive **-q̄äi** (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

qaa-liño'-q̄äi tiny reindeer

ñaw̄an-liño'-q̄äi tiny woman

§ 99. Collectives

8. **-yir̥in** or **-yIrIn** a company; (Kor. Kam. **-yIssan**) the stem of the noun *yī'riir* or *yī'riir* FULLNESS, CONTENTS.

ñewä'nyir̥in a company of women

ra'yir̥in a houseful 45.13

Kor. Kam. *nımyī'ssaⁿ* people of a village Kor. 70.9

Compare *walqa'čiriir* a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

9. **-g̥in̥iw** GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. **-g̥in̥iu**).

rağē'n̥ew (Kor. Kam. *ra-geⁿn̥ew*) group of houses (i. e., village)

yarağē'-g̥ē'n̥ew a group of houses 111.15

u'mq̥ä-g̥i'n̥iw a set of polar bears 113.29

yī'čemit-tu'mgi-g̥i'n̥iw a set of brother-companions 113.28

uwi'ritg̥äi-g̥i'n̥iw a lot of little souls 122.31

Kor. Kam. *qaña'tiḷa-g̥i'n̥iw* a lot fishing with drag-nets Kor. 70.10

10. **-riḷ** (Kor. Kam. **-yiḷ**) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).

o'rgurēḷ a caravan of sledges

a^s'mr̥iḷ (Kor. *a^s'm-yiḷ*) a set of bones, i. e. a skeleton

Koryak *mu'u-yiḷ* a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5

11. **-reṭ** SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. **-yat**).

va'raṭ (Kor. Kam. *va'yat*) a group of beings (i. e., family group)

yīčemre'tti a set of brothers 64.3

ple'gret a pair of boots

li'liṛet a pair of mittens

12. **-tku** INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

ne'lhritkun all kinds of skins

gi'nnikritkun various kinds of game

orawēla'tken men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:

mainrya'nitken everything big

rä^s'nutetkun (*rä^s'neetkun*) all kinds of things

čine'waq pan'a'tkeqaiä tei'mityäⁿ somehow with all kinds of small leg-skins I bought it (i. e. I succeeded in buying it with a small number of leg-skins, i. e., cheaply).

13. **-mk** NUMEROUS (Kor. Kam. **-mk**) is used to express plurality.

yara'mkin (Kor. Kam. *yaya'mkin*) a cluster of houses (collective)

rirka'mkičhin several walrus 102.17.

a^sttwili'mkičhin the great assembly of boatmen 11.5

Compare the stem *mk* in the independent forms

măkîĭr'yñin the more numerous ones 11.7

mă'kîĭn more numerous 12.3

nă'mkăqin numerous 12.7

and in the compound form

măq-qitka'k with many legs 119.9

14. **-ff'rg**, the stem of the third person plural pronoun *E'rrĭ*, serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes *-gŭpŭ* and *-k* and with the particle *re'en* TOGETHER (p. 794, no. 18). (See § 44, p. 706.)

qlauli'rgŭpŭ < *qlaul-irg-gŭpŭ* from the men

qla'ulirĭk < *qla'ul-irg-k* by the men, with the men

qla'ulirĭg-re'en < *qla'ul-irg-k-re'en* with the men

The possessive form *E'rgĭn* is used in the same manner.

orawêla'rgĕn that belonging to the (human) people

§ 100. Comitatives

15. **ga—ma** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. *awun—ma*) not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* is used.

galêla'ma (Kor. Kam. *a'wunlêla'ma*) with the eye

gŭ'rguma with the sledge 15.4

gata'ttirwalmā with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11

gamq'lima with blood 43.8

gañĕngai'ma with children 50.6

gapro'рма with the aorta R 2.2

ga'turuma with the boat 71.4

galan'tima with the head; i. e., the whole body 137.8

Kor. Kam. *awun-gama'ma* with the dish 64.7

Kor. Kam. *a'wun-e'ñvelma* with the nostrils

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in *-ma* (§64, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

k!—m (Kamchadal). Comitative.

k!lă'lŭm with the eye

16. **ge—(t)ă** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. *ga—[t]a*); not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* (p. 794, no. 18) is used. (Compare § 37, p. 697.)

gelile'tă (Kor. Kam. *galĭla'ta*) with the eye

inpina'ĕhin geñe'wănă an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)

ELI'git geñe'wănă the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents 28.4 (subject); 39.11; 33.9

Kor. Kam. *gaqqaika'makata* with a small spirit Kor. 37.3

Kor. Kam. *ga'ttata* with a hatchet Kor. 56.3

Kor. Kam. *gaqla'wula* with her husband Kor. 68.7

Verbal:

ñe'usqät genutegci'tä, notai'pü gelei'vä the woman while walking in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she — 28.5

notai'pü gelei'vä ñe'usqät, vai'ela'—while the woman was walking in the country, her mother—29.4

enqam eli'hin gette'tä gi'wä—then the father with sudden doing, with saying—29.11

17. **-mäčI** verbal noun expressing MEANWHILE (Kor. Kam. **-ma'čI**) (see pp. 738, 788.)

18. **-re'en** added to the locative, TOGETHER. It is used principally with nouns designating persons, and replaces the comitative. Its vowel does not form an ablaut.

gümü'g re'en together with me

Omru'wgëna-re'en together with Omru'wgë

tu'mug-re'en with the strangers 59.1

n'lhre-re'en together with the thong 44.12

§ 101. Locatives

19. **-tkIn** SURFACE (Kor. Kam. **-tkIn, -tčIn**); used chiefly in oblique cases.

orgu'tkɨnik on the sledge

orgu'tkɨna'ta along the surface of the sledge

wwəkək'tkɨnik on the body 8.11

gël'tkɨnik on the sea-ice 9.1, 2

gëlqël'tkɨnik on the sea-ice 7.3, 5

kano'tkɨngüpu on the crown of the head 8.2

mëml'tkɨnik on the water 9.3

čot'tkɨnik on the top of the pillow 44.2

In the absolute form the suffix designates THE POINT OF.

yäqa'tkɨn point of nose

ričhr'tkɨn finger-tip (stem *rilh*)

yččir'tkričhm tip of tongue 40.4 (stem *yil*)

Koryak:

va'gütčnu yu'kka eating points of nails Kor. 57.1

o'pitrɨnik on the point of a beam Kor. 72.13

20. **-s-q-** absolute form **-s-qän**; **-čäq** absolute form—**čäqan** TOP OF; OVER, ON TOP OF (Kor. Kam. **-lq**, absolute form **-lqan**)

ətti's'qān tree-top

ətti's'qā'k on the top of the tree

tɪlɪ's'qāk over the door

qɪ'this'qä-nətai'ñn lake-top-big-land, i. e., the land over (near) the lake 144.3

tñe's'qä-re'mkin people of top of dawn R 2.11

nute's'qāk on top of ground, i. e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:

na'nkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15

və'yamilqak on top of river Kor. 25.8

wu'gwulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8

yas'qalkai'tiñ (*ya-s'qa-lqa-êti*) to the house top Kor. 36.1

ya's'qalqak on the house top Kor. 84.12

wapis'qalqak on top of slime Kor. 25.7

21. **-gɪ, -gɪñ** THE BASE OF; in oblique cases, UNDER

utti'gɪñ base of the tree

ətti'gɪ'ngŭpŭ from under the tree

utti'gɪ'ñki under the tree

čot'hē'ñki under the pillow (< *čot-gɪñ-ki*)

nute's'qä'gɪ'ñki underground

nətas'qä'yē'ngŭpŭ from underground 143.6

Koryak:

e'n'migenka under a cliff Kor. 13.6

qas'wuge'ñki at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7

plakgeñe'tiñ into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6

qankageñe'ti into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9

atvigeñe'ti into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

22. **-ggɪt** TOWARD; not in oblique cases

gñqə'ggɪt toward the sea

utti'ggɪt toward the wood

yəkə'ggɪt noseward 45.2

tɪlɪ'ggɪt toward the entrance 62.9

e'ekəggɪt toward the lamp R 2.6

23. **-yɪ'wkwɪ** (absolute form **-yɪ'wkwɪn**) THE SPACE ALONG —.

gñqə'yē'wkwɪn the space along the sea

a'ñqa-čormiyē'wkwɪ along the seashore 66.12

gñqə'yē'wkwɪ'tə along the sea, on the sea

nətas'qäčiyə'u'ki along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

rečē'wkwä < *ret-yē'wkwɪ* along the tracks

(See *reč-əu'ki* 106.24.)

24. **-čĭku** (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) INSIDE OF; also with neutral *u*.

- u'tčĭku* in the wood
utti'čĭku within the tree
yara'čĭku or *ra'čĭku* within the house
kegr'i'čĭku inside of palm 20.3
kona'rgičĭku inside of leg of breeches 28.6
wus'qū'mčĭku in the dark 34.5
yilhi'čĭku in the moon 41.8
plē'kričĭku in a boot 43.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

- o'nmičĭkou'ti* (Kor. Kam. *aninkačĭko'iti* from *aninka-čĭku*)
 inward, into the inside
o'nmičĭko'ipū from within
ēričĭkou'ti into the clothes 32.4
dinčĭkou'ti into the fire 31.13
yoročĭkou'ti into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3
yikri'rgičĭkou'ti into the mouth 50.3
qaačĭko'i'pū from the reindeer-herd 51.2
mēmličĭkou'ti into the water 17.4
notas'qačĭkou'ti into the ground 18.7
notas'qačĭko'i'pū from underground 44.12

Koryak:

- wus'qū'mčĭku* in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17.5
yayačĭko'i'tiñ into the house Kor. 15.2
qayd'čĭku in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1
aia'čĭku in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal *čäck* INSIDE corresponds to Chukchee *čĭku*. It is used as an independent adverb.

ci'mtenk čäck in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal *č'acwē'* INWARD.

25. **-liku** AMONG THE MULTITUDE, one of the suffixes of plurality.

- qaa'liku* among the reindeer
utti'-liku among the trees
muri'q-liku among us

26. **-qač, -qal** BY THE SIDE OF (Kor. Kam. **-qal**)

-qačēI near, close to (Kor. Kam. **-qača**)

- qa'ptenqač* by the side of the back 11.8
ya'alriñqač by the rear side 12.3
ti'linqač by the side of the entrance 53.3
grika'ñqač (Kor. Kam. *grika'ñqal*) at the feet
mē'riqqač (Kor. Kam. *mē'riqqal*) by our side
griṇika'č by thy side 9.3

gɪtkaga'ɛɪ near the foot

məriqqa'ɛɪ near us

Nota'rmengača near Notarmen 121.10

ra-gro'lmɪnqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.

wo'tiñqač (Kor. Kam. *wo'teñqal*) on this side

va'eñqač (Kor. Kam. *vai'eñqal*) halfway on this side

All forms with *-qač* (Kor. Kam. *-qal*) may also form oblique cases.

məriqqačai'pü (Ch.) from our side

Kor. Kam. *woteñqal'ai'tɪ* to this side

añqañqača'gtɪ to the seaside 49.6

añqañqačai'pü from the seaside 49.8

ya'alɪnqačai'pü from the rear side 12.4

yara'u'-liha'nɪnqač-va'ɪn being from the other side of the houses 11.7

qača'kên the other one of a pair

qača'kênata with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix *-kɪn* they form adjectives which are in frequent use.

məriqqa'tkên being at my side

wo'tɪnqa'tkên being from this side 14.2

Kor. Kam. *wo'teñqala'ken* being at this side

Kamchadal:

|| *qo'liñ* NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee *qa'ɛɪ*, Kor.

Kam. *qa'ča*. It is also treated as an independent adverb.

|| *kɪ'mank qo'liñ* (Chukchee *gümü'k-qa'ɛɪ*) near me

27. *-tul* PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. *-tul*).

mɛnɪgr'tul (Kor. Kam. *manɪgr'tol*) a piece of calico

qa'atol (Kor. Kam. *qoya'tol*) a piece of reindeer (meat)

mi'mɪtulqäi a little particle of water 134.17

teki'čhitulqäi a little piece of meat 134.31

Kor. Kam. *pêlɪnolñi'tola* piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

|| The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.

|| *a'nečax txa'ltxaɪɪn* a small piece of meat (*anc-* piece; *-čax* small;

txa'ltxaɪɪn [adjective] of meat)

28. *-kɪt* (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.

|| *vi'le-kɪt* in place of payment

29. **-xǝl** (Kamchadal) ALONG.

|| *c̣̣mt-xǝl* along the ground (stem *c̣̣mt* ground)
 || *ǝ̣̣-xǝl* along the water (stem *ǝ̣̣* water)
 || *kṭ̣ǝǝ'j-xǝl* along the road

§ 102. Similarity

30. **-ṃ̣l** IN THE SIZE OF, AT THE DISTANCE OF (Kor. Kam. **-mič** **-mis**). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 **-ṃ̣č** which is a variant of this stem.)

ṇ̣̃i'ṃ̣l as far as the mountain

ṃ̣ṇ̣̃ḳ̣e'ṃ̣l (Kor. Kam. *menke'mis*) of what size? how much?

94.32

eṛ̣i'wṃ̣l like them 14.9

muru'wṃ̣l like us 10.6; 16.7

guṃ̣u'wṃ̣l like me 16.13

utte'ṃ̣l size of a tree 20.2

ṛ̣ǝṛ̣ǝ'ṃ̣l size of reindeer-fly 23.3

ǝṛ̣ǝẉ̣ǝḷ̣ǝ'ṃ̣l like men 64.11

ṛ̣iṛ̣ḳ̣ǝ'ṃ̣l like a walrus 10.8; 12.1

q̣̣ǝǝ'ṃ̣l size of a reindeer 122.23

Possessive forms with the suffix—*ḳ̣in* added to the suffix—*ṃ̣l* are

ǝ̣̣muwmi'tḳ̣in according to my wants

muruwmi'tḳ̣in according to our wants

31. **-wurrin** SIMILAR TO, LIKE.

pin-wurrin flour (literally CINDER-LIKE)

See *Ena'n čini't wu'rri nitqin* thus she was 26.9

32. **-ẉ̣ǝ̣̣t** SIMILAR TO.33. **-čḥ̣ič̣̣ǝ** SIMILAR TO (Kor. Kam. **-čḥ̣ina**).

q̣̣ǝ̣̣č̣̣ki'čḥ̣eč̣̣ǝ (Kor. Kam. *qḷ̣ǝ'wuḷ̣ičḥ̣e'na*) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman¹)

§ 103. Purpose

34. **-ṇ̣u, -u** MATERIAL FOR; WHAT SERVES AS SOMETHING; SERVING A PURPOSE; SERVING AS SOMETHING.

pḷ̣e'ku ǝ̣̣i'ṃ̣it'ḳ̣in take it for boots (i. e., to make boots of it)

This suffix is used with various verbs to express the idea TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF, TO CONSIDER AS SOMETHING, TO BECOME SOMETHING.

eḳ̣ḳ̣e'ṇ̣u ṇ̣i'lḥ̣iǝt let me have thee as a son

¹ *q̣̣ǝ̣̣č̣̣ik* or *q̣̣ik* is an obsolete form for *qḷ̣ǝ'ul* MAN.

-*nu* after stems ending in a vowel.

lile'nu serving as an eye

rirkq'ne as a walrus 10.8

qagqngq'anq for a driving reindeer 124.8

qarēmēng'anq ri'tyä^ε you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6

ko'nikoñ-ra'ne serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22

ke'ñičvinu that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9

a'qa'-gē'lēne that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10

ter-irga't-palo^εta'ne what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-*u* after stems ending in a consonant.

ñe'wānu for a wife

taikaus'qio'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4

Iumetu'nu ri'tyä^ε you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7

kei'ñu what represents a bear 136.20

qorainrē'tile to be used as herdsmen 50.9

lō^εnvō for looking on 19.2; 23.1

rriraqa'unvō what for? 19.1

ēnagya'qtačhō va'irgō what serves as life-giving being 21.6

wi'yolō for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

-*nu*, -*u*. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

lila'nu as an eye

akka'nu as a son

ña'wanu as a wife

qoia'nō as a reindeer

tomñena'ñu as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9

kulipčina'ñu as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1

qangekriplēna'ñu as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7

ya'qu into what Kor. 38.4

čai'učhu into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. -*kī* (*ka*) (Kamchadal) corresponds to -*nu*, -*u* (No. 34) of Chukchee.

p'i'kī as a son

ñi'kī as a wife

olē'naka as a reindeer (*olē'n* from Russian олень; the old Kamchadal word *koj* is also still in use)

lile'ki as an eye

36. -*sx* (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

p'ēsx as a son

ñesx as a wife

37. **-lqāl** DESTINED FOR —, MATERIAL FOR —, (Kor. Kam. **-lqał**).

This suffix implies the future.

ple'kılqāl (Kor. Kam. *pla'kılqal*) material for boots

uwä^εqucılqāl bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband

ela'lqāl stepmother, serving as a mother

Kor. Kam. *ñawa'nılqal* bride to be, destined to be a wife

lwılqāl (Kor. Kam. *lo^ε'lqał* Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; something destined to be looked on) 88.14

rēpa'lhılqāl destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle **-(y)o**:

ta'kryolqāl material (for work)

rırrē'lyolqāl destined to be put down R 2.5

yımē'yolqāl destined to be hung R 2.6

ro'olqāl food R 44.11

malē'čhılqal means of getting well 135.10

tımyo'lqal (Kor. Kam. *tımyo'lqał*) destined to be killed (epithet used like SCOUNDREL)

§ 104. Possession

38. **-yanv-**, absolute form **yan** PROVIDED WITH (Kor. Kam. **yanv-**, absolute form **yana**)

(a) As a nominal suffix, *yanv* means PROVIDED WITH.

čg'g-gan (Kor. Kam. *čai-ya'na*) one who has tea, rich in tea

qa'a-yan (Kor. Kam. *qoya-ya'na*) one who has reindeer

tañ-kamaanvē'ti to those provided with good dishes (*tēñ* good; *keme* dish) 92.21

(b) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

ăpa'w-gan (Kor. Kam. *apaw-ya'na*) the one who drinks

gamı'twa-yan (Kor. Kam. *awye-ya'na*) the one who eats

(c) With transitive verbs it indicates the object of the action, and has a passive meaning.

yı'l-yan (Kor. Kam. *yıl-ya'na*) what has been given

ro'mkaw-gan (Kor. Kam. *yomkaw-ya'na*) what has been hidden

(d) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

qatvu-ya'n the one who has strength

maññı-ya'n that which is big

a'tqend'an (Kor. Kam. *a^ε'ččen-ya'na*) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

maññıya'nvuk at the big one (Koryak the same)

ınpıya'nvıt the older ones 108.12

39. **-lq(ān)** ABOUNDING IN (Kor. Kam. **-lq[ān]**)*mī'mlilqān* (Kor. Kam. *mī'mlilqān*) place abounding in water*wata'pīlqān* (Kor. Kam. *wata'pīlqan*) place abounding in reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. **-yōčh, -gōčh** RECEPTACLE (Kor. Kam. **-yōčh**); perhaps from the verbal stem *yō-* TO PUT INTO, *yō'rkīn* (Kor. Kam. *yō'ykīn*) HE PUTS INTO.*mitqo'očhīn* (Kor. Kam. *mitqī'yōčhīn*) blubber-bag (stem *mitq* blubber)*tai'očhī-poka'tkīnīk* in bottom of bag 29.3Kor. Kam. *kawa'ssočhu* for wallets Kor. 46.241. **-ñīt** a space of time (Kor. Kam. **-ñīt**).*g^olō'ñēt* the whole day 21.1 (stem *a^olo* day)(Kor. Kam. *gi'wñīt*) the whole length of the year (from *giwīk* [only in the locative] in the year)42. **-mīč** A CERTAIN AMOUNT, with nominal and pronominal stems indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare § 102, 30 to which the suffix is clearly related).*qāineu'mīč* at the distance of a shot*gūmu'wmīč* as much as I need*gūmuwmi'tkīn* it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to spare)43. **-kwu, -kw-** PROTECTOR, AVERTOR*muču'kwun* shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from the body).*taiñīkwut* charm-strings (lit. misfortune avertor)

§§ 106-109. DERIVED FROM VERBS

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. **-gīrgīn.** If the base contains an *l*, it is often changed to *č*.

ABSTRACT NOUN; CAUSE, SOURCE, OBJECT OF AN ACTION (Kor.

Kam. **-geñīn, -gītñīn**; Kor. Par. **-geñīn, -gīčñīn**).Note that the initial *g* follows the phonetic rules § 7.*t + gī > ti; č + gī > čī; u + gī > wkw; u, o + gī > ou**qalhīlo'urgēgīt* you are source of sorrow 20.7*pālqā'tirgīn* (from *pēlqāt*) old age (Kor. Kam. *pālqathe'ñīn* or*pālqa'thītñīn* [from *pālqat*])

- pêr'irgin* the place which he had taken 23.9
te'lhrgin or *te'čirgin* 24.3 (from *tel*) illness, pain, cause of pain
yaiva'čirgin (from *yēivēč*) (Kor. Kam. *yaiva'čhitn̄in* [from *yai'vač*]) compassion, cause or object of compassion
limvitt'irgin object of pity 11.3
wū'rgirgin noise 32.10
vē'irgin death 22.1
vē'irgê-git thou art source of death 22.7
ginta'wķurgê'git (from *gintēu*) (Kor. Kam. *ginta'whitn̄ege*) thou art the cause of my flight (i. e., you have frightened me)
te'čirgi-tē're (from *tel*) ye are the source of my pain (i. e., you have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. *te'čhitn̄e-to'o*)
yē'ngung'irgin object of fear 29.8
añā'čirgê-git thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11

Koryak:

- vantig'ñin* dawn Kor. 18.1
vetke'gičñin annoyance Kor. 20.9

This suffix may be added either to the simple verbal stem or to the verbal stem with added suffixes. The latter form expresses more particularly the process of an action. The former is sometimes used to express the object or the source of the action.

- ñirkila'tirgin* the feeling of shame
ñirki'čirgin the object of shame
wū'rgirgičñin noise 15.1
am-vryē'irgā only by breathing 24.4

With the stem *tva* TO BE, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

- Yai'vač-va'irgin* quality, substance of compassion; Merciful Being
 (Kor. Kam. *vage'ñin* or *va'gitñin*) being, mode of life, substance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

- atqē'ngirgin* (from *ē'tqñ*) (Kor. Kam. *a'tqe'ngitñin* [from *a'ččñ* or *a'tqñ*]) badness, spite
ēučy'rgin (from *iu'l*) length
inpu'yrgin (from *inp[ũ]*) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

- a'mgrgin* (from *a'ttim* bone) condition of the bones (i. e., of the body)
ettir'irgin (from *u'ttuut* wood) degree of woodiness

The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suffixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *vage'nin*) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity

yai'vač-va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *yai'vač-vage'nin*) compassion-being, merciful deity

a'ñāñ-va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *a'ñāñ-vage'nin*) shaman's spirit deity

tam-va'irgin goodness, condition of goodness

taiñir'irgin (Kor. Kam. *taiñige'nin*) sin

qas'mu'irgin (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

yik'rigin (Kor. Kam. *čikr'tnin* Kor. 56.8) mouth

Kor. Kam. *pča'ggitnin* (*plak* boot) boot-string Kor. 59.3

45. **-j, -l** (Kamchadal) form abstract nouns of simpler and more limited sense than those of Chukchee and Koryak. This suffix is probably identical with the *c, l*, of the transitive verbal noun I (p. 748) which has the sense of the infinitive.

co'nlej life

tcuncjk I live

ča'kalej song

tčakacjk I sing

o'jilaj blow

tujiljin I strike him

noj¹ food

tnujk I eat

pilhetej hunger

tpilhe'tijk I suffer from hunger

pē'lheteł and

pī'lhripil } famine

46. **-nŋm**, absolute form **-nŋm** (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

no'nŋm (stem *ny*) food

hē'lnŋm (stem *hīl*) drink

conlnŋm (stem *cunc, cunl*) life

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. **-yō** (Kor. **-yō**, absolute form **-yōn**) expresses the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

pēlā'yō the one who is left (Kor. Kam. *pēlāyōn* the one to be left)

In Chukchee the suffix is contracted with terminal consonants, and elided after vowels, according to the phonetic rules given in §§ 6–10.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

tai'kiō < *tai'ki-yō* the one made *tai'kiyōn* that to be made

yī'lō < *yī'l-yō* the one given *yī'lyōn* that to be given

¹ This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food *par excellence*.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

ipa'wgo < *ipa'w-yo* that which has been drunk *apa'vyon* that which is to be drunk.

ko'j'o < *kor-yo* that which has been bought *ko'ryon* that to be bought

yito'ot born ones 42.7

oraio'činat born ones 21.2

a'n'ñêno li'nyo made to be the object of anger 42.3

timyo' one killed 43.8

ripalqa'wgo one drowned 49.9

NOTE.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix *em-* MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix *-lin*, express the passive participle, the same as *-yo*.

em-re'tilin (stem *ret* to buy) what has been brought; or *ra'j'o* or *am-ra'j'o* all that has been brought

(*-yanv*, see § 104, No. 38.)

§ 108. Instrumentality

48. *-ineñ*, suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. *-inañ*).

têwê'nañ (stem *têu*) (Kor. Kam. *têwê'nañ* [stem *têw*]) paddle, oar 73.11

qeli'neñ (stem *qeli* to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. *qalič'i'neñ* [stem *qalič'it*]): pen

te'ikineñ (K. K. *inataiki'nañ*) instrument (for work)

wañê'nañ instrument for work

lê'ê-têwênañ'a'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

(Kor. Kam. *tomñena'ñu* as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix *ine-* (Kor. Kam. *ina-*)
See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

ênq'nvênañ (stem *nv* [initial *ruu*]; *tinvi'rkín* I scrape); (Kor. Kam. *ênq'nvênañ* [stem *nv*; *tinve'kín* I scrape]) scraper

49. *-ičh* instrument (Kor. Kam. *-itñ*).

gittê'wičhín (stem *gittêu* to wipe, *-in* absolute form); (Kor. Kam. *gitta'witñín* [stem *gittaw*]) wiping-cloth

uneč'i'čhín thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from *unel* thong seal)

mêmrič'čhín thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from *memil* seal)

Kor. Kam. *ynootñe'ngo* from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7

§ 109. Place

50. **-nv** PLACE OF (absolute form **-n**) (Kor. Kam. **-nv** [absolute form **-nu**]).

van (stem *tva-*); (Kor. Kam. *va'na* [dual, plural, *va'nvit*]) place of being

waketva'n (stems *wake* and *tva*); (Kor. Kam. *vagalitva'na* [stems *vaga'li* and *tva*]) place of sitting

notagčēnvē'pu while walking in the wilderness 29.4

ralqa'ñinvuk on the house-site 31.6

ralēya'n sliding-place 114.16

tila'n (Kor. Kam. *tila'n*) place of moving, trail

tila'nvun place of trail 36.12

tila'nvuk on place of traveling 43.1

taikaus'qio'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4

oočvē'nvipū (better *oočvi'nvipū*) from the playground 74.17

oočvi'nvik on the playground 74.18

oočvinvē'ti to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—*u*.

ētinva'tinvē trye'tyäk I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.

yagqai' ūm yagta'linvē trye'tyäk did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.

riraqa'unvō for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

kmeña'tinvu nīlai'-gūm I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6

kīplo'nvu for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

§§ 110–111. Verbal Suffixes

§ 110. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

51. **-wulhI** expresses RECIPROCITY (Kor. Kam. **-vi|ñI**).

pēn'wulhirkīt (stem *pēn'ri* to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam.

penn'i'vi|ñirkīt [stem *penn'*], dual) they close for wrestling

lu^εulhirkīt (stem *lu^ε* to see) (Kor. Kam. *lu^ε'vi|ñirkīt* [stem *lu^ε*])

they see each other, they meet

gale^εolhiočīna'-mō'rē we have seen each other 121.15

52. **-s·qi^u** expresses AN ACTION PERFORMED ONCE ONLY (Kor. Kam. **-s·qi^u**).

yētīs·qi'urkin (Kor. Kam. *yatīs·qi'wikin*) he comes once

tīmīs·qē'urkin (Kor. Kam. *tīmīs·qē'wēkin*) he kills once

taikaus'qio'lvu for a place to wrestle once 47.4
qäniggeus'qiwkutk make them wake up all at once 56.3
gantó's'qêulên rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

minêrêatis'qiwnau I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10
quvr'yas'qi'wgi go and die! Kor. 35.1
gawyis'qi'wa eat! Kor. 36.1
mintu'las'qewlan let us steal it! Kor. 39.1
myalitêus'qi'wak I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—*lqiu*

gatomñalqi'wlinat they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. **-let** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE, DURATIVE, or more generally INTENSITY OF ACTION (Kor. Kam. **-lat**, less frequently **-êat**).

ñitola'tirkîn (Kor. Kam. *ñito-la'têkîn*) he goes out often
tymila'tirkîn (Kor. Kam. *tymila'têkîn*) he kills many
ninletele'tqin it flashed out always 32.8
qulile'tyîs gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
niquilile'tqin they are noisy 60.9
nitê'rgilatqên he cries aloud 38.3
nitepleññile'tqin she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek-* boots; *te*—*ñ* to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

Koryak:

gañvo'len êilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
yîykula'ti you were soft Kor. 26.7
gałalaññivo'ykin she passed by often Kor. 84.19
niquilila'tqin he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. **-yw(u)**, **-yv(u)** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-yvi**),

tala'iwurkin (Kor. Kam. *tala'ivekin*) he strikes many times
ninemilki'ywunin let it bite him! 104.29

Kor. Kam *gaitoi'vilenau* she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. **-t** (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.

|| *tî'ntilîstîjin* I bring it always (*t-* I; *intilîs* to bring; *-t* always;
 || *-i* auxiliary vowel; *-jin* I it)

56. **-êet** weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.

ñitoča'tirkîn or *ñitoča'arkîn* he goes out rarely
ten'ñeuče'tirkîn or *ten'ñeuče'erkîn* he laughs on the sly
marauča'arkîn he fights rarely
pênñiča'arkîn he wrestles rarely
minpo'ntočêta let us eat liver! 43.7
maraučêtino'ê he began to chide 56.1

57. **-čir** expresses a frequentative or intensive.

ten'neuči'rirkin he laughs all the time

walomčē'rirkin he gathers news continually

maraučē'ērkin he fights always

pēnričē'ērkin he rushes at him

Kor. Kam. *qułumtičitalat* they carry something large on their shoulders (*qułu* large; *imti* to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. **-ntet** indicates INCREASED ACTION, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. **-ntat**).

čuwir'rkın (Kor. Kam. *čvī'ž-*
kin) thou cuttest it

čuwintē'tirkın (Kor. Kam. *čvin-*
ta'tikın) it is cut through in several places; it is divided into several parts

rg'grkin (Kor. Kam. *čhō'ž-*
kin) he tears out hair

rognta'arkın (Kor. Kam. *čhōn-*
ta'tekin) he becomes bald

irgīro'k at dawn 10.4

gīrgīronta'lēn dawn came 10.9

qu'pqālın lean 80.5

gequpqānte'lın she has been quite starved

59. **-s·qi-čet**—a compound suffix formed of **-s·qi** SINGLE ACTION, **-čet** homologous to **-let** INTENSIVE ACTION—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

qu'tirkın he stands up

qu'tis'qičē'tirkın he jumps up

ñito'rkın he goes out

ñitos'qēča'tirkın he rushes out

gāntō's·qāčālēn he rushed out 57.11¹

gapē'nīs·qīčālēn he rushed on 44.4

getiñus'qičē'lın he gave a sudden tug 48.4

gereli's·qičēlın she suddenly pushed it in 89.4

60. **-ała** (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

|| *tnu'alajk* I eat but little (*t* I; *nu* to eat; *-jk* I)

|| *thē'lalajk* I drink but little (*t* I; *hēl* to drink)

61. **-qāet**, with verbs, expresses ENDEARMENT and DIMINUTION; evidently related to **-qāi** (§ 98,4).

ma'nēn-netaj'pū yetqāetı from what country hast thou come, my dear?

62. **-keu**, with transitive verbs, gives them a PASSIVE meaning, and conveys the idea of DERISION of the subject.

kēma'wkurgēum rē'tkewiım I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here

vālo'mkautē'rē, equ'likā they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise

¹ Evidently better, *ganto's·qēčālēn*.

63. **-ññg, -ño** expresses the INCHOATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-ñvg**; Kamchadal **-kqju, -kqj, -kju, -ju**). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is *ñoo*, in medial position *-mgo*, (Kor. Kam. *ñvo-*, Kamchadal *uju-*)

ño'orkin (Kor. Kam. *ñvo'ikin*, Kamchadal *ujujk*) he begins

In all three dialects the idea of the beginning of an action is expressed with precision, and the inchoative forms are therefore very common.

yilqaññg'orkin (Kor. Kam. *yilqannvo'ikin*, Kamchadal *ñükcr-kju'jk*) he goes to sleep

tipaiña'ññgê he begins to sing 59.9

nimñê'ññgê he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3

gaplɪtko'ññg'lɛnat they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

gewñvo'lenau they began to say Kor. 22.7

ga'a'nñvota haul them away! Kor. 51.6

geprñvolai'ke they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. **-öl, -õ** (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs **-al, -a**, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

tñükcrõlk
tñükcrojk } (stem *ñükc*) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep

tce'jajk (stem *tce'j*; I leave *tce'jijk*) I wish to leave

65. **-vato** (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.

tülčkvatõjin (stem *ülčk*) I am going to have a look at him

tnõvatojk (stem *nɯ* to eat) I am going to eat

66. **-čhat** expresses ANGER OF THE SPEAKER. (Kor. Kam. **-čñat**)

gamitvačha'tırkin or *gamitvačha'arkin* confound him! he eats

prntiqaačha'tyaen the bad one appeared 27.3

garaqčha'Lɛn what has the bad one done 31.9

vêčha'tyê the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5

tımı'čhannên he killed the bad one 44.5

am-ravêčha'n'ña naličha'tyê you bad one want to die 65.23

Kor. Kam. *ñitočña'tekın* he lumbers forth

67. **-tku**. This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. **-tčy**).
pêla'tkolıt those who had left her 33.8

This suffix also transforms transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. The subject is then placed in the absolute form; the object, in the possessive form. These forms, however, are used only with personal pronouns.

ğümü'kɪ ɣıt pêla'tkerkin you leave me

The suffix *-tku* (Kor. Kam. *-tčũ*) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vil'i'urkin (Kor. Kam. *vil'i'vikin* he makes peace with) he buys

vil'i'tkurkin (Kor. Kam. *vil'itčũkin*) he trades.

geilitko'i'vulin u'kkām they distributed vessels 14.1

timitko'i'vuk slaughtering 49.3

tim'i'tkēnēnat he killed all 61.4; 112.3

minranmūtko'ñinat let us slay them all 101.19

ve^εtkoča'a^εt they all died 112.2

timi'tkerkin (Kor. Kam. *timi'tčũkin*) he kills many

Koryak:

gačvi'tčulinau they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7

gaplitčũ'linau they finished it Kor. 50.1

lėlapitčōñvo'ykin he looks up Kor. 42.8

gačapitčōñvo'len she looked around Kor. 44.9

yenotčōñvo'ykin he is eating Kor. 13.6

gačanñitčōñvo'len she was jealous Kor. 96.1

Paren *qigitetkin'qin* look at it! Kor. 101.11

tigilñu-čũ'čũ-ñaw-i-um snow-shoe-strings-very-eating-woman
am I (*tigilñin* snowshoe-string; *-u* to consume *-čũ'čũ* [*<tku-*
tku] verily; *ñaw* women) Kor. 59.7

The suffix *-tku* is always used in the transitive verb to indicate the forms THOU—US; YE—ME, US (see § 63). It gives the verb a generalized form. For instance:

pēla'tkoē^ε thou leavest a number (meaning US)

pēla'tkōtik ye leave a number (meaning ME or US)

The element *inē-* has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

68. *-tvī* TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. *-tvī*).
u^εmitvi'rkin (stem *u^εm*) (Kor. Kam. *umitvi'kin* [stem *u^εm*]) he becomes broad.

qititvč'rkīn (stem *qit*) (Kor. Kam. *qititvč'ikin*) he becomes thin

eñe'netvi^ε he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4

eñe'ñitvi-turi you acquired shamanistic power 18.3

nūmqitvi'qin it diminished 20.2, 4

nūplu^εtvī'qin it becomes small 20.3

wulqätvi'i^ε it grew dark 54.9

Kor. Kam. *qamalitva'thirk* cause it to become better Kor. 13.2

Kor. Kam. *vr^εya'tvik* to fainting Kor. 64.9

69. *-čēt* with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. *-čāt*).

mitteñičē'erkīn we feel good 69.8

tēñičē'tirkīn (*tēñ* good) (Kor. Kam. *iañičā'tikīn*) he feels good

tañičē'tingō^ε he began to feel well 33.5

gmīčē'tirkīn (Kor. Kam. *gmīčā'tekīn*) he feels warm

70. *-ew*, *-et*, are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

ɛimɛ'u to approach

ɛimet to take

ɛiñɛu to call

ɛiñet to roar

urɛu to appear 53.6

ureut

omɛu to get warm

gr'tteu hungry

ulvɛu to remain motionless

gittɛkau guide

37.2

gintɛu to flee

yigrɛu thirsty

lpuuret to exchange

wêthau to talk

ewkwet to depart

puulɛu to float

eret to fall

ptkɛu to hit

ergewet to be submerged 17.4

marɛu to quarrel

yiret full

metɛu to be unable

yopat to visit

tɛiɛu to wrestle

ywulet alive

teñ·ñeu to laugh

wêttat to tear with antlers

tumɛu to become friendly

ventet to be open

numeɛu to gather

vinřet to help

notas'qau land approaches

pelqântet to return

lmala'u to obey

pêkagtat to fall down

lvau unable

peñet tired

lqäineu to shoot

tautauat to bark

kryeu to be awake

têrgat to cry

kimeu to cause delay

tulet to steal

korgau to be glad

ɛipet to plunge

yilhau fear

terɛu to be a certain number on a series

Possibly related to the preceding is *nɪ—ɛu* (Kor. Kam. *-au*) adverbial suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

nime'leu qatvɔ'ɛ̃s be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer

nite'leu tirkiplɪ'ãn I struck him painfully (*tɛl* to suffer, to have pain)

niglaɪu qatvɔ'rkin be sorrowful! (*glo* SORROWFUL, here contracted with *au*; *tva* to be)

nime'leu well (*mɛl* good); (Kor. Kam. *nima'leu* [*mal* good])

nɪ'tɛu heavily (*itɛ* heavy); (Kor. Kam. *nɪ'tɛau*)

*Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

a'ɪtgêuma (from *e'tqiñ* bad; stem *äqä'* R) 62.72)

Kor. Kam. *a'tɛiñau* (from *a'tɛiñ* bad; stem *badly aqa*)

Kamchadal *hă'qä̃s* (from *e'č'kelax* bad)

me'čēn'kɪ (Chukchee *meč* < *mel* good; *en'kɪ* thus) well
v'naʼ (Koryak *nɪ'naqin* quick) quickly

71. **-ru** forms the INCHOATIVE of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. **-yu**).

ɪlɛ'erkɪn it is raining

ɪlɪrɪ'rɪkɪn it is beginning to rain

yogə'arkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yoyoa'-tekɪn*) the wind is blowing

yogro'rɪkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yoyo-yo'ekɪn*) the wind begins to blow

läʼlenru'ɪʼ winter came 14.9

aivé'čirok in the evening 26.3

irgɪro'ññok (stem *irg* 27.13) at the beginning of dawn 26.9

laʼlaʼnroma at the beginning of cold 33.6

gɪtharo'k in the beginning of the autumn 33.6

irgɪro'ka not dawning 56.9

ɪlɪru'ɪʼ it begins to rain 116.8

gaʼlɪgɪrɪgɪro'lɛn the snow began to drift 94.28

The same suffix is used with stems of different character.

čélhɪro'ê it becomes red 23.9

nɪtɛrgɪro'qɛn he began to cry 55.3

Koryak:

gawyaɫyo'lɛn a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1

laqlaɳyo'yɪkɪn winter came Kor. 72.5

pɪɳa'tikɪn it is snowing

peɳayo'ɛkɪn it is beginning to snow

72. **-ru** is used also to express GREAT NUMBER. This suffix is different from the preceding.

qärru'äʼt they came in great numbers 67.16

waqero'aʼt they were sitting in great numbers 68.29

Kor. Kam. *gawya'lyolɛn* a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1

laqlaɳyo'yɪkɪn winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).

§ 111. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

73. **-ñɪta** TO FETCH (Kor. Kam. the same).

raɳ-ñɪta'rɪkɪn what are you going to fetch? why do you come?

aɳaɳalɪnta'ɪt shaman fetchers 45.7

Koryak:

yax-ñɪta'yɪkɪn what are you going to fetch?

§ 111

74. **-tuwe, -tv** TO TAKE OFF (clothing) (Kor. Kam. **-tIva**).

kê'ttuwa'ê he took off his clothes 109.15

kêttuwa'nnên he undressed her 50.11

nîčvituve'qîn he took off his outer coat 57.3

wutr'čhitvuê he took off his overcoat 35.5

mêrêgtuwa'ê he brushed away the tears 49.9

nînečînqetuwe'qîn (*n-ine-čînke-tuwe-qîn*, *čînke* saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

nîmeyeyitva'qen he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10

gatamtiva'len he spit out bones Kor. 56.8

pčai-trvai' he took off his boots

75. **-îp** (**-êp**, **-gûp**) TO PUT ON CLOTHING; **-îp** after vowels; **êp** after consonants; **-gûp** after diphthongs ending in *i* and in a few other cases (compare the ablative **-îpû** § 42, p. 704)

tîqalêi'pûa^êk < t(i) -qêli -îp - (û) -ă^êk I put on my cap

têrêpûa^êk < t -îr -êp - (û) -ă^êk I put on my fur-shirt

tîkonai'gûpğa^êk < t(i) -kônai-gûp-gă^êk I put on my breeches

kêrêgûpgê^ê < kêr-gûp-gi^ê she put on her dress 52.9

76. **-gîli-** TO SEARCH FOR (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).

kulte'-ili'rkrî they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide

gînni'g-gîli'liqâgti little game-procurers 44.8

pîliqîli'lit food-procurers 44.9

gînni'g-gîli'lit game-procurers 44.9

77. **-u** TO CONSUME, TO EAT (Kor. Kam. **-u**) (perhaps related to the verb *nu* [initial *ru*], Kor. Kam. *yu* [initial *nu*]).¹

ennurkin (Kor. Kam. *ennu'îkin*) he eats fish

pontô'rkin (Kor. Kam. *pontô'îkin*) he eats liver

kîmlu'ă^êt they ate marrow 33.12

mînpô'ntoêta let us eat a little liver 43.7

nîpo'ntoqên he ate liver 43.9

qaponto'tik eat liver! 64.21

also

gamêmele'lên he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

mîta^êttayr'pnula we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9

trya'yîlku I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2

also

tîqa'payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

¹ *ru'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *yu'ykin*) he eats it.

§ 112. *Adjective and Adverb*

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. *-lāx* (sometimes *-lax*)

ö'mlax deep (cf. Ch. *um* broad)

iul'läx long (cf. Ch. *iul* long)

o'lolax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix *-(i)^εn*.

o'lolaxi^εn ki'stri^εnč small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.

gai-yaraqa'gtê (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in *-lax* is placed before the noun.

o'lolax-kê'stānke to the small house (diminutive allative)

It seems not unlikely that the synthetic use of attributive stems has disappeared under Russian influence. Russian and Koryak adjectives are often used by the Kamchadal, in their foreign form, almost without change.

niru'qin xva'lč a sharp knife (*niru'qin* is Koryak)

n'mi'tqin k!ča'mjanl' a wary man (*n'mi'tqin* is Koryak)

nve'thagen u^εh a straight tree (*nve'thagen* is Koryak)

nve'thalā^εn u^ε hr^εn straight trees (*nve'thalā^εn* is a Koryak form)

vo'stroi xvalč a sharp knife (*vo'stroi* is Russian)

There is no phonetic assimilation of any of these adjectives.

A few predicative forms correspond to the Chukchee-Koryak forms in *ni—qin*.

k!ni'tain the clever one (from *ni'ta* sense, wit); cf. *ni-gitte'p-qin* (Chukchee) the clever one.

79. *-q*, *-aq*, are sometimes found with attributive stems. These forms are generally compounded with verbs. This form is probably identical with the locative form of the stem.

wiēha'qu-wa'lin the flat one

koulo'qu-wa'lin the round one

ēmpa'qu-wa'lin the downcast one

koulo'qī gātei'kīqin (Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ qatai'kīqin*) make it round

em elvula'q re'mkin ralai'vūñnoē only in a different manner people shall begin to walk about 86.14

80. *-yut* DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. *-yut* dual, *-yuwgi* pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

CHUKCHEE	KOR. KAM.		
	Dual	Plural	
<i>Enne'nyut</i>	<i>Ena'nyut</i>	<i>Ennanyu'wgi</i>	one each
<i>ñire'yut</i>	<i>ñiye'yut</i>	<i>ñiye'yu'wgi</i>	two each
<i>ñiro'yot</i>	<i>ñiyo'yot</i>	<i>ñiyo'yo'wgi</i>	three each
<i>ñira'yot</i>	<i>ñaya'yot</i>	<i>ñaya'yo'wgi</i>	four each
<i>mili'nyot</i>	<i>mili'nyot</i>	<i>mili'nyo'wgi</i>	five each
<i>mingi'tjot</i>	<i>mingi'yot</i>	<i>mingi'yo'wgi</i>	ten each

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix *em-* (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

em-ñire'yuta qanpirtvaarke'etki just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

Ennanyou'ti to one each

Ennanyoi'pñ from one each

81. *-čē*, *-čā* NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. *-ča*).

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

*qun'ečā*¹*enna'nča, qu'n'ač*¹ Kor. once
53.2*ñire'čā**ñiye'ča*

twice

*ñiro'ča**ñiyo'ča*

three times

ñira'ča 12.8*ñaya'ča*

four times

*mili'nča**mili'e'nča*

five times

*mingi'tča**mingi'tča*

ten times

Kor. Kam. *exune'če* all the time Kor. 92.19

82. *-(i)ñ* (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form *va'lin* (< *tva+lin*) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with *i'tala'n* (*it + la'n*.²) (see p. 764)

In Chukchee the *ñ* before *v* generally changes to *m*. In other cases the suffix is dropped entirely. The connective vowel then changes to *u* before the *v*, which in turn changes to *w*.

qa'tvum-va'lin (Kor. Kam. *qa'tvuñ-i'tala'n*) being strong

ta'ñum-va'lin or *ta'ñu-wa'lin* (Kor. Kam. *ta'ñiñ-i'tala'n*) being good

¹ Derived from *qun* single.

² The corresponding Chukchee form *i'tilin* THE ONE WHO IS is not used in compounds of this type.

A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in *-lin* (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in *-(i)ñ* compounded with *vglin*.

vi'čhɪm-vg'lin (Kor. Kam. *vi'čhɪyɪñ-i'talaʔn*) the flat one
č'mpum-va'lin the one downcast

Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ-italaʔn* the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending *-q* or *-aq* (see this section, No. 79). The compounds with *vg'lin*, when referred to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used frequently in this connection.

qɑ'mga-qlɑ'ulɪk qɑ'tvum-vg'lêũm I am stronger than everybody
(gẽmge- every; qlɑ'ul man; -k possessive; qetv strong; -ĩ- um I [§ 73, p. 758])

§ 113. Prefixes

1. *êto-* A LITTLE.

êto'-qaiɑ'qañ a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (*eto'* 51.4)

mač-êto'pêl a little better 135.7

2. *q'mkɪn-* EVERY.

q'mkɪn-aiwêčhê'tɪ every evening 28.9

q'mkɪn-kɪyeu'kɪ at every awaking 29.2

3. *tɪlv-* QUITE.

tɪlv-am-gina'n quite you only 30.4

tɪlv-a'mɪnan quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9

tɪlv-ũ'ñä quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

4. *tɪñkɪ*—JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory meaning.

tɪnk-am-gũmna'n just I only

tɪnk-ũ'ñä just nothing

tɪnk-ũ'ñä rānut he has nothing at all R 63.88

tɪnk-a'tqêumä quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. *pɪč-* only, merely.

6. *ɪm-* (Kor. Kam. *ɪmɪñ-*, Kamchadal *mĩni't*) ALL.

i'me-rä's'nut all kinds 111.28

i'mu-gɪnni'kä all kinds of game 128.9

Koryak

ɪmɪ-pla'ku all boots

i'mɪñ noo'wge all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6

i'mɪñ qai-vai'amtɪ all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form *ɪmlo'* 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with noun and without; *ɪmɪ'lin* takes the same kinds of forms as nouns in *-lin* (see p. 717).

The Kamchadal form *mīni'l* forms—

|| Allative *mīnela'nke*

|| Allative, possessive, instrumental *mīni'link*, less often *mī'l*.

7. *em-* MERE (Kor. Kam. *am-*, Kamchadal *em-*). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

em-ñe'us'qätti (Kor. Kam. *a^em-ña'wis'qatu*, Kamchadal *em-ñi'm carⁿ*) mere women

em-a^e'ttim mere bones 35.5

em-mu'Litä all with blood 40.10

em-ñe'nñi all these 41.10

em-nu'ñiçit those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26

çiq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25

em qinu'n-niki'tä midnight 9.11

am-nōñg'ti just inland 67.19; 114.24

am-gina'n only thou 30.3

am-taaro'ña with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9

am-ravč^ečha'n-ña merely to die 65.23

am-ya'ata only by using it 143.3

Koryak:

am-čerepro'nau entirely silver Kor. 22.10

am-ma'kil-ñe'eta only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5

am-ma'na just in different directions Kor. 25.6

8. *plī-* (with nouns) EVERY.

gaplīkoi'ñilēn every one has a tea-cup

nīplītañtēnmūqēn they were applying everything 41.3

9. *mē^e-*, *mīq-* SMALL.

10. *mēč-* SOMEWHAT.

met-ki'it somehow 40.7

meč-telenye'pkin somewhat of old 61.5

mač-ya'a far enough 62.12

mač-ēwga'n as an incantation 39.13

meč-ä^e'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

11. *mēl-* LIKE (Kor. Kam. *mał-*).

mēl-uwä^e'quč it seems like a husband 49.9

12. *mīte-* ACTUALLY.

mīte'-vilin actually dead

mīte'-qinni'k actually game 84.28

13. *tīmñe'-* ANY (Kor. *pał'a*).

tīmñe'-mē'ñin whosoever

tīmñe'-rä^e'nut whatsoever

tümñ-alva'lag wheresoever 24.11

tü'mñê-mê' mlükên ginnî'k any kind of water game 25.6

tümñ-añqa'gti somewhere to seaward 13.1

14. **ter-** HOW MANY (Kor. Kam. *ta^sy-*).

tar-ga'ata ewkwe'tyi^s with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. **čiq-** EXCESSIVELY.

čêqî-yq'a too far

čêq-a'lvam-va'lag how very strange! 76.5; 63.4

čiq-em-nu'ñqî far inland 114.25

čêq-a'lvam va'lin being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27

čiq-etuwä'k all at once 43.10

16. **čhi-** HARDLY, always used with the negative (probably from

gičhî, as in *nigr'čhiqîn* RARE).

qčhêqamitvaka almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. **li-** (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) EVERY.

li-mê'nki everywhere

li-mê'ñko from everywhere

18. **lii-, lhi-, lli-, lhi-** TRULY (Kor. Kam. *liqî-, lhi-*).

li'i-teñ-evi'rälin really well closed 33.3

li'ê-taničê'tino^s she began to feel truly well 33.5

nîlhinü'mkäqîn really quite numerous 111.16

lê'ê-têwênañ'a'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

li'ê-ñarau'tile really wife seeking 57.1

li'i-i'ppe quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. *nîlheni'ktaqên* a very hard one

19. **pil-** (Kamchadal) quickly.

|| *xpil-nu'xč* you eat quickly

20. **x'i-** (Kamchadal) quite, very.

|| *x'ê-plox* very large

|| *x'i-čini'ñläx* very pretty, very good

21. **lhi-, l'hi-** (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

|| *t-l'i-tpi'lijk* I really shake myself (i. e., I can shake myself properly)

22. **kî-, k'î-** (after prefixes *-gtî-*) VERY (Kor. Kam. *kî-, k'î-* [after prefixes *-ktî-*]).

nîqtîlâulâu'qên he mocked much 143.1; 144.4

gaqtan'ñinaï'pülên she was very angry 89.3

gaqtî-palka'la^sn very decrepit 111.26

gaqtîqami'tvatîk eat ye enough! 65.16

When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in *ni-qin*, *kit* either precedes the prefix *ni-*, or the *ni-* may be repeated initially

kim-nimai'enqên or *nigtir-nimai'enqên* it is quite large

23. **qun-** SINGLE (Kor. Kam. **qun-**).

qon-mi'nga with a single hand 67.19

qon-qa'a with a single reindeer

qon-ra'lin with a single house 34.1

qona'črnkna with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. **gemge-** EVERY (Kor. Kam. **ga'mga-**).

ge'mge-qinni'k every kind of game 41.11

ge'mge-ni'kin everybody 66.28

ga'mga-ni'mgüpü from every settlement 36.1

ge'mge-nute'qin from every land 11.5

Koryak:

ga'mga-qai-na'wis'qat every little woman Kor. 34.9

ga'mga-olgrwe'trñ to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. **paLa-** (Koryak) ANY (Chukchee **ti mñ'e-** (see No. 13, p. 816)).

paLa'-ma'ki whosoever

paLa'-yi'nnä whatever

26. **luñ-** NEGATIVE PARTICLE, always used with nominal forms of the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

luñ-i'rä not crossing 41.5

luñ-iwkuč'i'tä not drinking 37.3

luñ-res'qi'wäi'tyät they did not want to enter 115.19

luñ-lu'e'tä not seen 11.9

tegg'e'nu luñ-i'lhiln has no desire 93.32

luñ-čei'vä without walking

loñ-ēna'tvata without promises 101.23

loñ-īpa'uln not drinking

loñ-wa'loma not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb *-nt-* (initial *rit-*), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.

luñ-lu'e'tä tr'ntigr I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. **egn-** sometimes replaces the negative particles *ui'nä*, *e'le*, and *en'ñe'*.

agn-aqami'tvaka do not eat!

agn-a'nmäka without killing R 44.11

28. *ine-* transforms transitive verbs into intransitives, either without other change of meaning or with the significance TO DO ON BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF. The object, when retained, is expressed in the locative.

tinenlete'erkın ki'mitik I take the load away for myself (*t-* I; *nlete* to take away; *-rkin* present; *ki'mit-* load)

The use of *ine-* in the transitive verb has been discussed in § 63, p. 736.

Examples are:

ênapêla'ê thou leavest some one (namely, me)

ênapêla'tik ye leave some one (namely, me)

See, also, § 110, 67.

29. *inen-* TRANSITIVE (see *te*—*n(i)*, § 114, 2, p. 821).

30. *lalk-* (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

|| *la'li^εn kxə^εn* how many dogs?

|| *la'li^εn kləxöl olxta'tockepnin* he passed there a few days

§ 114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(a) With intransitive verbs.

Chukchee.	Kor. Kam.
<i>r(i)</i> — <i>u</i> (after terminal vowel)	<i>y(i)</i> — <i>v</i>
<i>r(i)</i> — <i>eu</i> (after terminal consonant)	<i>y(i)</i> — <i>aw, av</i>
<i>r(i)</i> — <i>et</i> (after terminal <i>u</i> diphthong <i>iu, eu, au</i>)	<i>y(i)</i> — <i>at</i>

After verbal prefixes, the *r(i)*, *y(i)*, changes to *n(i)*.¹

ri-qamitva'-u-rkin-en he was made to eat 9.8 (from *qamitva*)

ri-tel-e'u-rkin you cause to be unwell (from *tel*)

ri-nêlkiwe'-n-nin he was made to sit on it 8.11

ri-gg-eu'-nin he awakened him 7.5

ni-nto-w'-nên he made him go out 60.3

ri-pintik-eu'-nin he made it appear 9.8

ga-n-êçhêt-au'-lên he made it jump off 47.7

riyirrau'nênat they caused them to be anointed 74.33

inegâli'keukı (we) induced her to marry 26.5

gante'mgaulên has been created 42.1

anintoña'tkelên she does not make it go out 54.6

qanintoña'tyê^ε cause him to go out! 54.7

¹See also p. 735.

Koryak:

- y-awy-a't-ikin* you cause to eat (from *awy*)
yī-tal-a'w-ikin you cause to be unwell (from *tal*; *ta'l-l'-ikin*
 you are unwell)
yīyīgīrēha'wik tickling (him) Kor. 18.9
qīnathīlew' make it warm! Kor. 29.3
qanva'kyīntat tear him up Kor. 30.7
tenanīkyo'nñirvoi it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4
ganīpqa'wlenau he made them climb up Kor. 43.4
ganvaqyīl'a'wlen she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20

(b) With transitive verbs.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>r(ī) — ñēt</i> | <i>y(ī) — w, v</i> |
| <i>rī-kēto-ñā't-ī-rkin</i> you re- | <i>yī-keto-v-e'kin</i> you remind him |
| mind him (from <i>kēto</i> to | (from <i>keto</i>) |
| remember) | |

(c) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix *r(ī)*-Kor.Kam. *y* [ī]-)

- r-erē'erkin* you cause it to fall down (from *erē'e*)
ra'tvunēn she carried it in 28.7
reimeu'ninet it approached them 41.4
rintīninet she threw them out 87.30
 Kor. Kam. *yī-kima'w-ikin* you detain him (from *kimaw* to be

(d) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (a) become transitive.

- ru-wēthaw-a't-ī-rkin* you speak to him (from *wēthau* to speak)
ru-wēt-hawau'nēn it talked to her 32.3

In Kamchadal two prefixes are found, *n-* and *lin-*. Of these, the former corresponds to the Chukchee-Koryak forms—

- t-ī-n-kī'le-j-in* I surround him (from *kile*; *t-kī'le-jk* I turn around)
t-lī'-nu-j-in I feed him (from *nu* to eat; *t-nu-jk* I eat)
t-lin-hī'l-ī-j-in I give him to drink (from *hīl*; *t-hī'l-ī-jk* I drink)
t-o-n-cl-ī'-j-in I cause him to lie down (from *cl*; *t-col-o-jk* I lie down)

NOTE.—Certain verbs may be used both intransitive and transitive:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>tūpa'urkin</i> I drink | <i>ñī'rāq ča'gtē napa'unea</i> they have
drunk two pieces of bark tea |
| <i>ne'us-qāt gi'ulin</i> the woman
said 98.7 | <i>Ta'n-ña gi'ulin</i> the <i>Tan-ñit</i> told
him 98.5 |

2. *tē*—*ñ(I)* TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. *ta*—*ñ[I]*). This may be related to the verb *tēikɪ* (Kor. Kam. *taikɪ*) TO MAKE.

tirvu'ñirkin he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *irv*);
Kor. Kam. *tisvi'ñikɪn*

nitepleññile'tqin she made boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek*-boots; -*let* frequentative [§ 110.53])

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix *inen-* (Kor. Kam. *inan-*) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive. The meaning of the compound is causative.

tinenyē'nñirkin (Kor. Kam. *tinanya'nñikɪn*) you make him come

tēnantemqɪ'ñirkin you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun *Tēnanto'mqɪñ*¹ (Kor. Kam. *Tēnanto'mvñ*) one who causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

tēnanyiv'lñ-ora'wêlan a person who causes one to give (i. e. beggar)

3. *rē*—*ñ(I)* expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. *ya*—*ñ[I]*). The prefix and suffix of these forms are identical with those of the future, but the suffix is placed immediately following the stem and is itself followed by the suffixes belonging to the tenses.

rapa'wñirkin (Kor. Kam. *yapa'wñekɪn*) he desires to drink (stem: Ch. *ipau*, Kor. Kam. *apaw*)

rerku'rñirkin (stem *rkur*) (Kor. Kam. *yaiku'yñikɪn* [stem *ikuy*]) he desires to buy

rantq'ñiñgi he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *ntq* to come out; -*ñño* to begin)

ravē'ēhə'n'ñā do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *vi*² to die; -*ēhə* [§ 110.66])

nire'vi'ñqin he wants to die 99.27

nerelū'ñirkin-i-qit they want to see thee 19.6

Koryak:

tryayr'lqatɪñ I want to sleep Kor. 30.3

tryayaɪ'tɪñ I want to go home Kor. 30.5

ganka'wlinau ya's'qanñik they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2

4. *ē*—*kɪ*, *ē*—*kā* (Kor. Kam. *a*—*kɪ*, *a*—*ka*; Kor. Par., *e*—*kɪ*, *a*—*ke*; Kamchadal —*kɪ* —*k*, —(*ñ*)*kɪn*, *ñkan*) NEGATION, expressing WITHOUT —.

¹ This form is different from the form for HE CREATES THEM. The "Creator" is therefore, even in grammatical form, only a "Weltgestalter."

The compounds formed with *ε—ki* are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

anvênauka'gti gewku'lin he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer)
50.12 (*nvineu* to break a reindeer; *-gti* allative [§ 40]; *ge—lin* [§ 74]; *wkut* to tie)

elile'ki eyeless

aa'lakê a person without knife

enu'nniki nameless one (=fourth finger)

Koryak:

| *a'xqike kuma'ti* the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with *ε—kä* are used as complements of the verb.

eqy'likä qänel'hitik make yourselves voiceless 60.10

i'mlikä titva'a'k I was without water

akê'rika ne'lyi^ε it became lightless 94.11

ênî'ngäikä nere'tërmük we shall be made childless 39.4

res'qi'wkw^ε *a'kêrka* he entered without clothing 35.10

a'kêrka ñan ra'gtiê^ε he came home without clothing 35.10

giwq'nkq mitine'l we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12

aqam'tvaka titva'ak not eating I was

awgêtkinka not saying anything 26.6

e'le e'lqätä not going 46.8

aurrikê'gti not appearing 66.10

aa'lomka heedless 67.9

e'le eu'rretkä not appearing 62.1

akêrkitur^εat they took off clothes (they became without clothing) 47.5

e'gripqi^ε awgêntoya'nvuka she felt pain the breathless one 63.8

(*e'grip* to feel pain; *-qi^ε* [§ 64]; *wgi-* breath; *ñito* to go out; *-yanv* verbal noun [§104.38])

eqüññe'tkä gene'lin he had become without moaning (i.e., he had ceased moaning) 34.7

etE'lkä nine'lqin he came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:

| *akmi'nika gi'linat* childless they were Kor. 43.8

aqalha'aka qitr'ykin-i-gi not crying be! Kor. 37.1

akle'woka tina'lik without bread I remained Kor. 16.2

ava'leika yana'lantik you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13

gümna'n u'ña yinna ei'lika tr'ntiga'n (Chukchee *gümna'n*

e'le rä^εnut e'ilkä tr'ntiä^εn) I not anything (not) given I had to him

In some cases, particularly with *u'ñä* NOTHING, THERE IS NOTHING, the forms in *-ka* appear apparently predicative, presumably with

omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in *-käl'in* are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

ui'ñä aa'raka nothing, houseless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a house) 31.7

ui'ñä eleu'tikä nothing, headless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a head) 47.8

ui'ñä epi'ñkä (Kor. Par. *e'le epi'ñke*) there is no powder

Koryak:

ui'ña aña'wtrñka he had no wife Kor. 50.5

ui'ña a'nvilka he did not stop Kor. 51.8

ui'ña ava'leika ? is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12

ui'ña kama'kanu ana'ka (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10

ui'ña ane'lhrypnuka (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding *ε—kä* to the stem, have a passive meaning; with the prefix *ine-* placed immediately preceding the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

anintoña'tka ri'trkin you make him one who is not caused to go out (i. e., you do not make him go out) 54.10

evgr'tkukä teu'lanên he shook what was not dug out with the nails 47.2

enñi'ukä mr'nr'ntinet let us have them not sent over (i. e. I wish we had not sent them) 58.2

e'le enu'ka not being eaten 48.8

alo'ka'gtr va'le-üm I am not seen 22.10

elu'kä not seen ones 62.1

e'le a'lomka it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:

| *uiña i'wka ga'ntilen* he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

ëna'nmüka riné'ntri' thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9

inenvente'tkäl-i-git thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27

inenu'käli-muri we are those who do not consume it 35.1

gümna'n ënalwar'kël-ê-üm I am not unable to do it 92.30

inelu'kälinet he has not seen them 70.33

inegite'käl'in, e'le she does not look at me 88.31

The form *e—kä* is always used for the negative imperative, with the particle *en·ñe'*.

en·ñe' e'le'pkä do not look 32.6

en·ñe' inegite'kä do not look at her 37.9

en·ñe' a'i'püka do not put it on 37.8

en'ñe' aa'qəka do not sit down 37.13

en'ñe' a'tvrtkoka do not tell 66.29

en'ñe' aqamit'vaka qit'ytitık do not be without eating 64.19
(without verb 65.30)

en'ñe' rırowa'ta ata'ka qantı'gıtıkı do not pass it at a distance 70.9

en'ñe' gi'inu e'lhıkä do not attock it 70.14

en'ñe' êna'nmäka don't kill me! 103.30

en'ñe' ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form without *en'ñe'*)

Koryak:

| *kıtta' atawañı'la'ka* do not look back! Kor. 51.6

| *kıtt-a'wyıka qit'hi^ε* do not eat!

Kamchadal:

|| *jak-nu'kek (ksıwə)* do not eating (be)!

Without *en'ñe'*, we find—

atê'rgatka do not cry! 7.6

ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.11

Koryak:

| *annuwai'ka* do not leave anything! Kor. 46.2

Here also the auxiliary verb is usually omitted.

Apparently in the form of an adjective, we find—

na'qam üm e'un aqora'ınrêtkä Aı'wan then, however, the Aiwan, careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6

qora'ñı envıneukä yılhe'nnın he attached an unbroken reindeer 50.11

Derived from the negative suffix *-kä* are *-kêlin*, *-kälın* (Kor. Kam. *-kälä^{en}*), formed with the suffix *-lın* (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This form, in accordance with the character of *-lın*, is more markedly predicative.

ımlı'kêlin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:

| *wotta'kin ake'ykıla^{en}* that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14

Kamchadal:

|| *ılêılkin* without tongue

|| *qaqe'kan* without nose

|| *kı'mma qam nı'kin* I am not wifeless

The verbal character appears most clearly with pronouns of the first and second person.

antə'kêl-ê-gıt you do not go out 54.10

aqə'lomkêl-ê-gıt you do not hear 54.11

alimg'lkēl-ê-grt you do not obey 54.11

é'le êna'nmičū i'tkāl-i-ūm I do not become a murderer 24.8

é'le enpiku'wkāl-i-ūm I am not vanquished 15.9

inenvent'ekāl-i-grt thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27

gūmna'n ênalwau'kēl-ê-ūm I am not unable 92.30

eiwul'ekēl-mu'ri we do not know it 34.8

inenu'kālī-muri we do not eat 35.1

é'le agamī'tvakāl-ê-ūm I did not eat

Koryak Kamenskoye:

ui'ña awyikałai'gūm I did not eat, but *ui'ña a'wyika ti'tik* not eating I was

ui'ña api'ñkālāigūm I am without powder

Kamchadal:

gam nu'kek tsik not eating I was

gam nuke'ñkin (ki'mma) I did not eat

Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

é'le alimglau'kēlēn he is one who does not heed 15.12

aqla'ulkēlēn she was without a man 28.2

amata'kēlēn she was unmarried 28.2

aa'lomkēlēn she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2

čit evi's'kālīn re'mkin formerly people were death-less 42.2

Enra'q ūm ELA' evi's'kālīn now the mother was immortal 41.12

é'le anto'kēlēn she did not go out 54.9 (without *é'le* 54.5)

va'nēvan anto'kēlēn not at all she went out 54.8

emite't-ūm ataa'nkēlēn tē'rgilin since she did not touch the crying one 56.6

va'nēvan eu'rrekēlīn it does not appear at all 62.2

eres'giu'kālīn Ena'n čini't he himself did not want to enter 103.17

emitkätvu'kēlīn the blubber was not scraped off 47.1

nene'negāi anintoña'tkelēn she did not cause the child to go out 54.6

aa'lomkēlēnat they did not listen 13.5

ey'lqakēlinet they were not sleeping 34.3

inelu's'kālīnet he has not seen them 70.33

inegite'kālīn she did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of *-kālīn* with *ui'ña* seem quite analogous to forms in *-kā* with this particle (see p. 823).

ui'ña aa'lomkēlēn they do not listen 56.2

ui'ña akē'rikālēn there was nothing, without light 40.9

Enga'n ui'ñä čit eñe'ñkälín that one was nothing, before not
with guardian spirits 60.1

Kor. *ui'ña ama'yñkälē-i-güm* I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

elile'kēlāqāgti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix *-lax* (§112, 78) before the negative changes to *-lix*.

k'i'mma qam ulul'i'xkin I am not small

Kamchadal *x'ē—ki* with intransitive verbs, *x'ē—kic* with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms, which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

x'ēnu'ki impossible to eat

x'ētxelekic impossible to beat him

x'ē is presumably of the same origin as the particle *x'ēnc*.

§§ 115–121. Word-composition

§ 115. Introductory Remarks

Stems may be compounded in such a manner that one stem which qualifies another is placed before it. The two stems together form a unit which takes morphological affixes as a whole—prefixes preceding the first stem, suffixes following the second stem. The first stem, therefore, always terminates without morphological suffixes, the second one begins without morphological prefixes. If in the complex of stems a strong vowel or syllable occurs, the whole complex takes the ablaut.

māiñ-a'č'i-kālē'li-č'ŭ'mñi (Kor. Kam. *maiñ-a'č'i-kālē'li-č'ŭ'mña*) a
big fat speckled buck

Each stem may retain the word-forming suffixes or prefixes enumerated in §§ 97–114.

Composition is used particularly for the following purposes.

1. When the second stem is a noun, the first element is an attribute of the second.

2. When the second element is a verb, the first element is an adverbial qualifier of the second. Here belongs particularly the case that when the first stem is a noun, the second a verb, the former is the object of the latter.

§ 116. *Attributive Composition*

Attributive composition of two nouns is used when the first noun expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second noun. These are used in the absolute form as well as with postpositions.

1. The first element expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second term.

ga'lgā-na'lhīn bird-skin 7.9

ri'rka-ka'la walrus spirit 8.4

pa'nvar-ri'rkat two-year-old walrus 8.10

ri'rka-npīnā'ēhīn walrus old man 9.6

aiwhua'-npīnā'ēhāqai Eiwhue old man 11.10

ēiwhue'-ora'wēlan Eiwhue person 12.4

ēiwhue'-nē'ut Eiwhue woman 12.5

wo'lqi-varrgē'ti to the Darkness-Being 18.11

ora'wēr-ra'mkā by human people 21.8

a'nqa-va'irgin sea-being 25.4

ke'le-nē'wān kele wife 38.11

a'l-qla'ul excrement man 39.9

poig-ō'ttoet (Kor. Kam. *poig-ō'ttoot*) spear wood

pilvi'nti-pna'wkun iron file

ra'ē'-pi'ñil (Kor. Kam. *yaq-pi'ñil* or *yaga'-pñil*) what news 11.2

lile'-ēu'rmitā on the sight border (= just out of sight) 11.8

ra'g-ēo'rmik on the house border 12.12

Koryak:

nawa'kak daughter Kor. 12.4

pilvi'nti-yi'nnala'n with iron antlers Kor. 21.8

yi'lhilru finger-gloves Kor. 22.2

lawti-ki'lēiēñin head-band Kor. 17.12

vai-ki'ltipilñ little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qlayul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN, *ñew* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) WOMAN, are used to express the idea of the *nomen actoris*, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

tu'li-ñew (Kor. Kam. *tu'li-ñaw*) stealing-woman (= female thief)

vi'n-vi-ñaw (Kor. Kam. *vi'n-vu-ñaw*) secretly-acting woman (= female lover)

Kor. Kam. *talā'-qla'wul* striking-man (= blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

pilvi'nti-qla'ul iron-man (= blacksmith)

The stems *qlaul* and *qlik* (Koryak *qlik*) in first position express also MALE.

qla'ul-keiñin (Kor. Kam. *qlik-kai'ñin*) male bear

For most animals the word *čü'mña* (Kor. Kam. *čü'mña*) is used to express the male.

čumña-ri'rki male walrus

Kor. Kam. *čümña'-me'mil* male thong-seal

For females the stem *ñew* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) is used.

ñe-e'kik (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kik*) daughter 28.2

ñew-kei'ñin (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-kai'ñin*) she-bear

ñewwi'rit female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtala^{en}* (Kamchadal *mtilx'*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavila^{en}* PERSON (*qla'wul* in Koryak designates a male adult person), and means literally THE ONE WHO WALKS OPENLY, and is meant to designate man as walking visibly, while the spirits walk about invisibly.¹ The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wêlan*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtala^{en}* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

enni'-mtala^{en} Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

Valvi'-mtala^{en} Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qla^{ul}*.

E'nni-qla'ul Fish-Man

E'nni-ñew Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mtilx'* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

eli'he-mtilx' (Koryak *ilve'-mtala^{en}*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

têpa'-mtalx' (Koryak *kitepa'-mtala^{en}*) Wild-Sheep-Man

2. In nouns with suffixes, composition is used to express a number of relations.

(a) The material of which an object is made.

řă^ε-kupre'tä t_g'mnên with what kind of a net did he kill it? (*řă^g* what; *kupre* net; *t_g* to kill)

kô'nê-kupre'tä t_g'mnên he killed it with a net of horse-hair (*kô'nê* horse [from Russian конѣ])

(b) The idea PERTAINING TO.

talā'n-ramkê'pŭ twa^g'lomga^{en} I heard it from people of past times (*tēlēnyep* long ago; *ramk-* people; *wālom* to hear)

¹The Koryak have also the term *oya'mya* for PERSON, which is supposed to be used by the hostile spirits only, and designates man as the game pursued by the spirits. In Chukchee myths the term *ora'wêr-va'rat* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (=MANKIND) is used

(c) Parts of a whole.

y'a'al-g'itka'ta g'eggil-g'e'ptil'in he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (*y'a'al* hind; *g'itka* foot; *-ggil* heel)

(d) Possession.

g'ümü'k e'kke-ñalvül'p'ü q'äim'i'ty'n take it from my son's herd
(*g'ümük* my [possessive]; *e'kke* son; *ñalvül* herd; *-g'üp'ü* from [§ 42, p. 704])

NOTE.—In Koryak the possessor may take the same suffixes as belong to the possessed object. This seems to be always the case in the locative.

g'ümü'k kme'ñrñgo ñalvüla'ngo qakm'i'tin take it from my son's herd

3. An intransitive verb (adjective) may be combined with a nominal stem so that it qualifies the latter. These compositions are used particularly in oblique cases.

ïul-u'ttä (Kor. Kam. *ïwł-u'tta*) with a long stick

mëñr-lil'e't (Kor. Kam. *maiñr-lila't*) big eyes

Kamchadal *plëx-ki'-stenk* in the large house

tañ-qlaul, pl. *tañ-qla'ultê* (Kor. Kam. *mal'qla'wul*, dual *mal-qla'-wulte*) good man

ta'ñ-üm-vg'lin good one

maiñru-wa'l a large knife 16.1

p'ü'głi-lauti'yñin big bare head 27.13

ä'qä'-ke'le-ñe'us'qät bad kele woman 37.11

ä'qä'-gre'pqäi bad little song 59.5

teg-ñe'us'qät a nice woman 62.13

ñito'-ëü'mñi a shy buck 49.5

korga'-ëa'ut a lively man 40.3

lii-teñ-evi'rälin really good cloths having 33.3

rıg-a'ë'ttin a shaggy dog 72.28

ëlh-u'kwut a flat stone (= anvil) 77.12

yitko'mk-u'kwun divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

E'nnu mal-ña'witkata this is a good woman Kor. 19.1

mal-qla'wul a good man Kor. 19.10

tañ-i'yu to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2

ka'li-q'a'nyan ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2

qai-ña'wis'qat little woman Kor. 25.1

qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 35.5

mal-kal-yeko'i'gu-wał knife with well ornamented handle Kor. 46.8.

4. When the theme of a transitive verb appears as the first part of a compound, it has a passive meaning:

teik-ev'i'rin (ready) made clothing 86.22

a'tti-yño-kamaanvê'ti to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10

tot-tai'ka-kamaanvê'ti to newly made dishes 96.18

ter-igto'-qaië'nə to a newly born fawn 129.13

§ 117. *Incorporation of Noun*

A nominal stem may be incorporated in the verbal complex, and then forms a unit with the verbal stem which it precedes. The incorporated noun may express the subject of intransitive verbs, the object or instrument with transitive verbs.

(a) Intransitive verbs which incorporate an inanimate noun as subject express a verbal concept relating to a person.

uwik pl'i'tkurkin the body becomes ready

but *twuwik-ü-për'tkurkin* I become body-ready (i. e., I am grown up)

va'li ñito'rkin (Kor. Kam. *va'la ñito'ykin*) the knife comes out
but *vala-nto'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *vala-nto'ykin*) he is knife-coming-

out (i. e., he draws his knife)

nwugê'ntogên he is one whose breath goes out 126.9

awgêntoya'nvuka he is without breath going out 63.8

nigolênto'a'n his voice goes out 127.8

(b) Verbs with incorporated nominal object. It is hardly feasible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between verbs with incorporated object and the verbal suffixes which form derivatives of nouns (§ 111, Nos. 73-77). These are *-ñita* TO FETCH, *-tuwe* TO TAKE OFF, *-ip* TO PUT ON *-gili* TO SEARCH FOR, *-u* TO CONSUME, TO EAT. Owing to their meaning, these would hardly be expected to occur without object, and they are always suffixed to it—or the object is always incorporated with them. In the texts the incorporated object is used most frequently in phrases in which the action is performed habitually on a certain object, although incorporated forms that express single actions that are not performed habitually are not absent. On the whole, this process does not appear very frequently in the texts.

tigaanma'tirkin (Kor. Kam. *tigoyanma'tekin*) or *tinnm'i'rkín q'a'at* (Kor. Kam. *tinnme'kin qoya'wge*) } deer

gêna-takê'êhi-lpr'n'rigê me meat give!

gümni'n e'kik qâ-kal'êtel-lpr'n'r-gin my son money-give him!

u'tti-mle'rkin (Kor. Kam. *u-m!a'ykin*) he breaks a stick

ri'łhi-čvi'rkin (Kor. Kam. *yi'łhi-čvi'ykin*) he cuts a finger
kale-čpürkin (Kor. Kam. *pañka-čpe'kin*) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkin (Kor. Kam. *qoya-nma'tekin*) he slaughters reindeer
tikoñinto'rkin I take out glasses
tileu'tipi'gtirkin I have a headache
geleu'tilvilin he cut off her head 86.7
nilautipa'tqên she boiled heads 43.12
načipa'tinat they boiled fat 14.7
nênaveřipa'tqên he put cloths on him 127.1
mınpêčarê'ra let us search for food 119.18
valamna'lin knife-whetter (*vala* knife) 44.4
niqaa'nmatqên he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11
niquimeviriu'qin he turned the upper part of his trousers outside
 (*qu'yim* upper part of trousers; *viriu* to turn out) 46.7
geleutirgi'tkutä scratching the head 126.7
nênaveřuwanla'qên he asks for clothing 126.10
kê'rgüpgê he put on the dress 52.9
qärê'thüpgê follow the trail! 52.8
tılı-lo'k looking for the entrance 131.1
nitılarê'rqên searching for the entrance 131.1
qñawnra'gtatyê take your wife home! 115.8
va'la-ri'nña knife holding 106.13
qina'n inenmuligrelê't-i-ğit thou art the cause of blood-vomiting
 93.11
omqa'-pênñä'tyê they attacked the bears 115.12

Koryak:

gayuñnyupe'nyılenau they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
gaqoleya'wage (*qole* voice; *ıya'wa* to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7
qangekiplena'ñu (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7
gavannıntalen she lost a tooth (*va'nni!ñin* tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

ti-maiñi-lau'ti-pi'gtirkin (Kor. Kam. *ti-mai'ñi-!a'wti-pi'ktikın*) I
 much head suffer

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

qaanma'arkin he slaughters reindeer
qaanmi'rkin he slaughters reindeer for him
tiri'łhičvi'ğit (Kor. Kam. *tryi'łhičvi'qi*) I finger-cut thee (i. e., I cut
 your finger)

In a number of Koryak examples verbs with incorporated object appear as elements of incorporated complexes. In these cases they are always treated as intransitive verbs.

qim-a'lu-č'u-č'u-ñaw-i-üm hard-excrement-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

tiği'lñu-ña'w-i-y-üm snowshoe-strings-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

(c) Verbs with incorporated noun expressing instrumentality.

etti-kipčē'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

ni-ke'g-tegiliñitku'qinet groping about with the palms 73.26

gamolētiño'laat they are covered with blood 91.27

Koryak:

čilimlulā'tikin he licked with the tongue Kor. 56.3

§ 118. Composition of Verbal Stems

Compounds consisting of two verbal stems are quite common. In all of these the first stem appears as qualifier of the second stem.

tē'rgi-pli'tkə finished crying 27.11

a'un-rē'ña-tila'gti with easy flying motion 16.8

nu-waqə-tva'qēnat sitting they were 62.9

qāmi-pli'tkuk (Kor. Kam. *a'wyi-plitēuk*) eating finishing (i. e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb *qami-tva* TO EAT.

vi'yi-tiui'wunin breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:

ga-mława-nka'w-łen she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6

g-awya'-nka-w-łen he refused to eat Kor. 51.3

gen'ačixat-paa-ñvo'-lenat to send them away ceased began they Kor. 72.2

§ 119. Adverbial Composition

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions. Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in § 116.3.

ine-teñ-inpi'lkuum thou hast well vanquished me 17.7

qa-tan-yoro-tukwa't-yē arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6

tur-q'i'tiln newly frozen 13.7

tur-ur'e'tiln newly born 21.6

tər-kalēñño'qēnat newly adorned ones 29.1

liē-ñarau'tilə truly wife-seeking 57.1

a'qa'-rkila badly pursued 17.6

tur-ewkwē'tyi' he departed just now

ti-teñ-yilqā'tyäk (Kor. Kam. *ti-mal-yilqa'tik*) I slept well

Koryak:

agaḷapñivo'ykin looks badly Kor. 13.8

ga-agai'paḷen it fitted badly Kor. 34.9

ga-qayičhiḷanñivo'len it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1

ga-qa'yī-čulin he chopped it small Kor. 53.6

tañ-a'wyeñvoi he began to eat well Kor. 20.7

ga-maḷ-inaī'vulen he bit well Kor. 41.4

ga-maḷ-hinta'wlen he fled well Kor. 41.7

ga-tuyi-kmiñā't-i-güm I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

a'rīčhi-tva'rkin (Kor. Kam. *a'yitñi-tva'ykin*) you are lying on the side

§ 120. Multiple Composition

Compound terms may include more than two elements of the classes described in the preceding sections.

ä^εqä^ε-lū'mñi-ñē'us'qāt (Kor. Kam. *aga'-lū'mñā-ñā'wis'qat*) a bad, lazy woman

čaučuwa'-gai'miči-lau'lēiñin reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4.

tañ-ē'lēi-tēñ-poi'gin a good, heavy ice-spear

tī-meī'ñi-leu'ti-piqtirkin (Kor. Kam. *tī-maiñi-lau'ti-pr'ktikīn*) I greatly head am aching

qīne-či'in-mi'mli-i'lhī^ε give me warm water!

iču-wgi-ne'liṛkin heavily breathing he becomes (i. e. he sighs)

nēl-ēp-rilhi'liñin thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger

t-wä^ε'quči-lqār-re'thit I husband-destined for brought to thee (i. e. I brought you a suitor)

Other examples have been given before.

§ 121. Composition in Kamchadal

The composition of words in Kamchadal is quite similar to that of Chukchee and Koryak.

ke'li-yu'nyučx (Chukchee *keli'li-re^εw*) spotted whale

However, the collected texts show that the use of compounds is much more restricted. Besides, constructions are found that do not agree with the synthetic method of Chukchee and Koryak.

ñi'mcx'in p'!ič! child being a woman (i. e., daughter)

(Chukchee *ñee'kik*, Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololaxi^εn ki'stri^εnč* SMALL LITTLE HOUSES the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.

§ 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants *l* and *č* are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in *l* and *č* show that the former sound applies often to generalized terms and continued actions, while the latter expresses the special term and single momentary action. This explanation applies well enough in some of the following examples, but not by any means in all of them.

It would seem as though this process were no longer free. Still, a few times I heard the change introduced as though it were still functional:

palomte'lrīkin and *pačomte'lrīkin* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

leivu, *čeivu* TO WALK

l forms:

ga'mga-notai'pū nīlei'vuqinet they traveled through every country 17.9

gamga-vairgē'pū nīlei'vuqin he traveled to every being 18.5

nutē's'gāk pagtalkoi'pū nīlei'vuqin he traveled through the clefts of the ground 22.6

yei'velqāi ku'likā ralai'vrññoi an orphan child shall (from now on) travel alone 24.10

keimi'tilā lei'vuk rā'e'nutqūiti gē'ilā to traveling shaman small things must be given 25.9

gūmna'n atča'ta lei'wukin mi'ilhr ' give you the means of traveling secretly 93.4

atča'ta qālei'wui walk about in secret! 93.5

notai'pū lei'wulit lu'ninet he saw them walking about in the country 113.11

ia'm nīlei'vutku-i-gir why don't thou wander about (all the time)? 87.18

č forms:

lautitkina'ta čei'wutkui he walked (for a little while) on the heads 8.6

kita'm mičei'vutkučk let me go 79.27; 80.10

qla'ul pūki'rgi čeivutkuln a man arrived walking 86.26

irga'tik čei'vutkukā mi'tyčk tomorrow not walking let me be!, i. e., tomorrow I shall not go 87.9

ne'me čei'vutkui again he went 87.25; 88.1

ne'me čvei'vutkurkin again he was going (for a short while and once only) 88.7

luwi (initial), *lvi* (medial); *čuwī* (initial), *čvi* (medial) TO CUT
l forms:

gelew'tlvilin the head was cut off 86.7

č forms:

nečvitkui'vuä'n they cut it off 27.3

nine'čviqin, *nine'nugin* he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)

nčēv'tkurkin *re'w* he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)

lčlā'lhīčhin *gečv'lin* he cut the eye 106.19

gmonč'ti *čuw'nin* he cut it in the middle 109.33

kīle (initial), *rkīle* (medial); *kīč* (initial), *rkīčē* (medial) TO FOLLOW

a'qa'-rkīla difficult to be pursued 17.6

kīlew' mīlva'wkwa'n I should not be able to follow 17.5

kīla'wkčē she followed 31.2 (here a single act)

kīlēnin he gave pursuit to him 57.8

č form:

kīčauč'a'tyčē he ran off quickly 57.5

kīpl (initial), *rkīpl* (medial); *kīpč* (initial), *rkīpč* (medial) TO STRIKE

l forms:

kī'plnēn *ūm* *lew'tik* he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26

ga'rkīplilēn he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

č forms:

č'nīkit *kīpč'i'tkōnēn* suddenly he struck it 35.11

nīneninnuteu'qin *čttī-kīpčč'wa* he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10

nēnarkīpčēu'qin he gave it a push 53.5

līlep (initial), *lep* (medial); *čīčep* (initial), *čep* (medial)

l forms:

līlē'pgiē she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14

gālē'pgiē look up! 79.11; see also 107.14

līlē'pūrkin he looks on

č form:

čīčē'pgiē they looked about 86.22

ričīčē'urkin he inspects

talaiwu, *tačaiwu* to strike

nītalai'wugēn they strike him 59.7

natačai'wuan they struck him once 59.5

plī, *pčī* to finish

uwī'k *plī'tkurkin* his body becomes ready

tuwī'k-ī-pčī'tkurkin I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up

-*lqiu* verbal suffix expressing requested action; -*s'qiu* verbal suffix expressing single action

l form:

nɪtule'lqiuqinet they would come to steal 13.4

ɛ (*s'*) forms:

ganto's'qêulên he rushed out 57.11

qäniggeus'qi'wkutkɪ go and wake them up at once 56.3

-*liku* AMONG A NUMBER; -*ɛiku* INSIDE

l form:

uttr'liku among the trees

ɛ forms:

plé'krɛiku in a boot 43.4

wus'qũ'mɛiku in the darkness 34.5

-*qal*, -*qač* by the side of

ragro'lmɪnqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

gɪnɪkqa'ɛ by thy side 9.3

-*lqän*, -*s'qän* TOP ¹

l form:

koivɪ'lqan top of glacier 91.16

ɛ form:

qr'this'qän surface of lake 144.3

nute's'qän surface of ground 98.24

mel-, *mɛč* LIKE TO

l form:

mel-uwä's'quč it seems my husband 49.9

ɛ forms:

mɛč-ä's'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

mač-êto'pêl somewhat a little better 135.7

A number of nouns show generally the *l* forms, but have in cases when parts of the object or special forms of the object are named

ɛ forms.

yê'ličhɪn tongue 40.10

rɪ'lhɪn fingers

(*qlɪk*) man

u'nel thongseal

mêmɪl seal

yê'li'kičhɪn tip of tongue 40.4

rɪčhɪ'tkɪn finger-tips

qäčɪkɪ'čhêčä the man transformed (similar to a man) ²

uneč'i'čhɪn thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30

mêmɪč'čhɪn thong of seal skin 134.31

¹ See also -*lqän* ABOUNDING IN (§104.39).

² See Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 449.

muli blood*gamočč'pilèn* full of dried blood
68.2

Also:

tel sick*te'čirgin* disease 133.7*läs'le* winter*čä's'čE* cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

lu'rkín he sees*ču'-tu'mgin* or *lu'-tu'mgin* old acquaintance (=seeing companion)*lél'lhín* mitten*čē-mingr'Liñín* glove (=mitten hand)*li'gliq* egg*čig-r'-ttim* egg-shell (=egg-bone)*vél'č'lhín* ear*vilu'-ttim* or *viču'-ttim* auricular bone*vilu'ptirkín* he marks the ear
(of the reindeer)*eviču'ptiki* (reindeer) without ear-mark

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings *-čhín* and *-lhín*, which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, *-lhín* being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, *-čhín* in those indicating particular representation of the class of object.

In other cases the forms in *l* and *č*, while related, do not differ in their more or less specific character, but in other ways:

qulile'erkin he cries*qučič'e'erkin* he shouts, makes a noise*gemle'lin* it is broken*gemč'e'tkulín* broken to pieces*ümí'lin* ä's'lo'nêt the whole day*ümí'či-č'o'nêt* or *ümí'č-ä'č'o'nêt*
a long time*añqa'li-ra'mkin* maritime people*añqa'či-ra'mkin* reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore*li'ñilín* the hearty one, avenger
(from *li'ñilín* heart, *liñile'erkin* he avenges)*čiñe'erkin* he yearns for something

§§ 123–124. Numerals

§ 123. Introductory Remarks

The system of numbers is derived from manual concepts. Even the expression TO COUNT really means TO FINGER (Chukchee *ri'lhirkín*, Kor. Kam. *yilñe'kin*, HE COUNTS [from stem *rilh-*, Kor. Kam. *yilñ*, FIN-

GER]). In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.		From stem
<i>mi'Liñên</i>	<i>mi'Liñên</i>	five	<i>ming</i> HAND (contracted from the absolute form <i>mingi'Liñin</i>)
<i>am-ñiro'otkên</i>	—	eight	<i>am-ñiro'kên</i> JUST THE THIRD (i. e., of the second hand)
<i>gon'a'črñkên</i>	<i>gonya'ačrñin</i>	nine	<i>gon-ya'ači</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>gon-ya'wači</i> probably ONE BEHIND i. e., one finger left over)
<i>mingi'tkên</i>	<i>mingi'tčên</i>	ten	BELONGING TO THE HANDS, refers evidently to the completion of the count on two hands
<i>kilhi'nkên</i>	—	fifteen	may be derived from stem <i>gřtka'lh</i> FOOT, referring to the five toes of the first foot, added to the ten fingers
<i>qli'kkin</i> BELONG- ING TO A MAN	<i>qlik</i>	twenty	a man, refers to all the fingers and toes. The form <i>qlik</i> is obsolete in both languages.

Larger numbers are composed with *qli'kkin* or with the ordinary modern word *qla'ul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN.

The term *qlig-qli'kkrt* or *qli'kkin qla'ul* FOUR HUNDRED is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called *gryew'-te'gin* LIMIT OF KNOWLEDGE. In modern times this term, under Russian influence, has been applied to express the idea of ONE THOUSAND. This recalls the old Russian term for TEN THOUSAND ТМА (Greek *μύρας*), which literally signifies DARKNESS.

In Chukchee, 11, 12, 13, etc., contain the particle *pa'rol* (also pronounced *pa'roč*) BESIDES. This element, however, may be omitted. It is not used in Koryak. The numbers 9, 14, 19, 99, are negative verbal forms containing the negative prefix and suffix *ε-kēl̄n* (see § 114, 4).

am̄ngit̄kau'kēl̄n not being the tenth

ak̄ilh̄inkau'kēl̄n not being the fifteenth, etc.

When used as nouns, all numerals may take post-positions. When numerals stand with nouns with post-positions, they form compounds with the nouns for which the stems without affixes are used.

m̄ngit̄-kal̄'tela tač̄r̄n̄-pl̄i'tk̄a'k I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*m̄ngit̄* ten; *kal̄'tol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t-* I; *ač̄r̄n̄* debt; *pl̄itko* to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>ñire-m̄y'ri</i>	<i>ñi'ye-m̄u'yi</i>	we two
<i>ñiro'-m̄q̄r̄ε</i>	<i>ñiyo'-m̄u'yu</i>	we three
<i>ñi're-tu'ri</i>	<i>ñi'ye-tu'yi</i>	ye two
<i>ñire'rgeri</i>	<i>ñiye'č̄he'i'ti</i>	they two

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, *-č̄ε*, *-č̄ä* (Kor. Kam. *-ča*) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *q̄unε'č̄ä* ONCE (Kor. *qu'n'ač̄* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *q̄un* SINGLE.

ñira'ča giwi'kinek on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix *-yut̄*; (Kor. Kam. *-yüt* [dual], *-yü'wgr̄* [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix *εm-* JUST (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except ONE.

ñireq̄'urkin (Kor. Kam. *ñiyeqr̄'wikin*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nleñ* (Kor. Kam. *-lañ*) (see § 124, p. 841).

The Kamchadal numerals have almost been lost, and their place has been taken by Russian numerals. Only the first four numerals are still in use, side by side with their Russian equivalents. The word *l̄ine'jin* HE COUNTS is also derived from the stem *l̄üx* FINGER (absolute form *l̄üxl̄üxč̄*).

Numerals	Cardinal	Iterative	Ordinal
1	<i>kõni'n</i>	<i>gun</i>	_____
2	<i>kasx, ka'cix</i>	<i>ntel</i>	<i>nté'lnin</i>
3	<i>čok</i>	<i>čol</i>	<i>čo'laña</i>
4	<i>čak</i>	<i>čal</i>	<i>ča'laña</i>

ka'cix kcxo'n two dogs

ka'cxa'n lɪ'ɛl two mittens

čo'ka'n kcxo'n three dogs

Kamchadal *gun* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *gun* SINGLE.

Kamchadal *čok* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *ñiyox* THREE.

Kamchadal *čak* may be compared with Kor. Paren *ñiya'x* FOUR.

(perhaps from an older form *ñiča'x*)

§ 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	Koryak Paren
1	<i>enne'n', n'če'n</i>	<i>enne'- enna'n</i>	<i>enne'n'</i>
2	<i>ñi'räq</i>	<i>ñi'yax</i>	<i>ñi'čax</i>
3	<i>ñiro'q</i>	<i>ñiyox</i>	<i>ñiyox</i>
4	<i>ñira'q</i>	<i>ña'yax</i>	<i>ñiya'x</i>
5	<i>mi'LIñen</i>	<i>mi'LIñen</i>	<i>mi'LIñen</i>
6	<i>enna'n mi'LIñen</i>	<i>enna'n-mi'LIñen</i>	
7	<i>ñéra'-mi'LIñen</i>	<i>ña'a-mi'LIñen</i>	
8	<i>am-ñiro'otkên</i>	<i>ñiyox'-mi'LIñen</i>	
9	<i>{ qon'a'čičkên amingitka u'k č- lên</i>	<i>qony'a'čičlîn</i>	
10	<i>mingi'tkên</i>	<i>mingi'tčen</i>	<i>mingi'tken</i>
11	<i>mingi'tik en- ne'n' pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik enna'n</i>	
12	<i>mingi'tik pa'rol</i>	<i>ñi'rä mingi'tik ñi'yax</i>	
13	<i>mingi'tik pa'rol</i>	<i>ñiro' mingi'tik ñiyox</i>	
14	<i>{ mingi'tik ñira' pa'rol akilhinka u'k č- lên</i>	<i>mingi'tik ña'yax</i>	
15	<i>kilhi'nkên</i>	<i>mingi'tik mi'LIñen</i>	

Chukchee.	Koryak Kamenskoye.
16 <i>kilhi'nikenne'n</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik Enna'n mi'</i> <i>Liñen</i>
19 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kilhi'nik \text{ } \tilde{n}ira' \\ pa'rol \\ elikkeu'k\tilde{e}lin \end{array} \right\}$	<i>mingi'tik qonya'a\tilde{e}lin</i>
20 <i>qli'kkin</i>	<i>qlik</i>
21 <i>qli'kkik Enne'n</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	
30 <i>qli'kkig mingi'</i> <i>tkên pa'rol</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} qli'kik \text{ } mingi't\tilde{e}n \\ \tilde{n}iyo'x \text{ } mi'ngitu \end{array} \right\}$
40 <i>\tilde{n}i'räq-qli'kkin</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \tilde{n}i'yax \text{ } qli'kit \\ \tilde{n}a'yax \text{ } mi'ngitu \end{array} \right\}$
50 <i>\tilde{n}i'räq-qli'kkig</i> <i>mingi'tkên</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \tilde{n}i'yax \text{ } qli'kit \text{ } e'n'ki \\ mingi't\tilde{e}n \\ mi'Liñen \text{ } mi'ngitu \end{array} \right\}$
60 <i>\tilde{n}iro'q-qlé'kkên</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \tilde{n}iyo'x \text{ } qli'ku \\ Enna'n \text{ } miLiñen \text{ } mi'n- \\ \text{ } gitu \end{array} \right\}$
80 <i>\tilde{n}ira'q-qlé'kkên</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \tilde{n}a'yax \text{ } qli'ku \\ \tilde{n}iyo'x \text{ } mi'Liñen \text{ } mi'n- \\ \text{ } gitu \end{array} \right\}$
99 <i>amiliñqlé'kkau'</i> <i>kêlên</i>	
100 <i>milinglê'kkên</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} miLiñen \text{ } qli'ku \\ mingi't\tilde{e}n \text{ } mi'ngitu \end{array} \right\}$
200 <i>mingitqlé'kkên</i>	<i>mingi'têen qli'ku</i>
400 <i>qliq-qli'kkin</i>	<i>qlik-qli'ku</i>

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix *-eu* (Kor. Kam. *-aw*, *-(i)w*).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>\tilde{n}ireqe'urkin</i>	<i>\tilde{n}iyeqi'wikin</i>	he is double, he is the second
<i>\tilde{n}iroqa'urkin</i>	<i>\tilde{n}iyoqa'wekin</i>	he is threefold, he is the third

-nleñ (Kor. Kam. *-lañ*) with numerals form collective terms.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>Enne'nleñ</i>	<i>Enna'nlañ</i>	a single one
<i>\tilde{n}ire'nleñ</i>	<i>\tilde{n}iya'qlañ</i>	two together
<i>\tilde{n}iro'qlañ</i>	<i>\tilde{n}iyo'qlañ</i>	three together
<i>\tilde{n}ira'nlañ</i>	<i>\tilde{n}aya'qlañ</i>	four together

§ 125-131. Adverbs.

§ 125. MODAL ADVERBS.

Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix *n(ɪ)-eu*, (Kor. Kam. *n(ɪ)-au*) (see p. 810.) These forms are parallel to the adjective form *n(ɪ)-qin* (see § 49).

nɪme'leu well (Kor. Kam. *nɪma'lau*) stem *Ch.mel* (Kor. Kam *maɭ*)
nɪme'leu qatva'ê be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer.

nɪmei'neu ga'tvülên a'etɪn he made a great promise, a dog 101.21
nũ'mkeu ki'wkiw nɪ'nelqin the nights passed (there) became many 108.8 (*ki'wkiw* is sing.; *nũ'mkeu* adverb).

These forms however are not used very frequently, especially in Koryak. In most cases they are replaced by adverbial composition (see § 119, p. 832).

Kamchadal *-q* designates adverbs.

öm̩q deeply (adjective *ö'mläx* deep)

m̩'čaq far (adjective *m̩'čalax* distant)

kl'ijhɪq shallowly (adjective *kl'ijhɪlax* shallow)

NOTE.—I have found a few forms in Kamchadal which correspond to Koryak forms:

n'mi'ta (Kor. Kam. *n'mi'tau*) warily (adjective *n'mi'tqin*)

nu'ra^ε far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

a'tq̄uma (Kor. Kam. *at̄iñau* regular) badly R 62.72 (stem *ä^εq̄ä*, Kor. Kam. *a^εqa*; adjective form *e'tqin*, Kor. Kam. *a't̄ɪr̄n*)

m̩'č̄en'kɪ (*m̩č̄ < m̩el* good; *en'kɪ* there) well 67.22

m̩'č̄en'ku-wa'l-ê-üm I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here *m̩č̄* does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)

m̩'r̄in̄r̄e slowly (stem-*n̄r̄*; adjective form *nɪ'n̄äqin* slow)

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added *-ɪ, -qɪ, -akɪ, -êɪ* which are locative and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with *va'lin* (Kor. Kam. *i'tala^εn*), (see § 76).

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as well as those with the suffix *-i, -qi*, although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are—

o'ra openly 121.30; stem *ur̄* (Kor. Kam. *o'yañ*) (see p. 862.)

oma'ka (Kor. Kam. *oma'ka* Kor. 61.2) together; stem *um̩k̄e*

yê'ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem *yîṭe*

a'lva (Kor. Kam. *a'lvañ*) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem *elṽe*
(Kor. Kam. *a'lva*)

With suffix *-kṛ*, *-qṛ*

tê'kṛ of cylindrical form; stem *tîk*.

koulo'qṛ (Kor. Kam. *ko'loñ*) round; stem *kuwl*.

a'rkrîṛ (Kor. Kam. *aykiča*) aslant, stem *arkṛ* (Kor. Kam. *aykiṛ*)

a'rkrîṛ qata'ê (Kor. Kam. *ay'kiča qata'wañ*) more aslant!

vê'tṛ truly 120.24 (*vê'tê* 107.8); stem *vêth*

vê'tirê straight (irregular); stem *vêth* (adjective form *nuwê'thâqên*)

gê'mø without my knowledge; *ge'mu* 103.5 (Kor. Kam. *a'mu*
Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem *-(t)hêm* not to
know.

rathêma'un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix *re*—*eu* is
causative.

gêwê'tṛ without my knowledge 120.37; stem *-(t)hiu* not to know;
allative.

pulhırra'kṛ flatly; stem *pîlhirri*

apaqa'lı(ñ) (Kor. Kam. *apaqa'čṛ*) face downward; stem *apaqalı*.

pṛ'tvṛ, *pṛva'kṛ* double; stem *pṛtv*

ê'mpü(ñ), *êmpa'kṛ* downcast; stem *împ*

tṛ'mla, *tṛmla'kṛ* close to; stem *tṛml*

yṛ'čhı(ñ), *yṛča'kṛ* uninterrupted, stem *yṛčh*

and several others.

Those with the suffix *-êṭṛ*, *-qṭṛ* express a diminished intensity of
the adverbial term:

čeutê'tṛ somewhat low; stem *čîṭ*

qalê'qṭṛ somewhat lazy; stem *qâlṛ*

yorgê'tṛ somewhat foolish; stem *yurq*¹

gêwrêqṭṛ somewhat hasty; stem *qîwrî*

tañê'tṛ somewhat better; stem *teñ*

All these forms combined with *-va'lın* (Kor. Kam *i'taḷan*) are com-
monly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix
tr'ñkṛ quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

tr'ñk-a'tgêuma quite badly

tr'ñk-ä's'qälpe with great hurry

tr'ñkṛ-me'rînře quite slowly

¹ See also *yorgêtu-wa'irčhın* a foolish one 65.3.

Some others may form diminutives, as—

- kitkinn'u'qäi* very little 118.6
qaiagan'e'qai a trifle more 106.6.
čr'mčeqäi very near 100.15
vi'n'veqäi very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

Chukchee.	Koryak Kam.
<i>čr'mčē</i> 103.9 near.....	<i>čei'mrk</i>
<i>ya'a</i> 113.20 far.....	<i>ya'wak</i>
<i>ya'al</i> , <i>ya'ačr</i> 119.29 in the rear.....	<i>ya'wal</i>
<i>atto'ol</i> in the front, earlier; <i>atto'oča</i> 8.7 in the front, down the coast.....	<i>atta'yol</i> Kor. 39.7
<i>qirgo'l</i> 68.35; <i>qirgo'gča</i> 123.7 above.....	<i>qičho'l</i> , <i>qičho'ča</i>
<i>iu'ul</i> below.....	<i>i'wul</i>
<i>č'uča-čučai'pū</i> from below 131.5.....	
<i>mra'</i> on the right hand.....	<i>mya'</i>
<i>ña'čēn'ki</i> , <i>ñač(h)-e'n'ki</i> ; stem <i>ñačh</i> , on the left side.....	<i>ña'čññ-qač</i> , <i>ñačñ'e'ti</i> ; stem <i>ñačñ</i>
<i>ro'čēn'ki</i> 52.11; stem <i>ročh'</i> , on the other shore.....	<i>yočñ'e'ti</i> ; stem <i>yočñ</i>
<i>ña'rgin</i> ; stem <i>ña'rgin</i> outside.....	<i>ña's'hin</i> Kor. 64.8
<i>o'nmr</i> inside.....	<i>aninka'čiku</i> Kor. 60.9
<i>onmčēko'i'pū</i> from within 59.9.....	
<i>e'mi</i> where (is it) 81.16.....	
<i>č'čča</i> , <i>č'ččaq</i> near the surface.....	
<i>č'čča nitva'nat</i> if they had remained on the surface 68.27.....	
<i>ra'nau</i> straight ahead.....	(K. K. <i>ya'nau</i> , Kamchadal <i>čñil</i>)
<i>r'mla</i> close by.....	(K. K. <i>ti'mla</i> , Kamchadal <i>ti'mal</i>)
<i>ña'thil</i> on both sides, on all sides 129.24.....	<i>ga'čññ</i> Kor. 58.2
<i>rīma'gti</i> farther on, beyond.....	<i>yīmai'ti</i>
<i>a'čhīlā</i> side by side.....	<i>a'čñīlā</i>
<i>em-nu'ñki</i> inland 112.6.....	<i>am-nuñik</i>
<i>wū'rrr</i> on the back.....	<i>wū'ssiñ</i> Kor. 30.3
<i>ya'gna</i> in the presence.....	
<i>riagnau'ki</i> (<i>ri-yagna-u-ki</i> ; <i>ri—u</i> causative) opposite to 100.28.....	
<i>kamle'ti</i> around.....	
<i>am-liga'nli</i> back to back.....	
<i>ye'tir</i> half-way 109.1.....	
<i>rīnere'</i> askance.....	
<i>volva'ki</i> across; stem <i>wulv</i>	<i>mač-volve'ti</i> , <i>vočva'ki</i>
<i>čulčē'ti</i> lengthwise.....	<i>eu'četiñ</i>
<i>čē'čē</i> along.....	
<i>qa'čr</i> , <i>qa'ča</i> close to (see § 100.26).....	
<i>ai'gēpū</i> windward 111.10 (<i>gig</i> odor coming with the wind; <i>-ēpū</i> ablative).....	

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

¹ The form *ročh'e'ti* to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

nuwolvênana'tvaqên across sitting was carried 145.3 (*n(u)*—*qin* nominalizing prefix; *wulv* across; *ineñe* to sit on a sledge; *tva* to be)

gǔmǔgga'gna in my presence

êulêtê'l'-va'lin of elongated shape 91.15

ya'rau-liha'nlinqač-vā'lin to the houses from the other side being 11.7

tê'rki-irgo'l at sunrise 104.16

va'am-girgogča'gti up river 119.14

kamlê'li -ya'rak around the tent 104.20

yoro'wti kamlê'li sleeping room, all around 12.10 (*yoro'wti* alternative)

ve'emik va'ê qa'ča* he lived close to the river 122.8

Nota'rmênqača close to *Nota'rmeñ* 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>tî'te</i>	<i>tî'ta</i> Kor. 27.7	<i>i'te</i>	when
<i>ē'n'ki</i>	<i>ē'uki</i> Kor. 39.2	<i>kna'ñ, ñur</i>	then
<i>ēn'ñite'q</i>	—	—	of late
<i>lū'nñā</i> 19.1	<i>gū'mlañ</i> Kor. 84.11	<i>tē'nax</i>	again
<i>pi'tkū-lumñā</i>	—	—	double again, i. e. the third time
<i>ya'net</i> 43.9	<i>ya'not</i>	—	at first
<i>yep</i>	<i>ye'ppe</i>	—	still
<i>te'le</i> 7.1	—	—	in olden times
<i>telenye'p</i> 112.20	<i>ankryep</i>	—	long ago
<i>tite'ep</i>	<i>titoo'n</i>	—	from what time on, after a long time Kor. 57.5
<i>gi'nmil</i> 83.19	—	<i>i'ne</i>	recently
<i>ginmye'p</i>	—	—	from recent time on
<i>i'git</i> 21.1; 36.9	<i>a'čhi</i> Kor. 30.9	<i>ne'ñ</i>	now, at present
<i>ai'vE</i>	<i>ai'give</i> Kor. 78.26	<i>a'činečk</i>	yesterday
<i>aivend'a'p</i>	—	—	from yesterday
(<i>aivEñ-yēp</i>)	—	—	on
<i>aigo'on</i>	—	<i>qlank</i>	lately
<i>aigoond'a'p</i>	—	—	from late times
(<i>aigoon-yēp</i>)	—	—	on
<i>irga'tik</i>	<i>miti'w</i> Kor. 21.8	<i>a'jyjk</i>	to-morrow
<i>kitu'r</i>	<i>vo'tin-ai'ñun</i>	<i>i'xiltu</i>	last year
<i>kituje'p</i>	—	—	from last year on
(<i>kitur-yēp</i>)			

Chuckchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>kitur-ño'on</i>	—	—	many a year ago
<i>yawrr'nak.</i>	<i>ya'wyin</i>	<i>tal'a'nank</i>	next year
<i>pe'Le 20.2</i>	—	—	soon
<i>pr'tkä-yawnak</i>	—	—	the year after next
<i>čit 17.6</i>	—	—	before this
<i>pa'nêna 54.9</i>	<i>pa'nena</i>	—	another time
	Kor. 15.6		
<i>ī'ne, ī'neñ 113.11</i>	—	—	early
<i>quli'ninek</i>	<i>quli'nikak</i>	—	
<i>aiok 118.20</i>	<i>va'yuk</i> Kor.	—	afterwards
	21.3 <i>va'ak</i>		
	Kor. 56.5		
<i>ña'nENqač</i>	—	—	} day after to-mor- row
<i>qolê-t-a'lo'</i>	<i>qolê'-a'lo'</i>	—	
<i>aivE ña'nen-</i>	<i>aigiv-ai'gi-</i>	—	day before yes-
<i>qač</i>	<i>večña</i>		terday
<i>imitchio'ñêt</i>	<i>a'mñuč,</i> Kor.	<i>könëpol</i>	always
	53.1, <i>a'wun</i>		
	<i>a'mñut</i> Kor.		
	54.5		
<i>a'mkIničo 112.8</i>	—	—	all the time
(<i>e'mkInevery</i>)	—	—	
<i>čo</i> probably analogous to <i>čę</i> nu- merical ad- verbial; a suffix)			
—	<i>ai'num</i> Kor.	—	long ago
	61.1		
—	<i>a'mlin</i>	—	after that Kor.
			II
<i>quli'-thi'wik</i>	—	—	in future years
<i>čiq-etuwä'k 44.4</i>	—	—	all at once
			(<i>čiq</i> see § 113.13)
—	<i>yu'laq</i> Kor.	—	for a long time
	16.2; 64.10		
<i>wü'tku</i>	<i>wü'tku</i> Kor.	—	just then
	31.2; 41.2; 47.9; 80.2		
—	<i>wo'tvan</i> Kor.		
	96.8		

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>un^s'tku</i>	<i>itu^s'pil</i>	—	after a while (see <i>êto'pel</i> Ch.)
—	<i>akiłā^s'ĕ</i> Kor. 27.4; 28.3	—	just now
—	<i>akiłā^s't</i> Kor. 27.5	—	
—	<i>vê'tha-go'nom</i> Kor. 56.10	—	just now
—	<i>piĕĕ'</i> Kor. 14.11	—	for a while
—	<i>qołā</i> Kor. 70.14	—	after a while
—	<i>qu'lin</i> Kor. 60.2	—	afterwards
—	<i>ñinvo'q</i> Kor. 13.5	—	many a time

A number of these are adverbial phrases:

quli'ninek at something else (from *qulĭ* some, *ni'kek* see p. 731).

qolē-t-a'lo' another day

imiĕriĕo'ñêt all days

irga'rik on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

irgatē'ti towards to-morrow

irga'thūpū from to-morrow

Others, like *lāmña* AGAIN, *yanet* AT FIRST, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

wulqätvi'k in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lq* darkness -*tvi* to attain a certain quality §110, 68)

lä'sle'ñki in the winter 51.1 (stem *lä'sleñ*)

irgiro'k at dawn (*grg* dawn; -*ru*: phenomena of nature (§110, 71))

Following are some examples of their use.

yep still

yep wu'kwu ya'rañi na'gam but the tent was still stone 107.11

yep irgiro'ka while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8

mi'nkri re'lqu va'ma yep while he is still in the inner room 135.15

telen-ye'p in olden times 61.5

telen-ye'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5

yep e'ĕhi not yet

gr'nmiłkin lately

e'nmen lu'ur gr'nmiłkin ro'o then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9

me'melqai gr'nmiłkin eni'n timyo' yarro'nên the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8

gr'nmiłkin lo'o the one recently seen 104.8—

pe'nin(e) as before

pe'nin nima'yenqanačhin of large size as before 20.5

pe'nin eni'n i'grikin lu'lgäl it was his face as before 77.14

pe'nin tautawa'tilin as before he barked 104.13

peninei'-git lei'wul-i-git from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12

pa'nêna releulewe'urkin will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1

pa'nêna nikitima'tqen he was as before extending his hands 47.8

qân've'r e'nmen irga'tik pa'nêna wulqätvi'i at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9

go'onqan panêna'gti genlete'tä that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

Koryak:

assa'kin pa'nin gayo'olen the one of the other day (who) before had found him Kor. 52.6

pa'nena . . . ga'npilen another time he stuffed it in Kor. 15.6

qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17

pa'ninau vača'pqičnu . . . the scars of former times Kor. 86.1

čit FORMERLY

a'men čit gūmu'w-či'mgutä a'qa'-rkila gene'l-i-üm before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6

enqa'n ui'nä čit eñe'ñkälın that one formerly had no spirits 60.1
čit vai ke'le eččaka'ta nilei'wuqin formerly there ke'le wandered outside 61.6

qailo'qum čit kime'k me'čen'ku-wa'l-êum in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34

čit üm wutkekinei'-güm formerly I belonged to this place 97.10

guiwele'li'n čit one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11

čit mitu'ren'mık êli ge'nu ñi'rä-mu'ri before we were born to father, we two R44.2-3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

čit eliğiqai'gäpü ta'a't e'un ui'nä after some time they passed by the father's place and (there was) nothing 109.34-35

tele in olden times

te'le e'nmen . . . näqäliči'tqinet in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

pe'Le soon

naqa'm pe'Le nūmqitvi'qin but soon it decreased in size 20.2
pe'Le neu'ttin topa'wkwê soon the bitch was 104.7

a'čhi va'n this time

ačhi va'n qo'npŭ ma'a'tr this time it grew much better Kor.
 20.5-6

e'čhi-van tr'nmin this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13

ačhi va'n qaye'm this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5;
 54.3)

a'čhi just now (i. e. before a little while)

a'čhi ni'w-i-gi qanga'tiykin now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9

ačhi'kin nenenaye'ye-ge? wert thou looking for it just now?
 Kor. 49.8-9

ačhikr'čū-ai'ñaka now do not cry! Kor. 60.7

See also Kor. 68.13

§128. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions, Chukchee.

On the following pages I give a list of adverbs and conjunctions without attempting to differentiate between the two groups. The meaning of many of the adverbial or connective particles is so uncertain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered adequately in English.

The use of such particles is much more extended in Chukchee than in Koryak. In Kamchadal most of the particles, particularly most conjunctions have been lost and replaced by Russian loan-words.

The particles occur frequently in groups as will be seen for instance in the use of *üm*, *elo'n*, *a'men*, etc. Some are always postpositional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify (see examples under *üm*)

üm, *Im*, *-m* an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached

Following nouns:

enra'q ne'us'qät üm . . . ganra'qtaLên then the woman . . .
 took it home 28.5-6

pênyo'lhın üm nlete'tyi the hearth blazed up 32.3

wü'rgirgin üm vai ge'pkilin the noise reached there 32.13

inpina'čhin üm eli'gin geñe'wänä the old father and his wife 33.9

enqa'n e'n'kɪ erre'č̣ ñe'us'qāt, . . . *qora'k ũm uwä's'quč̣* there was only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the husband 51.9-10

uwä's'quč̣itü ũm by the husband 39.6

yorou'tɪ ũm to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:

wo'tqan ũm vai this one here 45.12

enqa'n ũm vi'n'vi te'rgılın this one who was weeping secretly 49.1

gümna'n ũm I 137.1

Following verbs:

teqe'lignın ũm a'mɪ she made a cap too 28.8

ye'tti-m vai she came there 29.13

qaplēta't ũm qora'ñi the reindeer fell down 51.6

guq, gemi's'qälın ũm, a'nɪ it is deep! 53.1

mınpēla'aen ũm let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic *ũm* appears frequently in combination with other particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

I'mɪ also, furthermore,

i'mɪ am-vryē'irgä gi'lhın naranauño'ñın furthermore, by only breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5

i'git i'mɪ yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'vinñoi furthermore, from now on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10

ımi ñouñou'lıñ in e'le wu'tku epki'rkälin g ü'nurk not even a hair here would reach me 93.6

i'gir i'mɪ Nota's'qa-Va'irgin narataaro'ñiñonın from now on, furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

enqa'at gei'lqäleet i'mıñ they also were sleeping 55.2

Ina'n exhortative particle

pu'ru ina'n wo'tqan va'le mi'ilhır in exchange let me give thee this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)

ina'n am-taaro'ña qätē'r'gıtkı no'ta-mla'irgıtkon only with sacrifices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2

le'uti-teḷe'en ina'n nanwa'qoaen let the head-sufferer be seated! 45.11

In the following example *ina'n* appears with the future:

ina'n tre'etyä meč̣-ä's'qälpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative stem *en-*

E'nıkit all at once

na'qam e'nıkit poi'ga nıtrı'npüqên ũm but all at once they struck him with a spear 36.2

In most cases *E'nikit* appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated AS SOON AS

e'nmen E'nikit rilu'tku then all at once he moved 16.5

E'nikit uwi'k kipčr'tkenên (as soon as) he struck the body (i. e. himself) 35.11

E'nikit ūm naramata'gıt (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9-10

E'nikit gai'mi'črn nigite'äsn (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16

E'nikit rečipe'tyäs (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22

E'nikit ne'rgiäs n ilule'tyiäs as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25

E'nikm gite'nin . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

Enna'nI in like manner

Enřa'q then (see under *e'nmen*)

Engana'ta therefore (instrumental of *Enqa'n*, BY THAT)

*Engana'ta E'ngu tilgi'rkınê*t therefore I gave them up R46.39

Engana'ta ño'č-e-ŭm gene'l-i-ŭm therefore I become poor R45.28

gaño'twey-gŭm Engana'ta qo'n-pu therefore I became quite poor R45.28

Engana'ta ilva'-nota'gtı titêggê'nırkın therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52

Engana'ta čaučuwa'-ra'mkırča a'ttın niggi'pqın therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

En'ke'mIr, En'qe'mIr, En'ke'mir e'ur moreover (see also *ačhê'mira*)

En'qe'mir e'ur a'qa'-ra'mkırčın ya's'rat moreover, they are very bad people R 53.20-21

Enqam then (see under *e'nmen*)

En'ñata'l THIS TIME.

En'ñata'l ūm li'iti'łı-gır from now on I shall know thee 93.21

En'ñata'l Enqa'n ru'nin this time she ate 90.6

En'ñata'l aňqaňqačagtı . . . ri'ntıninet this time she threw them seaward 49.6

En'ñata'l kirvete'ru qinetei'kırık from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3

En'ñata'l ūm ravi's'ntık this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19

En'ñata'l ūm qalhêqamı'tvatık of that you may eat your fill 65.31

En'ñata'l ūm qa's'qäčë'wkwi's this time he did it in earnest 83.20

En'ñata'l ūm lu-ora'wêłan this time they were real people 84.29

En'ñata'l ūm i'ppe gına'n i'me rä's'nut em-gınrı'tä nine'ntı-gıt this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20

En'ñata'l ūm na'nmırkın-ê-gıt this time he will kill you 114.32

En'ñata'l Enqa'n êrrêttêgın this time it is ended R4.50

'nkri gratis**EN'ñi'n' thus**

nignopitva'qên EN'ñi'n' iri'ëiku he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4

EN'ñi'n' ùm ñan nipi'u'riqin thus that one plunged along 8.11-12
gagno'pgê . . . EN'ñi'n' crouch down thus 32.4

e'Le EN'ñi'n' va'la inenu'kâli-muri not of [thus being] such we eat 34.9-35.1

Also 9.4; 15.4; 90.1, 10; 94.1; 95.34; 105.17

EN'ñu thus

E'n'ñu-wa'l-ê-gît such a one art thou 70.25 .

EN'ñu-wa'li-to'rê such are you 106.28

E'n'ñot thus

ni'wkwä^{en} E'n'ñot they spoke thus 78.4

ti'wkwä^k E'n'ñot I say thus 15.8

ELO'n emphatic particle

gik ELO'n oh! 10.1

ELO'n ginni'ku ne'lyä^t now they became (our) game 12.2

gik, e'nmen ñipe'ä^t. ELO'n re'mkin tumge'wkwⁱ oh, they landed.

Now the people became friendly 14.1

ELO'n EN'ñu'-wa'lê-gît such a one art thou 21.11

ELO'n mirri'wku^t-hî^t let us bind thee 23.8

ia'm ELO'n ten'ñe'urkin why doest thou laugh? 30.3

ELO'n nara'nmägit they will kill thee 37.10

ELO'n vai tiyi'li^rkin-i-gît this one I give thee 104.1

ELO'n gina'n ELO'n Piti'yñ-i-gît thou art Rheum 103.21

i'gît ùm ELO'n but now! 123.18

Here belongs also—

e'miLON somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (<emi-ELO'n)

e'miLONai'ñin (augmentative of e'miLON) 43.6

awe'tuwaq suddenly, at once

awe'tuwaq êwkwê'tyi^s suddenly he left R 13.27

yilg-awe'tuwaq ñaus'qat^ryñin orgü'tkiri kenema'nmen at once
he tied the girl to the sledge R 13.23

a'mEN ùm ELO'n expresses displeasure, somewhat like German
"aber doch" without disjunctive meaning.

gik, a'mEN ùm ELO'n notas'qa'wkwê^s Oh, the land is near 8.8
("aber das Land ist doch nahe")

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n êi'mquk pêla'arkin oh, some are leaving 8.9.

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n . . . re'mkin qäiñunre'lqiä oh, the people
will come 10.3-4

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n miniwkurkin-i-gît let us tie thee 20.9;
see also 23.13

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* *e'tqi nintewimin:ge't-i-um* I was badly tortured by them 21.9

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* *Nota's'qa-Va'irga ini'wkwie* I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11-12

guq, *elo'n* ðm *a'mEN ga'mga-varrgê'pũ timete'wkwäsk* among all beings I could not do it 18.9

elo'n ðm *a'mEN*, *wotqanai'nin elo'n garaqêcha'lên* that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9

amen ðm *elo'n* *wot uwäsqüçitã ai'mak em e'lu getei'kilin* this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* *ñe'us'güt-i-gir* so you are the woman 136.15

a'mEN seems to introduce an unexpected event—AND THEN UNEXPECTEDLY—or to introduce an entirely new idea, to which emphasis is given 40.4; 41.12.

a'mEN ðm *e'nmen pênnyo'lhin nuurgirge'tqin* and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8

e'nmen ðm *uwäquç gla'ul a'mEN* ðm *nitvêtca'qên wülh-ê'räqaiä* *a'mEN* ðm *vai li'i-teñ-evirälin* then the man, the husband, was standing there unexpectedly with a little thin fur shirt, unexpectedly really well clothed 33.2

also 24.1; 29.11; 33.11; 39.3, 4, 5; 38.9, 11; 81.1; 88.8

am, *a'mEN* oh! (another idea) 56.8

—, *a'mEN*—! 58.7

a'mEN-ðm 8.10; 9.5; 13.10; 9.13; 39.3; 58.5; 65.20; 77.29; 80.25; 89.9; 93.31; 99.1; 101.2

a'minam (= *amen*-ðm 15.10)

a'mEN ðm *ñot*! such a one 98.33

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; *elo'n* ðm *a'mEN* 31.9 (see under *elo'n*) it should not be expected, but

a'mEN ðm *qarê'm* 16.9; *a'mEN qarêm* but I will not! 16.1

a'mEN ðm *naqa'm* 39.4; *na'qam a'mEN* 63.11; however

venli'i ðm *a'mEN* 40.7

a'mI

tepe'lignin ðm *a'mI* she made a cap too 28.8

nananaqa'gçin ðm *a'mI geggeu'lin* the little child awoke 55.3

telenye'p ðm *a'mI* long ago 61.5-6

kirga'm ðm *a'mI* . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

a'nI an emphatic particle (?)

e'nmen a'nI qänur qun nute's'qän then certainly just like ground 8.6

e'nmen a'nI gilutkulin then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)

geçenite'lin ðm *a'nI* she was startled 29.6-7

genpeu'lin ūm a'nɪ he became quite decrepit 107.26
a'nɪ,geilitkoi'vulin u'kkām so they distributed vessels 14.1
a'nɪ,gilu'tkulin he beat the drum 107.9
a'nɪ,getrpeine'lin he continued to sing 102.17
a'nɪ a'ttau for no particular object 30.4
a'nɪ qu'num,qanto'ê oh, look here! come out! 81.27

atau' without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter
atau',li'en re'gärkin (you went to no purpose) what is the matter
 with thee? 18.6

atau',lə'nvø (to no purpose, only) in order to be looked at 19.2
 (also 19.6; 23.1; 30.4; 48.12; 125.1,6)

ata'um nɪ'rgrpa'tqên to no purpose was he discussed 15.7

g'isñkeli'y-gır, a'ttau it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to
 no purpose 77.8

attau' gırgo'l-gla'ulo nine'lhäqın for no particular reason he
 takes it for the man above 124.6-7

guq, attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'taqätër'gın just get (your) sledge ready
 105.20 (see also 119.18)

e, qu'nä, a'ttau oh, well, it does not matter 78.7

guk, attau' gumı'k oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

ačhê'mIra, ačhê'mIra-ñ-e'ur moreover (see also *en'ke'mır*)

a'lImI disjunctive

a'lImı alo'ka'gtı va'le-ŭm although I am invisible 22.10

a'lImı va'le ra'qalqal however, there is no need of the knife 57.4

ka'ko, a'lImı inelu'kälinet he has not seen them anyway 70.32

ya'am tile'lit a'lImı lu'ur ñan titqä'nninet but it swallowed them
 71.3

a'lImı quwalo'mürkin ŭm vê'tı do obey! 88.10

a'lImı eñe'ñılın however, he was a shaman 105.1

a'lImı kamagra'ñnoi he really gave a start 101.16-17

a-lŭ'mña expresses surprise (see *lŭ'mña*)

g.uq, a-lŭ'mña qai've gıt oh, is that so, is it thou? 97.13

a-lŭ'mña is that so? 121.1; 125.7

a-lŭ'mña ño'on me'ñın who was here? 109.21

a'qälpe quickly 122.2

ei'uk, ai'øk

ina'n ai'øk ñewtte'pık trenurete'ur let me in due time make it
 appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31

gık,gımı'k ei'uk ekälu'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4

en'qa'm ina'n ai'øk . . . re'etyä then after a while . . . he shall
 come 83.5-7

Also 118.20

e'un seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

mi'ñkri, e'nmen, ge'mge-ni'kin ñi'ngäi nëna'gtoqên, e'un navi'e'qin

how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8

ñi'lhä ge'wkuzin e'un ninenlpe'tqäet with thongs he is tied and

he breaks them 20.9

e'ur pükirgi^s e'un nelki'nkä^t then she came and they had gone

abroad 31.2

e'ur Enga'n ä'ttwet geti'neñelin, e'un gepli'tkuleet and that boat

was loaded and they had finished 31.1

gagno'pgê^s . . . e'un ele'pkä sit with head bent down . . . and

do not look 32.4-5

"en'ne' ele'pkä," e'un walo'mgê^s "Do not look!" and she obeyed

e'un nine'ëviqin and they cut it 72.18

e'un gepelqäručeu'linet ne'wanti and their wives had become de-

crepit with age 72.29

čeq-alvam-valit, e'un i'pe kele'tä gayo^s'laat how very extraordi-

nary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8

e'nmen e'un E'ñki nitva'qên i'me-rä^s'nut and then there was

everything 106.32

e'un yara'nə nine'lqin and it became a house 107.14

gik, ripe't üm e'un! (now they are coming!) 11.10

gik, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gik oh, but it was not there 27.11

gai'mičin nigite'ä^sn, e'un kukwa't-koko'ñalhn they looked at the

wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16

NOTE: Not to be confounded with the prefix *e'un-* ACTUAL, PRINCIPAL, as in *e'un-ñe'lvül* PRINCIPAL HERD; *a'un-gêta'gtr* JUST IN THEIR SIGHT 83.28

eur, eur-üm is connective AND with the added connotation AT THAT TIME; it always refers to two events taking place at the time.

ra'gtia^t, En'qa'm e'ur lümñëna'č^s they went home, and at the same time he also followed 120.26

e'ur girgirona'lên, a^tttwlä nrëamtaqên at that time the dawn came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9

e'ur rirka'ta i'unin, "E'ur yilqä narayo^s'git, muru'wmil qaiñe'i" at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep overtakes you, roar like we (do)" 10.6

e'ur üm qo^slaro'a^t, Aiwhuanpina'čhäqai gi'ulin at the time when they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island man said 11.10

a^tttwu-yê'ñki nigite'qin, e'ur üm. geyr'repin they looked into the canoe and at that time it was full 67.6

e'ur is used also quite frequently as conditional.

e'ur Iumetu'nu ri'tyã^ε, rine'newkwã^ε at the time when you are *Iumetun*, you shall make me black 23.6 (= if you are the same); also 24.2

kita'm e'ur li'ê-va'iriñki gañau'tiñ-ê-git, vai u'mkɪ qagɪr'gɪn this time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a polar bear 110.5

is'tik e'ur tegge'ñirkin, gɪna'n ɛi'mñutã if actually you want it, do as you please

eulũ'mña < e'ur lũ'mña or, or again

eulũ'mña e'kik or again the son R 23.88

but *e'ur lũmña* 98.9

Before the initial *n* of the following word *e'ur* changes to *e'un* (see § 7.20; § 11). See 20.8; 72.18

Still *e'un* and *e'ur* are not identical, *e'ur* being used as connective AND between separate nominal (or verbal) forms while *e'un* is not so used.

gettu'tã e'ur geleu'tirgɪtkutã with blowing or with scratching the head 126.7

ilh-a'ttin e'un, e'ur ũm unečũ'čhɪn also the white dog and the thong-seal 102.29; also 97.18

also 8.7; 9.2; 21.6; 31.1, 2, 3; 98.9

NOTE: Between proper names, instead of the connective *e'ur*, the plurals of the personal pronouns may be used.

Gi'thɪlɪn e'rri Tña'irgɪn geñewtu'mgã Sunset and Dawn are connected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they Dawn)

mu'ri Qla'ul I and *Qla'ul* (lit. we *Qla'ul*)

eple'un

ki'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñitvi'e^ε well, did he really obtain shamanistic power? 18.4

êwkurga, êwkurga-m however

ê'wkurga tu'mgɪtum ui'ñã however, companion none (i. e. my companion is not with me) 11.1

ê'wkurga ginenčẽññitew-i-git however, you have frightened me 15.10

ê'wkurga tilv-a'mɪnan trene'lhã (if I do so) however, I shall be all alone 31.13-32.1

ê'wkurga Nota's'qa-Va'irga nēnanwêthawa'tqēn however, the Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9

egei', ê'wkurga ča'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain 108.30

ê'wkurga-m čotolēu' o'čẽ nine'lh-i-ũm, however, that under my pillow I have for my leader 128.13

êwkurga-m ilo'n vai nîrtermêč'e'nqin however, he does much violence 66.26

See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8

e'pte likewise, in the same manner

qân've'r kîme'k êna'nmuê'e e'pte gûm at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17

attau' a^s'ttu mîlhr'aⁿ e'pte gûm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20-21

e'pte gînnî'g-gîlî'lt ne'mäqâi gîna'n nêna'n^{mê}-gîr likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9-10

a'men ùm elo'n e'pte gûm mîñau'tînga^k let me likewise take a wife R12.8

emîte't at once, just now

emîte't ùm muwê'ññitaq I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 *emîte't ùm* in final position

emîte't ùm tê'rgîlîr ra'qal ñan even thus crying for what? 27.12
guq, emîte't ùm evî'rrî qâtei'kîqînet oh, at once clothing make! 49.4

emîte't-ùm tîpêla'nat nîrme'lqînet I just left them in safety (=good ones) 53.4

emîte't-ùm ataa'nkêlîr tê'rgîlîr they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)

emîte't ùm qagtî'gîr bring it at once 111.3

emîte'tîm tîgîte'äⁿ I looked on her 88.30

e'tî evidently, probably.

e'tîm vai nîpa'tqênal vên'va'kî evidently they cooked them secretly 9.9

e'tîm nu'tenut mîrnei'meukwäⁿ evidently we are approaching land 9.11

e'tîm am gemge-nute'qîn evidently from every country 11.4

e'tîm a'men kuwî'êm tre^s'tyäⁿ evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1

e'tîm ke'lek qâli'ketÿ^s evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2

ê'tîm wu'tku evidently he is here! 125.2

e'tîm ñîro'rgarî there many have been three 97.26

elo'n ùm ê'tîm evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

ê'tîlîr necessarily

êto—

eto'gaia'qañ rîpkîre'nnîr after a while he brought her back 51.4

e'nmen êto'gaia'qañ ùm gre'lgi^s after a while he vomits 136.24-25
qai'vE-maç-êto'pêl indeed I am a little better 135.7-8

erre'ë git êto'pêl thou art most fit 135.19

êto'pêl en'ki iwkuëi'is she better drank then (i. e. she could drink then) 37.4

ê'togon wo'tqan qäimi'tgin will you take this one?

ê'togon mirrenu'tergî-git shall we bury thee rather in the ground?

R 60.23

e'nmen, *en'qam*, *en'ra'q* THEN, coordinating conjunctions. Of these *enme'n* seems to express the most definite temporal sequence, *en'qa'm* a closer temporal connection, while *en'ra'q* should be translated *in turn* and indicates a still closer connection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narrative which of these three is used. The first one is the most frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of *en'qam* is not rare 62.6 et seq.

The difference between *e'nmen* and *en'qa'm* appears most clearly when their use alternates; as in the following examples.

en'qa'm enqa'n Umqäqäi'inä rilhındıgiwe'nnin ne'us'qät. e'nmen lu'ur e'gripgi's At that time U'mqäqäi pointed with his finger at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7-8

en'qa'm enqa'n Umqäqäi'inti geginteu'linet; e'nmen qu'ttirgin qa'at nerri'net at that time U'mqäqäi and his people fled; then the others untied the reindeer 63.10-11

en'qa'm nite'giñgin . . . e'nmen niten'ne'w-i-üm . . . en'qa'm gi'ulin At that time she sniffed . . . then I laughed a little; . . . then she said 72.11-13

e'nmen ya'yak qamıtvača'qên mıtqak, en'qa'm enqa'n rryirrai'-nênat then the gulls ate all the blubber and at that time they anointed them

en'men uwi'lkan qätei'kıgin . . . en'qa'm dinëikou'ti qineni'ntri- then make a woodpile and throw me into the fire! 31.12-13

In all these examples, the impression is conveyed that *en'qa'm* signifies a closer connection than *e'nmen*.

The form *en'ra'q* is parallel to *mə'rğın-raq* WE NEXT 69.22 and *ğüm-raq* I NEXT 77.21 Its meaning IN TURN THIS TIME appears clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

en'ra'q appears also together with *e'nmen*

e'nmen nute's'qän en'ra'q nuwêthau'qên then this time he spoke to the ground 15.9-10

e'nmen en'ra'q ya'yakıt namıngukwa'arkınat then in turn he rewarded the gulls 74.28-29

In the beginning of a story *e'nmen* means ONCE UPON A TIME.

e'nmeč because

va'nêvan ni'tvinên, e'nmeč ūm nayilhau'nên she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 88.22-23

e'nmeč ūm e'un pūki'rgi^s ya'rak garančēmau'lên uwä^s'quč when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10-11

e'nmeč ūm nan e'čhi wulqätvi'is, keñkele'nnin because of this, before evening came, he made her descend 97.5-6

e'nmeč ä'qälpe because of this, hurry up!

e'nmeč gepl'itkulin and already it is finished

e'nmeč qui'mik ta^sla'iorkin already I soil my trousers 94.19

e'nmeč wi'yolu qi'nelhi'rkın already you shall have me for a servant 95.7, also 95.15

eče'nur eču'ur

eče'nur vintuwir'lin it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6

eče'nur . . . veime'nu nere'lhıñın it shall be (this way) one who is kindly treated 25.8-9

guq, eče'nur yê'ta qäle'tık it shall be this way! (you shall) move on slowly 65.28

eču'ur yep vai atêvga'tka vai yegte'zest it shall be this way! as yet without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

ečhi before

e'čhi ras'qêuño'a^st čit nepi'rirkın qla'ulqai before they could enter they attacked the man 85.15

e'čhi yılqä'tyät ganto'lên before they had gone to sleep he went out 8.4

e'čhi eime'wkwi^s irgiro'ñnoi before it approached the dawn came 9.12

See also 10.9, 12.10, 11; 13.3; 20.3; 31.3; 55.6, 8; 97.20

Followed by *-rkın* WHEN ABOUT TO—

e'čhi pelqänte'erkin . . . gapêkagta'lên when about to come back, she fell down 97.20

e'čhi čit gami'tvarkın lu'ur pi'rinin when she was about to eat, after that he caught her 87.12

e'nmen e'čhi re^s'nilä te'grirkınin lu'ur i'wkwi^s then, when the bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said 10.10

elhıle'ñki in case, if

elhıle'ñki relu^s'ñın in case you should see him

erre'č only

erre'č qun ne'ekık an only daughter R 12.10

erre'č enqa'n ne'ekık (there was) only that daughter 28.2

erre'č ñıro'rgarı there were only three of them 34.3

na'qam erre'č yi'lııl ru'rkınin he eats only tongues 49.3

erre'č ūm am-gitka't gegnu'linet only just the legs were left 51.4
erre'č ai'kolak molı'yñın ūm on the bedskins was only blood 56.4-5
erre't-te'gın limit of end (i. e. it is the end); from *-tegn* limit (only in compounds) 64.2

erre'č mi'mıl, ya's'rat mi'mıl nine'uqın a'mkırıčo only water, verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke'In but (weaker than *naga'm*)

eke'in git nıru'l-ı-gıt; gi'newän ūm gümna'n me'čen'kı tre'ntıñın
 but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well

ekälu'k

gırn'k ei'uk ekälu'k at last for thee 19.4

ekēñā'n, ečēnā'n I wish I could (with subjunctive *b*)

ekēñā'n gümna'n trēpi'reä'n I wish I could take it

eke'upčı and now, but now

eke'upčı trıplı'tkurkın and now I am finishing it

ia'm > İyam why 19.5

ia'm ELO'n ten'ne'urkın why are you laughing 30.3

ia'm pegčı'ñu nine'lır-gır ora'wēlan why doest thou meddle with man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11

ia'm gemge'-gırnı'k qo'nmu'an why do you kill all the game? 92.32

iu'kā oh if! I wish—

guq, iu'kā qaia'qañ mınqamı'tvarkın I wish we could eat more 65.4

guq, iu'kā mınpontorkın-ê-gıt I wish I could eat of your liver! 95.19

iu'kā ño'onqan mırnı'nmürkın I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i'ppe, yI'pe actually

en'qa'm i'ppe mürkıčı'yñın . . . gata'lēn then actually very many . . . moved 11.7

en'ñata'l ūm i'ppe gına'n this time it is really thou 93.20

e'un r'pe ke'le'tü gayo's'laat now really ke'le visit them 106.8

i'pe-qun really 45.3

güm, gu'nä li'i-i'ppe ti'urkın I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

i's'tık

i's'tık a'mēn ärunte'erkın in reality thou desirest 24.11

qarē'mēn ora'wēlan, i's'tık ūm ke'le (she is) not a human being, in reality she is a ke'le 29.9

qarē'mēn i's'tık lü'mñıl this is not a real myth 61.5

gık, attau' i's'tık ūm ti'slu's'ä'n in vain, if in reality I had seen him 121.6

galē'očina'-merē i's'tık ūm in reality we have met 121.23

Nota's'qa-Va'irga leule'wu ine'lhri's'li'en i's'tik the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1

li'en i's'tik amñi'čvñla gū'mik rinike'urkin qarê'm mĩlmala'n-ñoa's'k just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10

i's'tig lū'mña Tño'tirgê-git in reality again, thou art Tño'irgin
i's'tig lū'mña qailhna'n'gê't eñe'ñetvñ in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11-12

i's'ngun lest

nēnaio'qēn i's'ngun nere'lu's'ñin she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3

... *i's'ngun vai kintaya'n ragno'urkin vē'ti gĩnni'k* lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3

nini'uqinet, titi't remle'gĩtki, i'ngun nere'lu's'ñin he said to them, "You will break the needles!" lest they should look at them 82.12

i'git now

i'gir i'mi Nota's'qa-Va'irgin narataaro'ñiññin now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

qu'num i'git ūm minra'gtatya's let me now take it home 121.28

i'git-ũm-ilo'n o'ra tryo's'wkut now I have come to thee openly 123.18

ya'net first

go,gũm ūm ya'net oh, I first 43.9

ya'nřa separately, alone

nĩkiu'qin ya'nřa she passes the nights by herself 28.3

ya's'rat very (sometimes *ya's'čat*)

nĩthi'lqinet ya's'rat very hot ones 9.9

ya's'rat nite'nginet very good ones 14.8

nite'ngin ya's'rat a very pretty one 36.3

eñeñitvi'i's ya's'rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10

ya's'ran niglo'qēn she sorrowed very much 27.10

a'mēn ūm ya's'rat verily! 85.2

yaka'n'-kin probably 9.13

yäqqäi a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German "ja"

yäqqäi' en'qa'm pe'le tre'etyä's I'll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8

yäqqäi' ūm qu'num tu'ri qarê'mēna-torê ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5

mi'ñkri-m-e'un yäqqäi' gũmna'n mĩlu's'a'n tuwēlvača'arkin how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

yäqqäi'-ñan gīt trātara'ñña^ε for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38

yäqqäi' ora'wêla-taiñatīrēha'til-ê-gīt you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6

yäqqäi' ūm rā^ε'nut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3

yäqqäi' ūm yaqtalē'n'vo trye'tyā^εk have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26

ye^εli'i (evidently containing the element *li'i* TRULY, REALLY, see also *uli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quli'i*)

e'nmen ye^εli'i enqa'n is he the only one? 21.13

ye^εli'i gūmna'n rather (let) me (be the one)

Also R 12.7

yu'raq perhaps.

opo'pə exhortative

opo'pə gara'i'-gīt minle'gīt thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7

opo'pū minpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6

opo'pə mitalai'ruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50

o'ptIma like (see Koryak Kamenskoye *opta*)

o'ra openly

gina'n qanra'gtatyaⁿ o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30

i'gīt-ūm-ilo'n o'ra tryo^ε'wku^t I have come to thee openly 123.18-19

uru'ur it seems that

u'rri thus, so

u'rri nüplu^{tvi}'qin it was so small 20.3

u'rri li'ñki nūmqitvi'qin thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4

qagno'pgê^ε êričikou'ti u'rri eñ'ñi'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4

u'rri mingi'linin ri'nnin thus he did (with) his hand 57.10

u'rri ñan gini'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9-10

wu'rri thus

na'qam ūm neyule'tqin wu'rri still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3

e'nmen vai wu'rri enqa'n gama'trñolēn there thus that one dragged her 51.1

enqa'n ena'n čini't wu'rri ni'tqin that one there herself was thus 26.9

e'nmen wu'rri puulqe'wkw^ε then he floated thus 77.23

e'nmen e'nikit rilu'tku wu'rri girgola'gti there at once he moved thus upward 16.5

u'nmūk greatly, strongly

uLi'i in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^εli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quLi'i*)

uLi'i yara'ni qamata'gin wu'kwên then take also my stone-house 92.4 (in the same way 92.14, 24; 93.3, 8, 18, 26)

ve'tI really, truly, very, at once; an intensifying particle

ve'ti veime'nu nere'lhini truly friendly he will be treated 25.9

vêti ginni'k ūm a'mên nenankêttuwa'tqên truly they made game scarce by means of magic 42.4

vê'ti nimei'enqin he was very large 73.9

vê'ti nige'tvūqin he was very strong 47.3

vê'ti nara'nmüntik it will kill you at once 70.12

vê'ti-m re'w nēna'nmūqên he killed really (many) whales 73.3

a'limi quwalo'märkin ūm vê'ti but obey me strictly 88.10-11

trañauti'ñirkin vê'te qun I shall marry at once 57.2

nire'viñqin vê'ti he really wanted to die 99.27

vê'ti, qaya'arkinat nan do sing it again! 120.24

vetč'i'in ūm, velč'i'in for my part granted!

vê'nom

vê'nom ergina'n let them (be) 55.11

Also 56.1

vên'va'kI secretly (see *vi'n'vi*)

venli'i unexpectedly 60.7; 61.2; 69.33 (Bogoras: still, meanwhile, notwithstanding), (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^εli'i*, *uLi'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quLi'i*)

qān've'r met-ki'it venli'i ūm a'mên rima'gti nīnē'lqin at this time somehow unexpectedly to the other side it came (i. e. nevertheless it came across somehow) 40.7

venli'i leu'ti kī'plmēn unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12

qai'vε teñēle'erkin, venli'i aa'lomka i'irkin indeed, I blame him; unexpectedly he does not obey

na'qam pa'nēna venli'i nuurqeimeu'qin but unexpectedly more thunder approached 69.30

ne'me čuwi'pit nimei'netqin venli'i unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

venli'i ntiu'qin unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15

Also 74.4; 137.13

vele'r, vele'r-ūm, vele'r ūm nau AT LEAST (Kor. Kam. *va'lan*) limited qualification of action)

gailo'kim mi'ñkri, vele'r-ūm wo'tqan indeed, how then, at least this one?

vele'r-um mīčaqaro'a^εk at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

vele'r-im yara'ni ga'tvata although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

vele'r ċimče'tä qênata'gê at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9, 13)

vele'rim mitwêt'ha'urkin at least I can talk with thee 32.1

vele'r-qun, vele's-qun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

vien < **viyen** just, simply

tikimîče'erkin am, vi'en mewkwe'tyâsk I am staying too long, just let me depart

vi'en pûki'rgiê êuño'a† he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3

go, vi'en gra'gtitk just go home! 45.9

vi'en aa'lomkêl-ê-git thou just doest not listen 54.11

vi'n·vi, **vên·va'ki** secretly 108.14

pila', **pila'q** apparently, pretending

pila' vi's'lin pretending death 82.4; 124.6

plägi' that is all! 107.21 (from stem *pl*— to finish)

mêl, **mêč**, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

mei

ka'ko mei oho, there! 14.5

met-ki'tkit, **met-ki'it** (?)

me'čiču besides

i'tkenin im me'čiču êrga'wkwê he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

mač exhortative particle

mač gûmna'n let me be the one!

mač irgina'n let them be the ones! R 62.70

ma'čnan < *mač-ena'n* let it be (impersonal)

ma'čnan čei'vâ let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mîte' of course 121.6

miteli'i undoubtedly (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye'li'i*, *uzi'i*, *venli'i*, *qâzi'i*, *quli'i*)

miteli'i tîla'nvu va'rkin rižu undoubtedly there is a stranded carcass 64.18

miteli'i ranto'a† undoubtedly she will come out 82.21

miteli'i kitkin'u'qai rakêrga'tya† undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

mitiu' (perhaps *mithiu'*) I thought—

mitiu' ene'nîli-git I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3

mitiu' ke'le-i-git I thought thou wert a kele 15.11

miti'âm ELO'n qâigi'pe viri'irkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

tam, tagam all right!

ge, tam! oh, all right! 121.28

gi, tam, a'men! oh, all right then! 84.14

i, tam! yes, all right 84.19

te'naq if perhaps (always with future)

te'naq nara'nmi-um if perhaps they should kill me

te'če-ñ how many times

ne'me te'če-ñ qiiwi'is again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

naga'm however, but

utte'mil nımayenqana'čhin naga'm pe'le nımqıtvı'qin like a tree was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2

nara'nmiñqen na'qam . . . nēnalwau'qen they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1-2.

na'qam nın'ñi'uqin ne'me but they ordered him again 59.6

u'ttāqai—na'qam enqa'n gelexu'qāglin it is little piece of wood!—

But it has whiskers 75.4-5

na'qam čemı'ngıt yito'nenat but (this time) she pulled out a pair of gloves 111.5-6; also 76.4, 6, 24

na'qam um is more strongly adversative

guq, naga'm um re'qā but with what then? 34.9

naga'm um ño'onqan but this one 35.1

na'qam um tew-mu'lılın but this one's blood was good 117.14

na'qam um nıqe'tvuqin but this one was strong 66.20

With ***a'men*** it is strongly adversative

e'nmen qu'ttirgin qa'at pe'leqāi nerrı'net, na'qam a'men

Umqāqāi'in . . . nēnalwau'qen then the others' reindeer quickly were untied, but on the other hand *Umqāqāi's*

. . . could not 63.11-12

a'men um naga'm inpılu'tkul-i-ğıt you on the other hand, are an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4

naga'm lımña (literally *but again*). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean AFTER ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED.

naga'm lımña ña'wtingē after all, he married 58.7-8

naga'm lı'mña gaa'qolēn after all he sat down 98.24

na'qam lı'mña inennike'wkwi after all I am treated thus 98.28-29

na'qam lı'mña čeq-ē'ččaq after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25-26

inenpelqu'utkālın um wot, naga'm lı'mña he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27

na'qam lı'mña i'lıl uı'ñä ne'lyi after all, the rain stopped 116.11-12

naga'm li'mña ginni'k reurre'tyäs after all that has been done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

naga'm li'mña awgê'tkinka nevertheless they did not say anything 26.6

e'nmen im-nikê'rê't nikamagra'qên, naga'm li'mña va'glîrîn no'mrâqên then the whole night he struggled, however the grass (with which he was tied) was (too) tough (to be torn) 20.10-11.

It is also used before nominal forms, pronouns, and nominalized verbs

kîrauâ'tyê' na'qam wus'qû'mêiku, na'qam niki'tä he galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwithstanding the nighttime 57.5

na'qam yo'yo qân've'r . . . naa'lomqa'n notwithstanding the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4

eñe'nîlîn naga'm go'rgulên but the shaman had a sledge 14.10

naga'm am-gîna'n but only thou (i. e., but you are all alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

gapê'nîlên na'qam, ganmitkoi'vulên but they were attacked, they were slaughtered 12.4

nî'nâqîn ïm naga'm but this one was swift 40.4-5

ne'me again

ne'me gitte'wkwi' again thou art hungry 9.13

ne'me çipe'tyi' again he dived 10.1

qu, ne'me oh, again 36.6 !

ne'mäqäi also

e'nmen ïm Ai'wanat ïm ne'mäqä'i they are also Aiwan 7.9

e'nmen ne'mäqäi, geri'ñelîn then he also had flown up 15.3

e'pte ginni'g-gîli'lit ne'mäqäi gîna'n nêna'nmê-gît likewise the game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9-10

nemäqäi gümna'n I also 93.13

ne'mäqäi enqa'n eñe'nîlîn nîpe'gtîmet also that shaman is hauling a sledge 14.12-15.1

neqe'm but, nevertheless

gîk, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gîk oh, but it was not there 27.11

neqe'm ïm li'î-vênñolîn nigtaqîn vê 're'mkä nevertheless having just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

çî'mqûq partly, somewhat

çî'mqûq nâ'mkäqîn re'mkîn nîmitva'lin somewhat many people were encamped 58.9

č'rmqūq *enqa'n nīqulile'tqin* in part they were noisy 60.9
č'rmqūk kuke'čiku e'ret nīva'qēn partly in the kettle boiled meat
 was (left) 75.11
e'nmen vai yē'tvuē^s *č'rmqūk* then it grew somewhat brighter
 94.22-23

ča'ma also

ča'ma enqa'n mač-êwga'n tīvu'rkin also this is an incantation I
 tell 39.13

ča'ma mu'la e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11

ča'ma li'en ai'makik na'lai'oqēn he also defecated on the carcass
 81.6

ča'ma qu'tti ga'nmlaat also the others were killed 98.3

tīnīn-la'li-mo'rē vai ča'ma we come here also carrying antlers
 121.20

ča'ma nuwêthau'qaat orawêla'-mêl they also talk like men 64.10
guq, a'men ūm na'qam ūm gai'mič-ai'wan ča'ma oh, he was how-
 ever a rich Aiwan 50.7

See also 42.3

če'mit therefore

če'mit gū'muk êna'tvat epki'rkä nīva'qēn therefore to me prom-
 ised gifts do not come 93.16

go, e'ur qu'num če'met li'i iulule'tyi^s li'mña walqa'liñn oh, and
 therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

čē'nēt since, because

čē'nēt im vinrē'tilit nū'mqāqāet since there are many helpers
 R 4.44

čē'nēt ūm qaalvīlu'en'ñi'n nu'rri nīva'qēn since the buck is there
 on its back R 4.34

čē'nēt vēs'ličhīn, ia'm mīnyo^saⁿ since he is dead, why should
 we visit him? 108.13-14

čē'nēt ūmennē'n-mi'mlä giwkuč'i'tä since they drink one water
 R 45.13-14

čē'nēt gumni'n e'nni-ku'prēn u'iñä enmêqa'eti tralva'wñn since
 I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47-48

gu, čē'net ūm ilī'lā-muri oh, since we are on an island! (an
 exclamatory phrase) 11.11

čite'un

čit gūmuk ga'tvalen, čite'un ta'nñik tīva'rkin ūm i'gīt before it
 was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying
 now R 45.19

*čit ai'vanana me'tal rīnñrīrkīn . . . čite'un ūm gūmna'n wu'tku
 tīnñi'gāⁿ* before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later
 (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20-21

čite'un akka'gti titëggë'nirkin and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

čite'un kinta'rga memilqa'a na'na'lpinrie later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

čite'un a'ttilu a'lvāqan nita'qēnat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

inprē-ekke'tā riri'lpinnēn čite'un vē-wgēnto'ē the eldest son was with him later on then he gave up his breath (i. e. that he might die an easier death) R 49.15

le'ñItaq already (?)

le'ñitaq ūm napēla'an ūm vai ne'ekik already they had left this daughter 30.12

leñita'q ūm . . . čīmñā'čhīn na'nmuğaⁿ already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

li'en and simply, and only; restricted action

nineimeu'qinet, li'en a'ttā gape'nrēilēn they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

li'en ēlhipēra'rkīn e'če it is simply white with fat 81.27

ta'yolhīn ūm lo'lo li'en the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13

See also 67.19; 81.6; 86.8, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.

li'en i's'tik (see *i's'tik ūm*) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

li'en i's'tik kēma'wkurgē-gīt and let me tell you that you are causing delay

li'en i's'tik ra'ññitaē and may I ask you what do you want here?

li'en ūm i's'tik e's'tqi and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

attau' li'en utterly in vain (see *atau'* p. 854)

luu, before vowels *lu'un* just, just like

leen-ai've just yesterday

li'i really

en'nata'l ūm li'i tī'lhī-gīr from now on I shall really know thee 93.21-22

li'i ēñēñtvi'i he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

lu'ur AFTER THAT, THEREUPON always refers back to a preceding event.

e'nmen ai'gēpū eiñē'utkui^e, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyā^et and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

atčau' luwau'nen, lu'ur yopa'tyē^e she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

lu'ur wēthau'ñōē^e thereupon he began to speak 31.11

lu'ur pīntrigoro'a^et thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

krye'kwä^et. e'nmen lu'ur qla'ul ye'tyi^e they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11

rihĩndĩgiwe'nnĩn; e'nmen lu'ur e'gripgi^s he pointed at her with a finger; thereupon she felt pain 63.7

See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27

lu'un matali'yñĩn êuñoi' thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

lũ'mña again

gu, mē'ñko lũ'mña pi'ntĩqätyi^s oh, whence doest thou appear again? 10.12

ra'ēnota'čhĩt lũ'mña what are these again? 14.3-4

naga'm lũ'mña . . . ergewe'tyi^s but again he dived 17.4

See *a-lũ'mña* p. 854.

ripe't even

ripe't tērga'tyē^s he even began to cry

eyi'lqakēlinet ripe't *ELI'git* without sleep were even the parents 34.3-4

lile'-mi'mlä nĩpyučĩ'tqĩn ripe't the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19

ripe't ge'mu li'ngäēn you did not even mind it 109.25

e'nmen ripe't tēna'lai'okwut I even eased myself over you 109.23

rattan·ñauñĩn enough 65.6

re'en I confess

-řam with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < *enřaq* *ũm*, *gũm-ra'q* *ũm* it is my turn)

e'ũn nĩpampiřē'tegen enřa'm čĩ'čhĩnčĩku aũnra'lin he puts on tufts of reindeer hair in their turn in the armpits of the owner (i. e. the owner puts on . . .) R 4.46

enřa'm rimne'tä gaĩkola'Leet this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13

enřa'm nĩmtu'mqäqäi eñĩnqä'ikēlin on his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11-12

kĩme'l, qĩme'l at once (?)

kĩme'l e'lhu ine'tčĩi^s at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see also 137.5, 11)

enqa'm ñaus'qatē'tĩ qĩme'l then at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

kĩme'k almost

kĩme'k mĩtrĩ'nmarut almost we killed thee 10.11

a'mEN-ũm-ilo'n trĩ'nma ine'ntrĩ^s *kĩme'k* but now you did almost kill one 123.17-18

qān've'r kĩme'k ênanmũē^s *e'pte gũm* this time you have almost killed me 121.16-17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

kĩta', kĩta'm, kĩaũ

kĩaũ'

kĩaũ'qun, mĩ'ñkri nĩ'tqĩn now then! how was he? 17.12 (*kĩa'm qun* 18.1)

kıtau' qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmık well then! the big dog saved us 106.26

kıta'

kıta' ña'nko go ahead! (bring him) here! 20.1

kıta'm 46.4; 79.1; 80.10; 87.8; 94.9; 110.20; 113.21; 124.2; *kıta'm qun* 16.6; 18.4; *kıta'm qu'num* 21.5 well then!

kıta'm ñu'nři now then (bring home) here! 23.2

guq, kıta'm lü'mña well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kıta'm e'ur li'ê-va'ırırırkı gañau'tırñ-ê-gıt qaiłhına'n'gêt, vai u'mkı qagtr'gırn now then, if among real being (gods) thou hast married really, here a polar bear bring! 110.5-6. Compare 110.9-10.

kıta'tke unfortunately 25.12

kı'tvıl-qun notwithstanding

kı'nmal together (?)

kı'nmal mırnuñe'lmık let us go for fuel! 30.6

kı'nmal . . . pılıgılı'lıt . . . gına'n nêna'nmê-gıt thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

kırga'm ñm a'mEn, kırga'm ñm a'mi well now! 121.4

kite' seldom

kı'tkit a little

kı'tkit nıten'ñe'w-i-ñm I laughed a little 72.13

kı'tkit qänve'ntetyi open it a little 94.21, 34

kı'tkit nurre'tqinet they were a little visible 95.30

ku'lıkä alone 24.10.

qai'a'qañ a while

e'nmen qai'a'qañ tile'ä'st they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8. *guk,ıu'kä qai'a'qañ mırqamı'tvarkın* I wish we could eat a while 65.4

qai'a'qan e'ur neimeu'qın for a while he approached 66.13

qai'a'qan e'üli-gêlêñño'ê ven-çümñ'a'chın for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

eto'-qai'a'qañ rıpkire'nnın after a while he brought her back 51.4

qäli'i êto'-qai'a'qañ gewkwe'lin after a while he departed 45.11

qai've indeed, truly, really.

qai've qine'ilhi really, give (it) to me 16.1

enga'n qai've İu'metui-gır thou art really İu'metun

qai've-m ı'mı yei'velgäi nu'tek tümñ-alva'lag rayı'lqañño indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10-11

guq, qai've-m nan me'čen:ki tre'nti'nin oh, indeed, I shall be able to manage him 67.22

Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

qailo'kim

gik, qailo'kim re'qä qäta'liñitki with what will you answer 14.2
qailo'kim mi'ñkri miñi'ntin how shall we act 53.1

qailo'kim wu'tku mi'nti-gir how should I keep thee here 109.30

qailo'kim pe'nin wolvitva'lin before he was motionless 125.4

qailo'kim ele'nyutä riri'lpinnen the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22-23

qailhina'n'gêt, qaglêna'n'gêt and actually

qailhina'n'gêt li'ê-taničê'tiñoê and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5

guq, qailhina'n'gêt ñim ne'lu^n and indeed, they saw it 10.3

qailhina'n'gêt ni'rgipatqên and actually, he was talked about 17.5, 7

Also, 15.7; 18.3; 67.22; 80.27; 104.9

qa'tin just so 127.10

qalêle vertically

qäi-I'pe, qäigî'pe really, in truth

qäi-I'pe li'ê-va'iriñki qañau'tiñ-ê-git really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30-31

miti'üm elo'n qäigî'pe viri'irkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

qäi'ñun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen *qa'inun* Kor. 90.2)

qä'inun tu'rgin re'mkin e'tqi it seems your people are bad 8.9-10
tu'rgin re'mkin qä'inun re'lqiä it seems your people will appear 10.4

qa'inun meti'u rine'lhri^ certainly I shall not be believed by them 19.8

Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qänu'r like, as

gene'i'net qänu'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4

mi'ñkri va'lit qänu'r a's'twukin pu'ttiñet how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6

naqa'm lü'mña qänu'r mêmličikou'ti ergewe'tyi^ but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4

qänu'r vêlê'ti gilo'lên as for a dead one she mourned 27.12

e'nmen qänu'r a's'ttin arê'ta ni'ntäqin then like a dog they held him back 66.17

kele'tä va'nêvan elu^'kä qänu'r mergina'n i'git ka'mak va'nêvan eu'rrekêlin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1-2

. . . *qānu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkin* like our people here 61.6
e'nmen a'nī qānu'r qun nute's'qān then it was just like earth 8.6
qānu'r qun wī'lquul just like coal 22.7
qānu'r qun nithi'lqinet they were like hot ones 9.10
e'nmen qol qānu'r inpina'ēhin geñe'wānā then another one, like
 the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his
 wife 28.1
qānu'r li'en ne'ntiān just as though simply they did to him 35.4
e'nmen qānu'r qun ničiite'ruqin then it was as though they were
 heated 9.8

qān've'r the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT,

AT THIS TIME

qān've'r galē'olhročina'-mō'rē just at this moment we have met
 121.15

qān've'r gīnmī'lkinek tīl-eime'wanī'tqinet at this time they drew
 nearer 103.8

qān've'r gītte'pīrēm kele'kin i'wkwīē at that moment the leader of
 the kelet said 104.26

e'nmen qān've'r neime'wkwān qān've'r ūm a'ttī'yñin ūm
wēthau'ñoē at that moment they approached and at that
 moment the dog began to speak 103.19

Taaro'n-Va'irgu ūm qān've'r . . . Va'irgu ne'lēn a Sacrifice-
 (receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he
 became 41.9-10

Often it may be translated *therefore*.

qān've'r ūm tērgīla'tīñoēē therefore (at this moment) she began
 to cry 31.7

lu'ur wo'tqan qān've'r wū'rgirgin valo'miñonēn afterwards, there-
 fore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines,
 however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

qāčI'-qu'num as you like it (?) R 54.36

qāLi'i (< *qā[t]-li'i*) but in fact (containing the element *li'i* REALLY,
 TRULY; see also *ye'li'i*, *uli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *quli'i*)

nī'mnim vai čī'mčeqāi va'rkin, *Eiwhue'n qāli'i* a settlement is
 quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7

qāli'i qit but in fact, it is you 23.5

qāli'i Re'kkeñit but in fact, they were Rekken 34.5

qāli'i ēto'-qai'a'qañ gewkwe'līn in fact after a short time he de-
 parted 45.11

qāli'i riē'lin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2

qāli'i Enqa'n . . . ē'tīn ye'tyiē in fact this was the master
 70.28-30

qāli'i pinlō'nēnat in fact, he asked them 70.30

qäli'i notas qa'urkit in fact they were digging the ground 71.9
qäli'i qun enqa'nat tei'n'ñičit in reality they were murderous
 68.20

qäli'i ñm qun qäi-a'ttiqäi in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4
qäli'i enqa'n . . . ELA' in fact that was the mother 85.21-22
qäli'i pala'wkun yara'ñi in fact a funeral circle 108.17

qeteu' even now

garaqêcha'Lên qeteu' what has the bad one been doing, even
 now 31.9

qetē'm, qette'm, kete'm just, just like

qette'm gü'mnin yara'ñi just like my house
kete'm pli'tku just as it is finished R 3.24

qo'nIrI, qo'nIrI-m, qo'nIrI e'ur (contracted also *qi'en-e'ur*)
 since

qol qoi'maron wü'thiči, tu'mgin enqa'n qo'nirim geñewtu'mgeleet
enqa'nat the other rear sleeping room was in the middle, a
 strange person's (not a member of the family) that, because
 they were wife-companions (lived in group-marriage), these
 53.9-10

qo'nirim ča'ma qo'čer-qla'ül-e-üm enqana'ta ño'o-e-üm gene'l-i-üm
 because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became
 R 45.27-28

qo'nirim gumni'n i'gıt i'rälqäl u'inä . . . tré'lqätya^q Velew-
kwaygo'ütı because my now clothing material nothing . . .
 I'll go to Merchants Point (i. e. because I have no material)
 R 46.43-44

qo'niri tılv-e'tqin-i-gıt since you are utterly bad

qo'nirim e'un ELI'gin i'mı viri'tägi'lin since (the) father has also
 died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37

qo'nirim Eñe'neñe eiñe'wä ča'ma i'lııl üm, qa'ko because he calls
 the East wind, it rains 132.20-21. Also R 13.21

qo'n.pü quite

qo'n.pü vi's'is he was quite dead 83.21

qo'n.pü nımi'tvañño'a^t they began to be quite a camp 107.19
gık, qoñpü ninenmelewe'tqin he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12-13

qun, qu'num, qun-üm probably an emphatic particle, stronger
 than *üm* (p. 849) and *elo'n* (p. 852). It stands in second posi-
 tion, generally following another particle

qänu'r qun wr'lquul just like coal 22.7

e'nmen qänu'r qun nıčiite'ruqin they were just as though they
 had been heated 9.8-9

qänu'r qun nıthı'lqinet just as though they were hot 9.10

qä'nur qun mı'mlık just as though (they were) in water 101.32

e'nmen a'ni qānu'r qun nute's qān they were just like land 8.6
a'ni qun qriku'tkui valata thus it is! they move about with the
 knives 16.4

a'ni qun li'en' re'pkiḡä^s ratopa'wkwä^s thus it is! simply you will
 come home, she will be pregnant 104.4

a'ni qu'num te'kičhın qānu'utkri thus it is! then eat the meat!
 14.6

a'ni qu'num qanto'ê^s come out! 81.27

a'ni qun, i'ppe qun thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3

têrga'tyê^s qun ūm he cried 116.7

kr'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñtvi'i^s did he this time attain shaman-
 istic power? 18.4

kita'm qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time? 18.1

kita'm qun ê^snničhın qai'pūgun this time put on the necklace
 16.6

kita'm qu'num minırri'l-hıt this time we will let thee go 21.5-6

kita'm qu'num ineze'tti qatvu'gınat this time what shall there be
 for payment? 102.11

kıtau'qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmık this time the big dog saved
 us 106.26-27.

kıtau' qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time 17.12

attau'-qun ñon ūm Tño'tirgına minpêčarê'ra we are just going to
 Tño'tirgın for food 119.18

attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'ta qätër'gın just get the sledge ready 105.20

e'nmen -qun ra'ḡtie^s ELA' then the mother went home 30.10

qäl'i'i ūm qun qäi-a^stıḡäi in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4

In the following examples *qun* follows verbs, verbal nouns and
 pronominal forms.

ñipe'ä^st qu'num E'n'ki they went ashore there 71.12

pančä'tık nımpe'qinet qu'num gı leaping it went ashore, indeed!
 122.16

a'un -gêta'ḡti pılhırıra'tyä^s qu'num he makes himself flat before
 them 83.28-84.1

ti'ñunın qu'num he pulled it out 84.7

ei'miunın ūm qun he caught him 121.13

vi^slin ūm qu'num Enqa'n nine'lqin dead that one had become
 (he had died) 125.10

yi^slhin ūm qu'num, rä^s'nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26-27

rä^s'nut qu'num lo'ñıl what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4

i'me-rä^s'nut qu'num everything 107.2

mi'ñkri qu'num mıthıtte'urkın it is because we are hungry 70.24

čei'vutkui^snımnımeiti, qu'num a'tto'rguqaia he went to the camp
 with a dog sledge 105.5

According to punctuation *qunum* is in initial position in the following example

ge, tam! qu'num i' gıtüm mırura' gıatya^{en} let us take it home now!
121.27

It seems, however, that instead of *ge, tam* we might read *kıta'm* as p. 21.5

quLi'i in this case indeed (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^{li}'i*, *uli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *gäli'i*)

quLi'i va'aŋgan a^ttin ni'ilhit in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

gečeu'kI together.

gıthite' against one's will

gi'newän besides

ne'wäq strong emphasis

ne'wäq gi'wä you do say 21.11

ne'wäq ninemırke'w-i-üm I have been working hard 81.9

qai'VE ne'wäq Ena'n čini't mini'uqin indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23

ne'wäq qai'VE and indeed

§129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

ImI also

i'mI gaaqai'pa^{len} also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9

i'miñ yuqya'nu gana^s'linau they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3

imiñ gayai'tilen nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8

i'miñ . . . pła'ku wu'gwa gayi'lin also (her) boots they filled with stones Kor. 28.7

Also adj. Kor. 66.8, 72.14, 76.19

Ina'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

Enna'n that one alone

enna'n koro'wapel gana^s'lin only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

Enna'nıku from that time on Kor. 80.7

Enqa'ta

enka'ta tılai'vıkın ne'ıa then a herd was walking about Kor. 21.8

enqa'ta gassa'len qata'p-vai'am then he dragged a net along the bottom of the river Kor. 70.11

E'nki then, at that very moment

e'nki yu'laⁿ gaplıtıu'linau then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1

e'nki tryanu'wgi then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18

ɛ'ŋki ɛnni'mtɪlɑɛn pipi'tɕuykin ɛ'ŋki qata'p-e'mat va'ykin then Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish was (there) Kor. 86.16

ɛŋke' ɛnni'mtɪlɑɛn then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

Eñna^ɛ'an thus

ɛñna^ɛ'an thus it is! Kor. 78.2

galqatɪn qaiɕayɪɕi'na ɛñna^ɛ'an wɪs'qũ'mɕiku she went groping thus in the dark Kor. 16.9-10

ɛñna^ɛ'an vañvolai'ke thus they lived Kor. 43.7

ɛñna'an gayɪltɛlɛñvo'lenat thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

gɪna'n ɛñna^ɛ'an ɪŋa'ntɪ thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

qo'la ɛñna^ɛ'naɕ Yayo'ɕa-ñawgut gai'ɪɪɪn after a while they gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

ɛñna^ɛ'nvot gani'kalimau all at once something happened Kor. 70.17-18

Dual forms:

ɛñna^ɛ'anet gana'tvɪlen thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

ɛñna^ɛ'anet patta'la mani'ti gayɪ'ssalɪnat thus the two filled with dried meat two bags Kor. 70.21

ayi'kvan at least Kor. 18.1

Ina'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

avi'ut Kor. 44.5

a'wun (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna *e'wun* Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

a'wun gaya'lqɪwɪlɪnau and so they entered Kor. 80.18-19

a'wun ɪm-la'wtalɪn and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

a'wun ui'na and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (= *e'wun i'tka* Kor. II, Kor. 96.30: *e'wune'le* Paren, Kor. 97.17)

awnu'p (?) Kor. 64.11

a'wgi falsely Kor. 88.14

am (Paren *ɪm*)

qun-am nu'tak ui'na ane'lhɪɪɪpnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nɪn qun-ɪm Uwe'ñpɪɪɪn the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

a'men

a'men gawgu'ɪn and they tied her Kor. 23.4

a'men e'wañ and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

a'men yɪ'na and now what! Kor. 28.2

a'ɕhi a'men gũ'mkɪɪn ni'wi-gi just now like me thou wert talking Kor. 29.2

a'mu I do not know Kor. 55.3

atau vainly Kor. 61.3

ata'mtɪm in vain Kor. 30.8

as's'o' since

as's'o' qati' since you went away Kor. 18.5

a'ččIč, aččo'č (Ch. *erre'č*) that is all, only, no more Kor. 62.8;
70.8 *aččo'č* Kor. 66.19; 68.19

a'nam then, and so

me'nqañ a'nam gi'łinaru how then did they become? Kor.
61.9–10

a'nam . . . gał'a'lin then he came to him Kor. 63.6

Also Kor. 66.6; 78.1

a'nam-e'en all right then! Kor. 30.5; 31.8

e'en a'nau all right then! Kor. 32.1

a'naqun and so Kor. 36.10

anuva't just as, just when

anuva't nıyatıłqi'wqın, e'nki mıtyr'ıqala just when he was
about to come, we went to sleep

a'lımI I wish it were!

a'lımı vai'čta I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2–3

gina'n a'lımrñ qeti'gin I wish thou wouldst take it Kor.
72.24–74.1

alva' other

alva'lin it is of different material Kor. 76.23

a'kyel also

gayo'olenan, a'kyel ipa'na they put it into it, also into the
soup, Kor. 28.6

e'en (Ch. *e'ur*) then, and

gayo'olen, e'en gavr'e'yalin he visited him and he was dead
Kor. 20.8

ya'nya e'en na'wıqatu partly also women Kor. 44.2

e'en . . . gamławanka'wlen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6

gakya'wlinau e'en yaq ni'lıñın ni'tın they awoke and what
thong was there? (*i. e.* and there was no thong) Kor. 40.5

e'enač once upon a time Kor. 58.4

e'wun (see *a'wun*)

matula'tın e'wun missaitıla'nın they stole it but we shall bring
it back Kor. 40.8

i'pa really; indeed Kor. 37.8

i'pa a'nam gr'ssa but really thou Kor. 66.6

Also as adjectives:

i'pa kmi'nın the real child Kor. 68.11

gümni'n i'pa qıa'wul vi'e'gi my real husband died Kor. 21.10–22.1

i'pa lı'ge-ta'ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i'nae quickly Kor. 39.2

gaye'm i'n'a nıya'tın he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19

i'n'ač enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15

inya'wut (?) Kor 16.5

i'nmīq really, in truth

i'nmīq tapañañvo'ykīn in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8

i'nmīqu'nām all right! Kor. 28.1-2.

Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3

iñi'nninIk in this manner Kor. 14.3 (from *iñi'nñin* such)

o'ya openly

ui'ña o'ya a'tvaka she was not (there) openly Kor. 76.14

o'pta also (Lesna: THE WHOLE; Kamchadal *o'ptima* THE WHOLE);

Chukchee *o'ptima* LIKE)

a'čīn o'pta gei'liḷīn he also gave him fat Kor 15.4-5

qla'wul o'pta enka'ta tḷai'vikīn a man also was walking there

Kor. 21.9

Qwyqīnn'a'qu o'pta e'wañ Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5

go'ḷa ai'ak o'pta . . . gayo'oḷen an other one she also put into the storeroom Kor. 55.1

See also Kor. 56.5

oma'ka together

Ama'mqut a'nke o'maka kaña'trykīn Ememqut was fishing together (with them) Kor. 44.10

e'en ña'nyeu oma'ka i'ssa and then together they (were her children) Kor. 61.2

o'nnen verily, indeed, Kor. 59.9

u'nmi (?) Kor. 74.10

ya'wač (?) Kor. 64.9

y'anya (Ch. *ya'nña*) partly, separately

yaq (indefinite pronoun, see § 59) and now

wu'tēn yaq yī'nna and this now, what is it? Kor. 36.9

ame'yaq ña'wīs'qat well, how is the wife Kor. 68.2

gīn-ya'q thy turn Kor. 46.7 (See *yaq*, § 59, p. 729)

ya'qam only

ya'qam ai'kīpa gapī'wyalīn only (with) fly-eggs she scattered Kor. 45.2

ve'lo ya'qam ninataikīñvo'qenau she was only making thimbles Kor. 59.5

ya'qañ why

ya'qañ ya'ti why hast thou come Kor. 64.1

yaqqai'-qun (Paren *yäqqai'-qun* Kor 92.5) then

ye'lī

ye'lī gayi'ñalīn and so she flew away Kor. 46.5

e'en ye'l gañekel'a'len and so she felt ashamed Kor. 60.1

vi'yañ, ve'eñ (?)

vi'yañ isku'a'ti (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2

vi'yañ ləlapɪ'təŋvo'ykin nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8

ña'no vi'yañ kɪsva'čik va'ykin of course, it is there on the cross-pole Kor. 68.5

vi'yañ ɣapanɣai'pɪlən (without clothes) but with a cap Kor. 76.22

vi'nva, vi'n·vi secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14**va^s'yuk** afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5**va^s'ak** Kor. 56.5; 64.9**van** (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee demonstrative particle *nan* which is also used adverbially).

vi'ña-van minka'kɪla not by anybody else Kor. 40.6–7

ɣaye'm ña'no-van mɪnuñɪana'wɣe not those I shall be able to eat Kor. 55.8–9

a'mɪɪñ-van kɪtve'-lɪ'ga penčɪ'ykin after that he rushed at her every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

pa'ɬa perhaps Kor. 60.5**mačɪ** maybe

ma'čɪ wu'tčuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7

ma'čɪ vi'ɬka va'ykin mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7

me'čɛ mɪma'tage mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6

mal well

mal-kit properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9

mal-kɪ'tɪl very well! Kor. 21.5

Also *met'-kɪ'tkit*

male'ta quietly Kor. 54.7**ma'kiw** somewhere Kor. 80.9**me'ñqañ** how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1

me'ñqač mi'qun mai'mɪk how indeed shall I get water? 16.7–8

me'ñqan mi'qun how, indeed? Kor. 17.12

mi'qun (Paren *mu'qun* Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle

mi'qun naña'nɣɪn indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9

mi'qun Ama'mqut e'wañ Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11

ya'qu mi'qun ɣataɪ'kɪɣɪn what indeed will you do? Kor. 76.7

Also 16.3, 8; 17.12; 39.10; 84.21; 86.12

(ti'wɣak [literally: I SAY] it seems Kor. 57.9)**ti'ta** when

ɪlu^s'pɪɪñ ti'ta mɪnelo^s'čəɬa when we find a shaman's wand Kor. 27.7

ti'ta ɣə'mma tra'tɪk when was I at home? Kor. 68.13

ti'ta o'pta ninanɪva^s'an let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15

ti'taq mu'yu mɪta'ttayɪ'pnala when did we feed on inner skin of dogs Kor. 48.9

tito-o'n after a long time Kor. 57.5

nIme' very; very much Kor. 16.1, 8

ča'myeq indeed Kor. 24.2

čemya'q really Kor. 56.1

čemeče's'n it is so! Kor. 46.4

čini't since

čini't enña's'an qi'ti since thou art so Kor. 56.9-10

lɪ'qɪqai much less Kor. 49.1

lɪ'gan simply

lɪ'gan mɪmtelɪhɪyalai'ke simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3

kɪma'k almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13

kalē'LE, qalē'LE vertically

ke'nam Kor. 39.3; *kena'm* Kor. 40.3 already

ki'wan truly Kor. 26.9

kit, ki'til see *mal-kit*

ki, kɪč (never in initial position) and

ya'qkin-ki and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for *ya'qkin* see §§ 47, 59)

ki'taň; kitta' then (?)

ki'taň amyaqalheñe'trñ taya'nikin then she wanted to go to the porch Kor. 33.8-9

gũ'mma kitta' tu'kwak I am caught Kor. 36.10

kitta' atawałñi'a'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10

ki'tta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. *en'ñe*)

ki'tkit a little

ki'kit; ki'kič as soon as 84.3

ki'kit gayi'ltilen as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3

ki'kič gaya'lqrwlin as soon as they entered Kor. 72.21

qai'gut indeed Kor. 84.23

qa'wun though

qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though later on thou wilt marry someone Kor. 78.17

qačɪ'n

qačɪ'n plakgeñe'trñ na's'čañvoqen for he had passed water into the boots Kor. 14.2

qačɪ'n qo'npũ niki'ta gana's'len therefore altogether it became night Kor. 16.6

qa'čɪn mɪlya'qpil because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8

gayo's'olen, qačɪn vi'tvitpil they visited her, for there was a small ringed seal Kor. 24.4

qačɪ'n ena'n tawi'tkɪñik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3

ña'nyeu qačr'n Yagyamtlas'nu for those were Bumble-Bee-Men Kor. 44.6

qa'črn ui'ña ana'luka gati'kalen for without chewing he swallowed her Kor. 84.1

qa'črk

gr'ssa qa'črk ui'ña a'lva a'tvaka for this reason will you be (feel) wrong Kor. 18.7

gũ'mma qa'črk oyamya'-gum for am I human game Kor. 42.6

qun, qun-am

gina'n qun nita'witkiñi-gi' so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9

qu'nam nu'tak ui'ña ane'lhr-yipnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-im Uwe'ñpilrñ the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

qu'nam mu'yi . . . oya'myañ mtr'nmin even we too (alone) have killed a man Kor. 68.3

qu'nam qun Kor. 74.17

vê'tha-go'nom just now Kor. 56.10

qo'npũ very, quite (*qon'pu* Chukchee; *xë* Kamchadal); Kor. 13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.

gũmłañ again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.

ña'nyen then 63.10; 72.8; 74.3 etc.

§130. KAMCHADAL CONJUNCTIONS

Most of the Kamchadal conjunctions have been replaced by the Russian (local) forms.

i, dai (и, даи) and

je (же) but

tolko (только) merely, only

dotopera (до топера) until now

potom (потомъ) after that

Other conjunctions of Kámchadal origin are still in use. Among these I mention

hălč, hălčëq it is time! then, now, altogether Kor. 99.5

This particle is used quite frequently with a great variety of meanings. Its use has even influenced the local Russian dialect inasmuch as the Russian adverb *пора* IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction, although this does not agree with Russian usage.

-ilme, -me (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the Chukchee *-ñm K. K. -am.*

-ke (never initial) AND, AND NOW, but more emphatic than *-me.*

-ven (never initial) Kor. 98.9. This emphatic particle corresponds to K. K. *van*, and may have been borrowed from Koryak.

kat THEN in the beginning of tales corresponds to Chukchee *e'nmen*.

e'wun AND, AND SO corresponds to Ch. *e'un*, K. K.; *a'wun*, K.

Paren *e'wun*, but may also have been borrowed from Koryak. *lact* HOW IS IT, WHEREFORE.

§131. NEGATIVE ADVERBS

1. *va'nêvan* negative particle, NOT AT ALL (stem probably *vanê*).

This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

va'nêvan ninutewurre'erkinen not at all land appears 7.3

va'nêvan nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan gina'n li'i qälhr'gin? have you no knowledge at all? 38.4
yi'liil rurkinin te'kichin va'nêvan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4

va'nêvan nute's'qän nr'yo's'nên they did not at all reach the ground 52.12

va'nêvan ne'nlu's'rkinet kele'tä the kele could not see them at all 100.29

va'nêvan na'nayilhu'nên a'ttin they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25

va'nêvan anto'kälên ñe'us'gät the woman did not go out at all 54.8

va'nêvan qarê'm nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan ä'nlu's'net they could not see them at all 61.10

va'nêvan ele a'lomka they did not hear anything 60.10

va'nêvan elu'kä they are invisible 62.1

va'nêvan eu'rrekëlin it is not visible 62.2

2. *qarê'm*; Kor. Kam. *qaye'm*; Kor. Par., *qeye'm*; Kor. II

(village Qare'ñin and others in Kamchatka *i'gut*); Kamchadal.

x.ëně, x.ě. Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and ignifying negative future.

qarê'm min'nmitik we shall not kill you 13.4

qarê'm mine'etyä'k I shall not become black 23.6

qarê'm milhr'ño'a'n I shall not treat him 24.10

qarê'm minmu'ut I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7

qarê'm mra'gtia'k I will not return home 99.2, 24

qarê'm ELI'gä rinenyegtele'tyä' father will not allow me to live 99.15

qarê'm mi'ilhä'n I will not do it 99.20

qarê'm mi'ilhit I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9

qarê'm mrye'tyä'k I will not come

a'men qarê'm! but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

qarê'm i'git! not now! (i. e., I shall not do so from now on) 21.1
qarê'm! no! (i. e., I shall not do it) 99.13

Kor. Kam. *qarê'm mla'k*, Kor. II. *i'hut mlēk*, Kamchadal *x'ênč mnuk* I will not eat

Koryak.—

áčhiva'n gaye'm this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3

gaye'm ña'no-van minutñana'wge I shall not be able to eat them Kor. 55.8

gaye'm enal'ha'lmik he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

qarê'm quwē'tik do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from *qarê'm* is the verbal form *qarê'mên* (Kor. Kam. *qryme'en* Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. *qisme'nen*) it is not so, not true.

qarê'mên i'tik lü'mñil it is not really a story 61.5

qarê'mênai'-güm I am not this one 23.5

qarê'mên ora'wêlan he is not a human being 29.9

qarê'mênai'igüm qla'ulēüm I am not a man

qarê'mênai'igrit qla'ülēgit thou art not a man

qarê'mênai'igüm niru'liüm I am not feeble

qarê'mênai'igrit niru'ligrit thou art not feeble

qarê'mên niru'liqn he is not feeble

qaremênai'güm ñe'usqätiüm I am not a woman 116.31

Kor. Kam. *qryme'w un* impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. *en'ñe* Kor. Kam. *kI'tta*, Kamchadal *jak*, *x'ě* do not! (see § 114 p. 823)

4. *êlo'* NO *êlo'* (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9

elē no 30.8

rä't'uri'êlo' what is the matter with you?—nothing 53.6

4a. *ča'mam* NO! I DO NOT WANT TO (referring to future events) 78.6; used with future indicative. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

ča'mam I do not want to 98.5, 8

ča'mam tre'ilhit I shall not give thee

5. *e'Le* NOT, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. *e'Le*, Reindeer Kor. *e'Le*, Kor. II., village Qare'ñin and others in Kamchatka *ella*, Kamchadal *qam* Kor. Kam. *ui'ñä* instead (see below). See 15, 12, 21.3, 24.8

6. *ui'ñä* NONE (with nouns; substantives and adjectives). (Kor. Kam., *ui'ñä*, Kor. Par., *ui'ñä e'Le*, Kor. II., village Qare'ñin and others in Kamchatka *em*, *e'mma* NOT. The Kamchadal uses *qam* (see above, under *e'Le*). Kor. Par. uses also *e'Le* alone

u'i'ñä ep'i'ñkä I have no powder

See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—

čai u'i'ñä, ta'aq u'i'ñä, tam-vg'irgin gümni'n no tea, no tobacco,
mine is a good life!

(Kor. Par.) *e'le ep'i'ñke* I have no powder

Derived from this particle is *u'i'ñilim* HAVING NONE.

u'i'ñiliüm ep'i'ñkëliüm I have none, I am without powder 59.2

§ 132. Interjections

Chukchee and Koryak are rich in interjections. These may be divided into several groups; namely, *a*) ejaculations expressing a state of strong emotion, without definite tone; *b*) exclamations expressing assent, disapproval, surprise, fear, pain, question, call, and answer, etc.; *c*) onomatopoetic interjections, sound pictures, imitations of sounds, such as singing of birds, thumping of stones, swishing of rapidly moving slabs, etc.; *d*) words and phrases used as exclamations. Some of these are derived from pronominal or conjunctive stems, while others can not be reduced to such sources, at least not at present.

a. Ejaculations

a! 45.3 (Kor. *a!* *Δ!* Kor. 55.5) oh!

ga! R 104.48 oh!

o! 63.9 oh!

e! 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!

e! 101.20 all right

go, go! R 65.119 (call)

ga, ga! 122.1 call

gi, gi! R 72.16 ah, ah!

gei! 69.4 oh!

ggg! (Kor. *ggg!*) yes!

guq! 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. *gek!* Kor. 50.4) ugh! oh!

gog! 24.1 108.32; *gik!* 10.1; 11.2; *gi!* 68.30; R 69.35; Kor.

51.1, 5; 58.6

gu! 26.4; *go!* 69.7; 108.19

ogogogogoi! 70.2 oh, oh, oh!

ugugugugu! 29.7 uhuhuhuh!

Koryak

e! oh! Kor. 47.1

ye! ah! Kor. 49.2

eñi! oh! Kor. 64.19

añe! Kor. 49.3 *iñe!* Kor. 27.6

b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

qo! expresses ignorance: I DO NOT KNOW!

qoña'arkin to speak always of one's ignorance; to answer: "I do not know."

Assent:

ı! 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. *o!* Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.

ı! 84.19 ah!

egei'! 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. *uga'*) all right! assent and approval.

egei'! 75.30 oh!

taga'm! R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. *toq!* *to!* Kor. 35.3; Kor. 45.8) come! well!

taga'm is used also as the usual leave taking.

taga'm tewkwe'erkm! R 41.98 (in Koryak *toq* is used as leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is *ye'tı?* or less frequently *ge'et-i-ğıt*; R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. *yati?* HAVE YOU COME? as greeting)

The answer is *ı!* yes! or *ı, trye'tyäk!* yes, I have come!

Greeting borrowed from Russian, *toro'ma* (здорово) (Kor. *toro'va*) how do you do?

tam contracted from *taga'm*, mostly with an ejaculation preceding, COME! WELL!

ee, tam! 30.9; 89.23; *e tam!* 90.3.

ı, tam! 84.19.

ğı, tam! 84.14.

Assertion:

gu'nä! 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!

gu'nä, qai've 24.8 indeed, yes!

Calls:

mei! 76.22 R 73.32; R 59.11, from man to woman 53.6;

Kor. *mai!* Kor. 64.24 *amei!* Kor. 63.6; *mei!* Kor.

32.5; here addressed from a man to a woman; *me!* Kor.

100.5 K. Paren *ve!* Kor. 101.13; Koryak II Qareñin

mei Kor. 102.4 there, you! you! halloo!

ña'ul 45.3 (Kor. *nä'wal*) call among women

wui'! 83.13; R 72.15; *goi* 60.2 (Kor. *goi'!*) answer to call

yago'! 67.8 (Kor *yawo'!* Kor. 33.9) halloo

wago'! R 125.22 halloo! there, take it!

Disapproval:

e'wi! 120.10 so!

ee'! 81.17; 83.14; is it? (doubt and disapproval)

eei'! 108.19 aha! (doubt and disapproval)

Surprise:

Used by men

ka'ko'! generally reduplicated *kako, kako!* 8.5; 12.6; 68.31
oho!; *qako!* 84.10; *qako, qako!* 77.26; 104.14; *ga'ko* 21.4
kako, mei'! 14.7; R 64.93. *ga'ko mei!*, *go'ëo mei!*

Used by women

ke'ke'! 52.2; 71.26.

ke'ke, na'ul!

keke', keke', keke'! 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.

| *ëe* Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh.

| *ge'e* Kor. 82.14 surprise

Fear:

gokkoï'! 63.1 oh, oh!; *gogoï'!* 18.8

kokkoï'! 22.5 surprise and fear

akakaka! 87.14 sudden fright

Question:

wa? (Kor. *va?* Kor. 46.10) would you?

amto'? 13.9; 80.4; R 92.18 (Kor. *amto'?*) well? what news?

also used as a conjunction: *amto' grika'lhın?* how is
 your leg?

Pain:

gı, gı, gı R 74.46 (Kor. *mıkıkırık!* Kor. 29.1) sudden acute
 pain

ge, ge, ge! 63.8 (Kor. *igigi'!* Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:

ga, ga, ga! 85.17, 28 (Kor. *got!*) off! look out!

Laughing:

ga, ga, ga! R 79.10

gıgı! 30.2

gm! 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:

gm! R 72.20 (Kor. *gm!* Kor. 31.2)

güm! (terminal) 61.2

ta ga'm, qapa'ae, güm! 61.2 well, cease, will you!

Miscellaneous:

go! (Kor. *go!* Kor. 49.6) I do not know

yau yau! 66.17; R 73.35 wait a while! (Kor. *ya'wo*)

c. Onomatopoetic Interjections

qa, qa, qa! R 140.10; R 277.8, yapping of fox

gın, gın! 105.27 barking of dog

m-m! 106.15 mumbling of *ke'le* (hence derived a noun

mü'ümgrın KELE'S MUMBLING)

kabeu', kabeu'! R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan

aña', aña', aña'! 84.8 crying of small infant
ew, ew, ew! R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial
čig, čig! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone
piw, piw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground
prg, prg! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground
pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips
 (Koryak) *vakikiki'!* Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

Shaman's calls

egegegegei'! 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. *ogogogogoi'!*); 66.35 (here merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic practice)

otototototoi'! 59.4

otatatatatatai'! 59.4

Answer to shaman's call

git, git, git, gige't! 39.9

ge'we, gewe! R 306.1 raven's shamanistic song

go'oñ-kale', go'oñ-kale' R 314.23 (Kor. *go'oñ, go'oñ* Kor. 48.2; *ann, ann!* Kor. 47.2; Koryak, *umyu'm* Kor. 90.15;

Kor. II Pallan, raven's cawing) raven's shamanistic song
ge'we, egegegei'! R 122.2 mosquito's shamanistic song
 R 306.7

qai'a'qañ, qai'a'qañ! foxes shamanistic song (a little more!
 at the same time onomapoetic)

ge'wye, ge'wye ko'onrn R 315.31 polar bear's shamanistic song

Calls of reindeer-herders

go, go, go, goq, goq, goq! 32.11 for driving the herd

ga, ga, ga, gaq, gaq, gaq!

eia', eia', eia'! R 307.13 for calling a broken reindeer
 (chiefly in offering it urine)

qrr! R. 4.38 the same; also reindeer's snorting, onomatopoeitic

Interjections are often used in groups

guq, i! 9.13; *gik, i'!* 65.26 oh, yes!

ee, ta'm! (see before)

gei, gu'nä! 69.4 oh, indeed!

d. Words and phrases used as interjections

rna'nkên, rna'nkên ũm 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!

tite'net! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form

tite'net-i-git it is wonderful with you

tite'net-tu'ri (plur.) it is wonderful with you

tite'net-ve'rin it is wonderful with him (stem *verin* unknown otherwise)

i, tu'n-nikek! oh, my! sudden surprise; (*tur* new; *nikek* verbal noun of indefinite verb *nike* (§82)

eĥinre'wän! 80.23 oh, goodness!

am no't amen! R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; *em* mere §113.5) *not* demonstrative particle (§57) *amen* adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!

ĉêq-a'lvam va'lin! 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!

vê'nom wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun

vênom gna'n 55.11; 109.24 something like OUT WITH YOU!

alü'mña! 120.16,23 (*a* ah, *lümña* again) only think of it! sudden surprise (see also p. 854)

nire'qin-üm! I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb *req* (§82)

rere'q-üm R 75.6 I do agree! (causative *re-reqüm*)

re'qu lü'mña the same! R 73.24 (*re'qu* designative of *req* what; *lümña* again)

ra'gal 80.25 what of that; (*req* what; *al* otherwise unknown)

u'nmuñ a'ni, u'nmuñ a'ni-m e'un 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (*u'nmuñ* very, *a'ni-m* even so; *e'un* and so)

KAMCHADAL

<i>tea</i> there!	<i>qu</i> call; ha lloo!
<i>tġe</i> there, take it!	<i>hě, hei</i> answer to call
<i>nua</i> here!	<i>qa</i> what do you want?
<i>ee</i> yes	<i>wi</i> surprise

§ 133. Euphemism

For diseases, dangerous animals, and unfortunate events or conditions, euphemistic phrases are in use, some of which express the idea to be stated by the opposite idea.

nıgıtte'pqin (literally, clever) fool

ĉikayê'tu-wa'lin (from *ĉika'yon-wa'lin* intelligent) silly

erne'urkin (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also

emtıne'urkin (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger

uulvıl'u' (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear

lei'wılın (literally, the one who walks about) wolf

re'qätkurkin (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading

va'ırgıtkörkin (from *va'ırgın* being) disease

. § 134. New Words.

On the whole, Chukchee and Koryak have not borrowed many terms from the Russian, but have rather coined new words for new ideas. Following are a few examples of these.

Chukchee	Kor. Kamenskoye	
<i>e'rem</i>	<i>a'yim</i>	commander (literally, strong man)
<i>te'qenañ</i>	<i>ta'qana</i>	tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)
<i>teq-e'rem</i>	<i>taqa'-a'yim</i>	chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man)
<i>añañ-ra'n</i>	<i>añañ-ya'n</i>	church (literally, spirit-house)
<i>tin-ko'i'ñin</i>	<i>e'tti-ko'i'ñin</i>	glass (literally, ice-cup)
<i>wui'gun</i>	<i>gui'vin</i>	fortified log-house
<i>tin-u'kkäm</i>	<i>puti'lkan</i>	bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)
<i>äq-i'mil</i>	<i>aqa'-mi'mil</i>	brandy (literally, bad water)
<i>keli'kel</i>	<i>kali'kal</i>	letter, book, writing (literally, carving)
<i>keli'tul</i>	<i>kali'tul</i>	ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)
<i>ta'aq-ko'i'ñin</i>	<i>ka'nča</i>	tobacco-pipe (local Russian ганза, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)
<i>emté'-qal</i>	—	(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)
<i>yara'r-ø'kkam</i>	----	flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vesse')
<i>aima'lqal</i>	—	long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone)
<i>ilh-u'kkäm</i>	—	plate (literally, white vessel)

Russian loan-words are always modified to suit the phonetic character of the language. The Koryak, even those that have no *r*, retain, however, the Russian *r*.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Russian	
<i>ča'qar</i>	<i>ča'qar</i>	сахаръ	sugar
<i>ta'aq</i>	<i>ta'wax</i>	табакъ	tobacco
<i>čai</i>	<i>čai</i>	чай	tea
<i>ko'nekon</i>	<i>ko'n'e</i>	конь	horse
<i>ko'čir</i>	<i>ko'čir</i>	козырь (trump)	cards

<i>čol</i>	<i>čol</i>	соль	salt
<i>toro'ma</i>	<i>toro'wa</i>	здорово	how is your health?
<i>čé'čver</i>	<i>čé'čver</i>	четверть	quarter
<i>koro'walhin</i>	<i>koro'wa</i>	корова	cow
<i>ka'čak</i>	<i>ka'sak</i>	казакъ	cossack
<i>etto'l</i>	<i>stoł</i>	столъ	table
<i>toré'lqan</i>	<i>tore'lka</i>	тарелка	plate

CHUKCHEE TEXT

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE MOON¹

E'nmen² qol³ yara'chin,⁴ ñe'us'qät⁵ üm⁶ qol³ ora'weġa-
 Once a certain house, woman certain human
 ña'us'qat⁷ uwä'qučitä⁸ E'ñku⁹ ge'tčilin,¹⁰ e'nmen² gequ'pqālin,¹¹
 woman the husband to rejection used her, then she was starving,
 elvetiñe'tä¹² gene'lin¹³ em-qu'pqätä.¹⁴ E'nmen² grite'.¹⁵ Qän've'r
 crawling on she became just by starving. Then she was After that
 all-fours
 üm⁶ yara'chin⁴ lu'e'nin,¹⁶ res'qi'wkwi,¹⁷ čiče'pgi¹⁸ e'ur¹⁹ teik-
 a certain house she saw it, she entered she looked at the made
 about same time
 evi'rin²⁰ gaimēi'vülēn,²¹ e'ur¹⁹ ūpa'lha²² keme'ñi²³ geyi'relin,²⁴
 garments were hanging, at the with tallow a dish was full,
 same time
 niqam'tvaqēn²⁵ üm⁶ e'nmen,² li'en' niplr'tkuqin,²⁶ niginteu'qin²⁷
 she eats and then, just she finished, she fled
 nota'gti.²⁸
 to the country.

¹ From W. Bogoras, Chukchee Texts; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII, pp. 86-89.

² ONCE UPON A TIME, also connective AND THEN, THEN; always in narrative (p. 858).

³ Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic *quġi* is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

⁴ Stem *ra* HOUSE; *yara* probably reduplication from *rara*; -čġin A PARTICULAR ONE (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense THERE WAS A PARTICULAR HOUSE.

⁵ Stem *ñeu* FEMALE; -s'qät a suffix, probably related to others in -s'q-, but not free. Absolute form as before.

⁶ Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 128, p. 849).

⁷ *ora'wer+la'n* WHAT BELONGS TO THE HUMAN RACE (§ 54, p. 717); *r+lin* contact form I (§ 7, 17; p. 654) the strong vowels of the word produce ablaut in the second part of the compound (§ 3, p. 646) The first part of the compound has dropped the suffix -n of the absolute form (§ 115, p. 826).

⁸ Subjective form in -ia (§§ 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).

⁹ *E'ñku*; verbal stem *enk* TO REJECT, TO REFUSE; -u suffix (§103.34) expressing purpose, depending. upon the following verb.

¹⁰ *ričġi'rkġin* or *ričġi'rkġin* to make some one something (§ 79, p. 765); stem *ričġ*—initial; *ičġ* medial; *ge—lin* nominalized verb (b) (§ 73, p. 758).

¹¹ Stem *qupq(ät)* TO STARVE; *ge—lin* SHE WHO HAD ATTAINED A STARVING CONDITION (§ 73); *ġ<ł+ł* (§ 7).

¹² Stem *elvetiñ*, -čġ adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); *ä* Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95, p. 786).

¹³ Stem *nel* (§ 77); *ge—lin* (see note 10); *ġ<ł+ł* (§ 7).

¹⁴ *em-* MERE (§ 113, 7, p. 816); *qupqät* TO STARVE (see note 11; -ä Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).

¹⁵ *griteu* TO BE HUNGRY.

¹⁶ Stem *lu* TO SEE; -nin HE—HIM (§ 67, p. 741).

¹⁷ Stem *res'qiu* TO ENTER; -gi¹⁸ HE (§ 64, p. 738); *wkwi* <u+g (§§ 7.2; 72.4).

¹⁸ Stem *čičep* related to *lilep* TO LOOK (§§ 2; 122, p. 834), also *čiče* TO LOOK; -gi¹⁸ HE (§ 64).

¹⁹ § 128, p. 855.

²⁰ Stem *teik* TO MAKE; *evi'rin* GARMENT, absolute form (§ 30, p. 691), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 779); composition see § 116, 4, p. 830.

²¹ Stem *yim* TO HANG; suffix -yv(u) frequentative or intensive (§110.54); *ge—lén* (§ 74, p. 760); with ablaut (§ 3).

²² *ūpg'łhin* TALLOW; subjective form in -čġ expressing modality (§§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).

²³ *keme'ñi* DISH, absolute form in -ñi (§ 30); absolute form as subject of intr. verb (§ 91).

²⁴ Stem *yir* FULL; with suffix -čġ (§ 110, 70); *ge—lin* (see note 10); *ġ<ł+ł*.

²⁵ Stem *qām*, compounded with *tug* to be; *n—qin* ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73, p. 758); with ablaut (§ 3).

²⁶ Stem *pl* and suffix -tku (§ 110, 67), compare *plġi* it is ended; *n—qin* see note 25.

²⁷ Stem *gint*; with suffix -eu (§ 110, 70); *n—qin* see note 25.

²⁸ Stem *nyti*; -gti after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).

Qla'ul²⁹ pūki'rgi^{ε 30} čeivutku'lin.³¹ Yi^ε/lhin³² ūm⁶ qu'num, rā^ε/nut.³³
 A man came walking. The moon really, what.
 "Guq, čeq-a'lvam-va'lin,³⁴ rā^ε/nut³³ lei'vurkin³⁵ qamitvala'arkin,³⁶
 "Oh, quite extraordinary being, what is walking is eating much,
 u'kkām-yi'riir³⁷ te'lpirkin.³⁸ Ne'me irga'tik³⁹ ewkwe'tyi^{ε 40}
 vessel-full is finished." Again in the morning he started.
 Elve'lin⁴¹ li'en[·] ple'kit⁴² nēnai'pūqēnat,⁴³ na'qam eu'rrekēlin⁴⁴
 Other ones just boots he put on, however not appeared
 nē'wān.⁴⁵ Ne'me qāti',⁴⁶ e'ur¹⁰ Enqa'n⁴⁷ nē'us'qāt⁵ pūki'rgi^{ε 30}
 a wife. Again he went, at the same time then the woman came,
 ūpa'lhin²² ne'me lu^ε/nin.¹⁸ Qamitvala'tyē^{ε 48} qān've'r gīn'kew'kwi^{ε 49}
 the tallow again she saw it. She ate much, after that she grew fatter.
 Qla'ul²⁹ ūm⁶ ne'me ragtrē^{ε 50} "Guq, u'nmuñ a'ni.⁵¹ Čeq-a'lvam-
 The man again came home. "Oh, how bad! Quite extraordinary
 va'lin.³⁴ Rā^ε/nut³³ ilo'n⁵² qamitvala'arkin?³⁶ Kita'm e'ur¹⁹ irga'tik³⁹
 being. What then is eating much? Well then this time in the morning
 ečeivutkukā⁵³ mi'tyā'k!⁵⁴ Ne'me am-gīnotilo⁵⁵ ne'lyi^{ε 56} Lu'ur⁵⁷
 not going let me be!" Again mere mid-day it became. Thereupon
 ne'me nō'ti⁵⁸ ye'tyi^{ε 59} res'qi'wkwi^{ε 17} ūm⁶ ne'me, takčēhē'ti⁶⁰ qāti'.⁴⁶
 again behind there she came, she entered again, to the meat she went.

²⁹ Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem *qla* (*qla'ul*) (§ 29); *q* before consonant becomes *ε* (§ 7); absolute form as subject of intransitive verb (§ 91).

³⁰ Stem *pūkir* in initial position; *pūkir* in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

³¹ Stem *čeivu*, related to *leivu* (§§ 2, 122); *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *-lin* ONE WHO (§ 54). See note 35.

³² Absolute form; predicative.

³³ See § 59 p. 729; absolute form.

³⁴ Čeq- EXCESSIVELY (§ 113, 15); *glvε* DIFFERENT; *lvam-va'lin* EXTRAORDINARY (§ 112, 82, p. 814) stem *tva*- TO BE, initial *va*- (§ 12.2, p. 661); *-lin* (§ 54).

³⁵ Stem *leivu*, related to *čeivu* (note 31); *-rkin* derived form (§§ 64, 87).

³⁶ See note 25; derived form (§§ 64, 87); *-let* FREQUENTATIVE, (§ 110.53 with *t* dropping out in intervocalic position (§ 10).

³⁷ *u'kkām* DISH, stem *yir* FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

³⁸ Stem *telp*; derived form (see note 35).

³⁹ Stem *irg* dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare *irgīro'ññoi* IT BEGAN TO DAWN 9.13; *irgīro'k* at dawn 10.3.

⁴⁰ Stem *ewkw* with suffix *-et* (§ 110, 70); *ty<t+g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴¹ *elve* DIFFERENT, OTHER; *-lin* absolute form (§ 60.3); singular and instead of plural (§ 46, p. 709). The strong form *alva* signifies AWAY!

⁴² Plural.

⁴³ Stem *ipū*; prefix *ine-* making transitive verb intransitive, here passive (§ 113, 28); *n—qin*, ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73), plural because referring to *ple'kit*: THOSE THAT ARE BEING PUT ON (§ 74); with ablaut (§ 3).

⁴⁴ Stem *urr(eu)* often medially *wurr*; *e—kēlin* negation (§ 114, 4; p. 824).

⁴⁵ Derived from *ñeu* FEMALE.

⁴⁶ Stem medially *lqāt*; 3d person past, more frequently *qā'tyē*; *ty<t+g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴⁷ Demonstrative (§ 57).

⁴⁸ See note 36, *ty<t+g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴⁹ Stem *gīn'k+eu* (§ 110, 70); *wkwo'—u+g* (§ 7.2).

⁵⁰ From *ra* house, probably the allative form *ragti* which serves here as verbal stem; *tiē<t+g* with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).

⁵¹ Particles (§ 128, p. 853).

⁵² § 128, p. 852.

⁵³ Stem *čeivu*, see notes 31 and 35; *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *e—kē* negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.

⁵⁴ Stem *ū* to be, 1st person subj. (a); *ty<t+g* (§ 7. 26).

⁵⁵ *em-* MERE (§ 113, 7); *gīno'n* middle; *ilo'-, a'lo'* DAY.

⁵⁶ Stem *nel-* TO BECOME; *ty<l+g* (§ 7): see Note 13.

⁵⁷ § 126, p. 868.

⁵⁸ Demonstrative particle (§ 57).

⁵⁹ Stem *yet-* TO COME.

⁶⁰ *teki'čhin* MEAT; allative form in *-ēti* (§§ 53, 40).

Ne'me ečhi čit⁶¹ qamr'tvarkin,⁶² lu'ur⁵⁷ pi'rinin.⁶³

Again before as be- she ate, thereupon he took her.
fore

"Akakaka! ilu'kä⁶⁴ a'lva!"⁴¹ niqama'graqên.⁶⁵ "Gu, e'uñan⁶⁶
"Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!" she struggled. "Oh, so

gina'n."⁶⁷ "Gu'nä, a'lva,⁴¹ qine'rrihi⁶⁸—" "Gu'nä, ilu'kä.⁶⁴ Qarê'm⁶⁹
thou." — "Oh, away! let me go!" — "Oh motionless. Not

mimre'qewkur,⁷⁰ mimmñilo'ur.⁷¹ Gik, ia'm nilei'vutku-ï-gir⁷²
I shall do anything to thee. I will question thee. Oh, why art thou walking about?

Qai've gêtir'nvê-gir?"⁷³ "Ui'nä."⁷⁴ "E'mim?" "Uwä'qučitā⁷⁵ e'nku⁷⁶
Indeed thou hast a master?" — "No." — "Where is he?" — "My husband to rejection

gine'tčilin,⁷⁵ gënančaatvau'lên,⁷⁶ ginenqu'pgeulin."⁷⁷ "En'qa'm⁷⁸
used me, he cast me off, he let me starve." — "Then

va'nêvan⁷⁹ wu'tku⁸⁰ yara'čiku⁸¹ re'qän⁸² qinelu⁸³ rkin."⁸³ "Va'nê-
not at all here inside of the something thou hast seen." — "Nothing."

van."⁷⁹ "Guq, a'mên⁸⁴ ūm, mimmata'gît."⁸⁵

"Oh, then let me marry thee."

Ma'tanên.⁸⁶ Ne'me čei'vutkui⁸⁷ Wulqätvi'k⁸⁸ ūm⁸⁹ pūki'ri.⁸⁹

He married her. Again he walked. In the evening he came.

⁶¹ Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 848).

⁶² See notes 25, 36, 48; here *qamitva*, derived tense in *-rkin* (§§ 64, 87).

⁶³ Stem *piri* to take; *-nin* he—him (§ 67).

⁶⁴ *ilu* to move; *e-ka* negation (§ 114, 4). The initial *e* is contracted with the *i* of the stem.

⁶⁵ Stem *qama'gra*; *n-qên* (§ 73); with ablaut (§ 3).

⁶⁶ § 126, p. 855.

⁶⁷ Subjective form (§ 56); presumably as subject of an idea like YOU HAVE EATEN IT.

⁶⁸ Stem initial *ririil*, medial *rriil*; *ine-* (§§ 67; 113. 28); *q-gi⁸* imperative 2d person sing.

⁶⁹ Negation with exhortative meaning (§ 131.2).

⁷⁰ Medial form of the causative prefix—*n*; stem *raq* WHAT, SOMETHING;—*eu* (§ 110.70); predicative form of the indefinite pronoun; *m-git* LET ME—THEE, subjunctive (§ 67); *wku<u+g*; in place of *git* we have here and in the next word the alternating form *gir*.

⁷¹ Stem **pñilo*; initial form *pñilo-*; medial form *-mñilo-*; *m-git* LET ME—THEE, see note 70.

⁷² Stem *leivru*, see notes 31, 35, 53; *-tku* (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁷³ Stem *čiruv* MASTER (§§ 48, 73).

⁷⁴ NO (§ 131.6).

⁷⁵ See note 10; here with the prefix *-ine-* referring to the first person (§ 73).

⁷⁶ See note 75, the same form; stem *-čgätv-*; *r-gu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

⁷⁷ See note 75, the same form; stem *qupq* TO STARVE (see note 11); *r-gu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

⁷⁸ Conjunction (§ 128, p. 853).

⁷⁹ § 131.1.

⁸⁰ Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle *vai*; stem *wut-*; locative in *-k*.

⁸¹ See note 4; *-čiku* inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

⁸² *rāq* SOMETHING; here absolute form (irregular) used as object with the verbs *tu* TO SAY, *lu⁸* TO SEE

⁸³ Stem *lu⁸* TO SEE; derived tense in *-rkin* (§ 64); *ine-* (§ 113. 28); *q-* imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 85).

⁸⁴ Conjunction (§ 128, p. 853).

⁸⁵ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; subjunctive (*a*), *m-git* LET ME—THEE (§ 67).

⁸⁶ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; *-nin* HE—HER (§ 67).

⁸⁷ Stem *čeiuv+tku*, see notes 31, 35, 53. The *g* of the ending *-gi⁸* has dropped out on account of its intervocalic position.

⁸⁸ Stem *wulq* EVENING, compare *wu's-q* DARKNESS; a locative form (§ 38); *-tvi* to become (§ 110, 68)

⁸⁹ Initial stem *pūkir*, medial *pkir*; abbreviated termination for *-gi⁸*.

I'wkwī ⁹⁰	en·ñō't ⁹¹	ñawanē'ti, ⁹²	"En·ñē ⁹³	a'ntoka ⁹⁴	ralkočtkor'pū. ⁹⁵
He said	thus	to his wife,	"Don't	not going out	from the inside of the inner room.
Minre's·qumik, ⁹⁶	li'en·	čot·tagnē'ti ⁹⁷	ple'kit ⁴²	qāni'ntrīnet. ⁹⁸	
Let us enter,	just	pillow edge to	boots	throw them."	
E'nmen ²	ri'ntminet. ⁹⁹	E'nmen ²	lu'un ⁵⁷	vai ¹⁰⁰	keme'ñi ²³ , em-keme'ñi ⁵⁵
Then	she threw them.	Then	there- upon	here	a dish, a mere dish
res'qi'wkwī ^ε , ¹⁷	e'un ¹⁰¹	ere'tā ¹⁰²	gey'rēlin. ¹⁰³	Qami'tvaa ^ε t, ¹⁰⁴	ne'me
came in,	then	with boiled meat	being full.	They ate,	again
li'en·	ne'nvuā ^ε n ¹⁰⁵	keme'ñi, ²³	irga'tik ³⁹	üm ⁶	kiye'wkwā ^ε t. ¹⁰⁶ E'un ¹⁰¹
just	they put out	the dish,	in the morn- ing	they awoke.	At that time
keme'ñi ²³	gite'nin ¹⁰⁷	ñe'us·qätä, ¹⁰⁸	genu'mkeulin ¹⁰⁹ .		
the dish	she saw it	the woman,	it was put in its proper place.		
Ne'me	čei'vutkui ^ε . ⁸⁷	Ge'l'vulin, ¹¹⁰	"Gik,irga'tik ³⁹	üm ⁶	minine'tōmīk ¹¹¹
Again	he went.	He obtained a wild reindeer,—	Oh, to-morrow	let us have a thanks- giving ceremonial.	
Tai'ñikwut ¹¹²	en·ñē ⁹³	gīna'n ⁸⁷	enne'kā ¹¹³	qānti'gīnet. ¹¹⁴	E'un ¹⁰¹
The charm-strings	don't	thou	not carry out	have them for ones being thus."	And so
nayopa'tya ^ε n ¹¹⁵	ēna'tēiyo ¹¹⁶	ilvīlu', ¹¹⁷	e'un ¹⁰¹	tai'ñikwut ¹¹²	gene'linet. ¹¹⁸
they went to it	made to be the thanksgiving ceremonial	wild rein- deer,	and so	the charm- strings	were on it.
Guq,	yīlqā'tyā ^ε t. ¹¹⁹	Irga'tik ³⁹	üm ⁶	kiye'wkwā ^ε t, ¹⁰⁶	ne'me
Oh,	they slept.	Next morning		they awoke,	again

⁹⁰ Stem *tu*; suffix *-giε*; *wkw* < *u* + *g* (§ 7).

⁹¹ See § 58, p. 727.

⁹² Stem *ñewān* wife; *-ñti* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

⁹³ § 131.3.

⁹⁴ Initial stem *ñito*, medial *nto* TO GO OUT; *g—kā* not (§ 114.4).

⁹⁵ Stem *relku*; *-čiku* interior (§ 101.24); *-ipū* ablative (§ 42).

⁹⁶ Stem *res'qiu* TO ENTER; subjunctive (*a*), *min—mik* LET US (§ 64); see Note 17.

⁹⁷ *čot* PILLOW; *te'gin* edge; *-čti* ALLATIVE (§ 40); *PILLOW-EDGE* i. e. THE OUTER TENT.

⁹⁸ Stem *int*; *r-* to cause to (§ 114.1 c); *qā—ñinet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

⁹⁹ Stem and prefix as in note 98; *-ninet* HE—THEM (§ 67).

¹⁰⁰ Demonstrative particle; stem *wut-* (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.

¹⁰¹ § 128, p. 855.

¹⁰² *e'ret* boiled meat; *-ā* instrumental (§ 37).

¹⁰³ Stem *yir* FULL. See note 24.

¹⁰⁴ See notes 25, 36, 48, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending *-gāst*, with intervocalic *g* dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).

¹⁰⁵ Stem *nvu*.

¹⁰⁶ Initial stem *kry+eu*, medial *gg+eu*, suffix *-eu*; *wkw* < *u* + *g* (§ 7).

¹⁰⁷ Stem *gite* TO SEE, *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).

¹⁰⁸ See note 5, *-ā* SUBJECTIVE as subject of transitive verb.

¹⁰⁹ Transitive prefix *r—*, in medial position *-n-* (§ 114.1); Stem *umk+eu* (§ 110.70); *ge—lin* (§ 73).

¹¹⁰ Stem *ilv* WILD REINDEER, *-u* to consume (§ 111, 71); *ge—lin* (§ 73).

¹¹¹ Stem *inetč* TO HAVE A THANKSGIVING CEREMONIAL (perhaps *ine+āč* but never used without *ine*; cf. Kor. Kam. *ina-čaxč-at*); subjunctive (*a*), *min—mik* LET US (§ 64).

¹¹² *tai'ñikulin* pl. *tai'ñikul* MISFORTUNE-PROTECTOR; Stem *taiña* TO TRESPASS; *-kwk* protector (§ 105.43).

¹¹³ *e—kā* negation (§ 114.4). If it were affirmative this would be a verbal noun in *-(t)ā* dependent upon following verb (§ 80, p. 766); stem, initial *rne*, medial *nne*.

¹¹⁴ Initial stem *rt*, medial *nt*; *qā—gīnet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

¹¹⁵ Stem *yppgt* to visit; *ng—gā^εn* THEY—HIM (§ 67).

¹¹⁶ Stem *inetč*, see note 111; *-yo* past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).

¹¹⁷ Stem *ilv*, absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).

¹¹⁸ Stem *nel*; *ge—linet*, 3d person plural (§ 73).

¹¹⁹ Stem *yīlqāt* TO SLEEP; *ty* < *t* + *g* (§ 7).

čei'vutkurkin. ⁸⁷	“Re ^ε qūm ⁸²	a'mên ⁸⁴	i'unin, ¹²⁰	‘Nô'onqan ¹²¹	če'nîl ¹²²
he was going.	“What	then	he said to her,	‘That	trunk
en'ñe' ⁹³	enve'ntetkâ ¹²³	qânti'rkin. ¹²⁴	En'ñe' ⁹³	pegč'i'ñu ¹²⁵	e'lhikâ. ¹²⁶
don't	not opened	have it for one that is thus.	Don't	for object of concern	not having it as one.
A'limi ¹²⁷	quwalo'mürkin ¹²⁸	üm ⁶	vê'ti. ¹²⁹		
However	obey		truly.		
Çık, e'nmen ²	čei'vutkui ^ε , ⁸⁷	če'nîl ¹²²	ruwentečewiu'nin. ¹³⁰	E'un ¹⁰¹	
Oh, then	he went,	the trunk	she opened it.	And so	
E'n'ki ¹³¹	ñe'usqât ⁵	nênanva'tqên, ¹³²	en'men ² lu ^ε /lqâl ¹³³	čîña'ta ¹³⁴	va'lin. ¹³⁴
there	a woman	was placed	then	destined to be a face	split being
qača'kên ¹³⁵	le ^ε /qač ¹³⁶	nu'uqin, ¹³⁷	qol ¹³⁸	üm ⁶ ničē'Loqên ¹³⁹	le ^ε /qač. ¹³⁶
one side	side of face	black,	the other	red	side of face.
E'nmen ²	ñe'us'qât ⁵	yki'rga ¹⁴⁰	puke'nin: ¹⁴¹	“Pr!”	
Then	the woman	with mouth	made a noise at her:	“Pr!”	
E'nmen ²	gite'nin, ¹⁰⁷	e'ur ¹⁹	ñan ¹⁴²	vai ¹⁰⁰	vi ^ε /i ^ε , ¹⁴³
Then	she saw her,	at that time	that one	here	died,
					pêkagta'tyê ^ε . ¹⁴⁴ she fell down.
E'nmen ²	rinênnomannên, ¹⁴⁵	miñkri ¹⁴⁶	nayil hau'qên, ¹⁴⁷	qailo'qim. ¹⁴	
Then	she closed it,	how	she was afraid	of course.	
Püki'rgi ^ε -m ¹⁴⁹	uwä ^ε /quč. ¹⁵⁰	Res'qi'wkwä ^ε t. ¹⁵¹	Va'nêvan ⁷⁹	ni'tvmên, ¹⁵²	
He came	the husband.	They entered.	Nothing	she told him,	

¹²⁰ Stem *iu* TO SAY; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹²¹ THAT YONDER, independent form (§ 57, p. 723).¹²² Absolute form (§ 28).¹²³ Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-et* CAUSEATIVE (§ 114, 1); *e-kâ* negation (§ 114, 4).¹²⁴ Stem *rt*, see note 114; derived form (§ 67).¹²⁵ *pegč'iñ* CONCERN; -*nu* SERVING FOR (§ 103. 34).¹²⁶ Stem -*ñ* (§ 78); *e-kâ* negation (§ 114, 4).¹²⁷ Disjunctive conjunction (§ 128, p. 854).¹²⁸ Stem *walom* TO HEAR; imperative of derived form (§ 64).¹²⁹ Particle (§ 128, p. 863).¹³⁰ Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); -*čewiu* contracted from -*čet-yw(u)*, (§100.54, 56); she opened with great care and after several attempts; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹³¹ Locative.¹³² *n-ēng-n-vg-t-qên* (§ 74; also § 114.1).¹³³ § 103.37.¹³⁴ Stem *črñ*; suffix -*at*; verbal noun in -(*t*)*ä* dependent on the following participle *va'lin*.¹³⁵ *qgčg/kên* belonging to one side (§ 47).¹³⁶ *ly^ε* FACE; -*qač* SIDE OF (§ 101, 26).¹³⁷ See § 49.¹³⁸ See § 60, p. 732.¹³⁹ *n-qin* (§ 49)¹⁴⁰ *yki'rgin* MOUTH; -*a* subjective (§ 37).¹⁴¹ -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹⁴² Demonstrative (§ 57).¹⁴³ Stem *vi^ε* TO DIE, *vi^ε/i^ε* < *vi^ε/gi^ε* with loss of intervocalic *g* (§ 10).¹⁴⁴ Stem *pêkagt*; suffix -*at*¹⁴⁵ Stem *om(r)*; *r-at* (§114.1); *n-ēn-n* prefixes, *n-n* transitive, *ēn-* intransitive (?).¹⁴⁶ Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 727)¹⁴⁷ *ayil hau*; *n-qin* (§ 78).¹⁴⁸ Particle (§ 128, p. 871).¹⁴⁹ Contraction of *üm*.¹⁵⁰ Absolute form (§ 28).¹⁵¹ Ending *wkwä^εt* < *u-gä^εt*.¹⁵² Initial stem *twu*, medial *twu*; *nî-nên* (§67, Ia 6).

e'nmeč ¹⁵³	üm ⁶	nayılhau'nên. ¹⁵⁴	Ple'kit ⁴²	ri'ntininet ⁹⁹	čot-tagñê'tı. ⁹⁷
because		she feared him.	The boots	she threw them out	pillow-edge to,
e'nmen ²	a'tčak- ¹⁵⁵	luwa'wkwa ^ε t ¹⁵⁶	kama'gtı. ¹⁵⁷		
then	to wait	they were unable	for the dish.		
Guq,	uwä ^ε /quč ¹⁵⁰	ure'wkwi ^ε , ¹⁵⁸	"Guq,	qa'ko.	Tite'net-ve'rin. ¹⁵⁹
Oh,	the husband	appeared,	"Oh		It is wonderful
Enra'q ¹⁶⁰	e'mi? ¹⁶¹	Qai've	e'Le ¹⁶²	če'nıl ¹²²	i'nenvente'tkäl-i-gıt? ¹⁶³ —
Now	where is it?	Indeed	not	the trunk	not you opened it?" —
"E'Le." ¹⁶²	—	"Na'qam	üm	e'mi?	Gu'nä quwalo'mürkin, ¹⁶⁴
"No."	—	"However	where is it?	Do	listen,
qatvu'gun! ¹⁶⁵		Qän've'r	tu'wnên, ¹⁶⁶	"Emite'tım ¹⁶⁷	tıgite'ä'n. ¹⁶⁴
tell!"		After that she told him,		"Namely	"I saw her.
Inegite'kälın, ¹⁶⁹	e'Le. ¹⁶²	Yıkı'rga ¹⁴⁰	tıpuke'tyä ^ε k, ¹⁷⁰	lu'ur ⁵⁷	
She did not see me,	no.	With the mouth	I made a noise,		thereupon
kaplêta'tyê. ^ε 171					
she fell down."					
Guq,	č'êq-a'lvam-va'l-ê-gıt. ¹⁷²	Ia'm	ağêro'lkäl-ê-gıt? ¹⁷³	Atta'um ¹⁷⁴	
Oh,	quite extraordinary you are.	Why	dost thou not obey?	With reason	
e'un ¹⁰¹	uwä ^ε /qučitā ⁸	e'nku ⁹	ge'tčergıt. ¹⁷⁵	Ya'rar ¹⁷⁶	rai qine'ilhi. ¹⁷⁷
and so	the husband	from there	deserted thee.	Drum	behind there give me."
E'nmen ²	rınırgırgeu'nın. ¹⁷⁸	E'nmen ²	ei'ui ^ε . ¹⁷⁹	En'qa'm ⁷⁸	lu'ur ⁵⁷
Then	he drummed on it.	Then	she revived.	Then	there-upon
gagtan'ñınai'pülên, ¹⁸⁰	keme'ñı ²³	gereli's'qiçelin. ¹⁸¹			
she was quite angry,	the dish	she pushed in strongly.			

¹⁵³ See § 128, p. 859.¹⁵⁴ See note 147, transitive form; *n-nên* (67, Ia 6).¹⁵⁵ *a'tča* TO WAIT (§ 95, p. 786).¹⁵⁶ Initial stem *luw+au*, medial *lv+au* TO BE UNABLE; 3 p. pl.¹⁵⁷ From *keme'ñı* dish; -*gtı* ALLATIVE; with ablaut (§ 3).¹⁵⁸ Initial stem *ur+eu*.¹⁵⁹ It is a wonder! (Interjection).¹⁶⁰ From demonstrative stem *En*.¹⁶¹ Interrogative adverb.¹⁶² Negation (§ 131.5).¹⁶³ Stem *vent*, see notes 123, 130; *r-εl* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); *i-kälın* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).¹⁶⁴ Stem *walom* TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.¹⁶⁵ Stem *tuw*, see note 152; imperative.¹⁶⁶ Stem *tuw*; -*nın* HE—HIM; with ablaut (§ 3).¹⁶⁷ *em-ite't-um* (§ 128, p. 857).¹⁶⁸ Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ti-gä'n* I—HIM.¹⁶⁹ Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ine-* (§ 67); *i-kälın* negation (§ 114, 4).¹⁷⁰ Stem *puket*; *ti-gä'k* I—, intransitive (§ 64).¹⁷¹ 3d person sing.¹⁷² See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).¹⁷³ Stem *gerel* TO OBEY; *e-kälın* negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.¹⁷⁴ *ataw'-üm* BUT WITH SOME REASON (§ 128, p. 854).¹⁷⁵ 2d person nominatized verb (§ 73).¹⁷⁶ Absolute form, perhaps for *rar-rar* (§ 29).¹⁷⁷ Stem *ııl*; *q-ine-gi^ε* THOU—ME, imperative; transitive form.¹⁷⁸ *r-εu* TO CAUSE; -*nın* HE—HIM.¹⁷⁹ Stem *ei'u*, with vocalic *u*; therefore with loss of intervocalic *g* of the suffix -*gi^ε*.¹⁸⁰ -*gtı* very (§ 113, 22); stem *an'ñın* ANGER; *ıpu* TO PUT ON; *ge-lın* (§ 73).¹⁸¹ Stem *reli*; -*s'qiçel* INTENSITY (§ 110, 59); *ge-lın* (§ 73).

Irga'trk ³⁹ In the morning	üm ⁶ kīye'wkwä st , ¹⁰⁶ they awoke,	rīle'rkīmin. ¹⁸² he carried her (back).	I'unin, ¹²⁰ "Atta'um ¹⁷⁴ He said to her, "With reason
uwä ⁹ qučitā ⁸ the husband	E'nku ⁹ from there	ge'tčigit. ¹⁷⁵ he deserted thee,	Opo'pə ¹⁸³ Let!
			ğarai'-ğit, ¹⁸⁴ thou hast a house,
ELI'gêti ¹⁸⁶ To the father	rīle'nnin, ¹⁸⁷ he carried her (back),	rīpkire'nnin, ¹⁸⁸ he took her,	mata'lin ¹⁸⁹ to the father- in-law
			i'unin, ¹²⁰ "Çuq, he said to him, "Oh,
a'mên ⁸⁴ then	üm ğümna'n ¹⁹⁰ I	i ^ε 'trk ¹⁹¹ indeed	ğinrī'trk ¹⁹² watching
			tılva'wkwa ^ε n. ¹⁹³ I could not do her."

¹⁸² Stem *rīle; initial rīle, medial nle; derived form; -nin HE—HIM (§ 67).

¹⁸³ An exhortative particle (§ 128, p. 862).

¹⁸⁴ Stem ra HOUSE; ğara'lin HE WHO HAS A HOUSE; 2d person sing. (§ 73).

¹⁸⁵ Stem *rīle, see note 182; min-ğit LET ME—THEE.

¹⁸⁶ ELI'gin FATHER; allative (§ 40).

¹⁸⁷ Stem *rīle, see note 182; -nin HE—HIM.

¹⁸⁸ Stem pkir to come; rī—eu causative (§114, 1); -nin HE—HIM.

¹⁸⁹ From mata TO TAKE, TO MARRY; absolute form.

¹⁹⁰ Subjective form (§ 56).

¹⁹¹ Adverbial.

¹⁹² ğinrīt TO WATCH verbal noun in -k depending on the verb lwau.

¹⁹³ Initial stem luv+au, medial lv+au cannot; tr-ğa^εn I—HIM.

KORYAK TEXT

LITTLE-BIRD-MAN AND RAVEN-MAN^a

Valvımtıla⁵ninti¹ E'ččir² Pıči'qala⁵n³ ñawınoñvo'yke⁴ Quyqınn'a
 Raven-Man the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-
 qu'yık.⁵ Quyqınn'a'qu Pıče'qala⁵nañ⁶ gaimanñıvo'ykin,⁷ e'wañ,⁸
 Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,
 Ğımna'n⁹ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Pıče'qala⁵nañ⁶ tıyai'lıñın.¹¹ Miti' e'wañ,⁸
 "I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Miti said,
 "Ğımna'n⁹ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Valvı'mtıla⁵nañ⁶ tıyai'lıñın.¹¹ Va'yuk Val-
 "I daughter to Raven-Man I shall give her." Afterwards Raven-
 vı'mtıla⁵n³ vı'n'va ñıtoi'kin,¹² a'la'ta¹³ awyeñvo'ykin,¹⁴ atta⁵wawa¹⁵
 Man secretly went out, with excrement he ate, with dog carrion
 awyeñvo'ykin.¹⁴ Kıyaw'laıke,¹⁶ E'nkrı¹⁷ vañvolai'ke¹⁸ qapa'au¹⁹ qu'tti²⁰
 he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine some
 (skins)
 ie'u'wi.²¹ Newñıvo'ykinenat,²² "Mi'kinak²³ ğa'nmlenau?"²⁴ Valvı'm-
 wolf (skins). They began to say to both, "Who killed them?" Raven-
 tıla⁵n,³ "Ğımna'n."⁹
 Man, "I."

^a From W. Bogoras, Koryak Texts; Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. V, pp. 12—19.

¹ -la⁵n HAVING THE QUALITY OF (§ 48); -inti dual of personal nouns (§ 35).

² Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.

³ -la⁵n as in note 1;

⁴ ñaw WOMAN; *i* auxilliary vowel; -nyu TO WORK AS A HERDSMAN; -ñıvo TO BEGIN (§ 110, 63); -yke derived form, 3d person dual (§ 65). See Publications Jesup Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 579.

⁵ Quyqın RAVEN; used only in augmentative; -n'au AUGMENTATIVE (§ 98.2); *y*(*x*) personal plural suffix for -wgi (§ 35); -k LOCATIVE (§ 38).

⁶ -nañ ALLATIVE used with personal nouns (§ 41).

⁷ gaimat TO DESIRE; -ñıvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykin derived form (§ 65).

⁸ Stem *ıu* TO SAY. Irregular adverbial form, used as a quotative, SAYS HE.

⁹ Subjective form (§ 56).

¹⁰ ñaw FEMALE; akak SON.

¹¹ *ıı*- I; *ya*- FUTURE; *yıı*- stem TO GIVE; -ñın HIM, future (§ 68).

¹² ñıto TO GO OUT; -ıkin derived form, 3d person singular.

¹³ Subjective here as instrumental; stem *a'la* EXCREMENT.

¹⁴ Stem *awyı*; -ñıvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykin derived form, 3d person ing. (§ 68).

¹⁵ *atta* DOG; *awaw* CARRION; subjective here as instrumental.

¹⁶ Stem *kıyaw* TO AWAKE; -laıke 3d. per. plural, derived form.

¹⁷ Locative adverb.

¹⁸ Stem *tva* TO BE, in initial position *va* (§ 18, p. 674); -ñıvo TO BEGIN; -laıke 3d per. pl., derived form.

¹⁹ *qapa'au*, plural in *u* (§ 34, p. 732).

²⁰ Non-personal form, dual (§ 60, p. 695).

²¹ For *ıe'u'wgi* plural (§ 34).

²² Stem *ıu* TO SAY; -ñıvo TO BEGIN; *n-ykinenat* derived form, 3d per. dual (§ 68, p. 744).

²³ Subjective form (§ 39).

²⁴ Stem *ıım*, in medial position *ııı* TO KILL (§ 18); *ga-ııınau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d per. pl. (§ 74).

- Va^εyuk gawya^ε/lyolen,²⁵ qo'npū enña^ε'an²⁶ ama^ε/latča.²⁷ Quyqinn'a-
 Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting
 better. Great-
- qu'nak²⁸ gewñivo^ε/lenat,²⁹ "Toq, qamalıtva^ε/thıtrık!³⁰ Ma'ki³¹ yamalı-
 Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it
 tva^ε/tıñ,³² ña^ε/nyen³³ tıyanñawtıña^ε/nñın.³⁴ Valvr^ε/mtıla^εn, "Ğū^ε/mma³⁵
 better, to that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I
 mimalıtva^ε/tık.³⁶ E^ε/wañ,⁸ "Qinatinuñla^ε/tık!³⁷ Ñınvo^ε/q pla^ε/kılñu³⁸
 shall make it better." He said, "Prepare the provisions for A number of boots
 me!"
- ğatai^ε/kılınau.³⁹ Ğa^ε/lqa^εlin.⁴⁰ E^ε/nkrı¹⁷ vañvo^ε/ykin⁴¹ e^ε/n^ε/migenka,⁴²
 they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,
 yenotčoñvo^ε/ykin.⁴³ Piči^ε/qala^εn³ ñıtoñvo^ε/ykin,⁴⁴ enke¹⁷ vañvo^ε/ykin,⁴¹
 he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed,
 awyeyvo^ε/ykin.¹⁴ Čemya^ε/q Piče^ε/qalanai^ε/tıñ⁴⁵ Valvr^ε/mtıla^εn³ aqa^ε/lapñı-
 he ate. Of course on Little-Bird-Man Raven-Man badly
 vo^ε/ykin.⁴⁶ Piči^ε/qala^εn yalqr^ε/wikin,⁴⁷ ui^ε/ñā i^ε/wka⁴⁸ enñivo^ε/ykin.⁴⁹
 looked. Little-Bird-Man entered, not saying he was.
- Valvr^ε/mtıla^εn E^ε/nkrı¹⁷ va^ε/ykin.⁴¹ Enña^ε'an²⁶ qo'npū vuyalanñivo^ε/ykin,⁵⁰
 Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,
 ui^ε/ñā ama^ε/latča.²⁷ Ğo, va^ε/yuk ğaya^ε/lqiwlın,⁵¹ r^ε/mrı-pla^ε/ku⁵² ğaqi^ε/tilınau,⁵³
 not not it became Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,
 better.
- qačr^ε/n plakgeñe^ε/tıñ⁵⁴ na^ε/čañvoqen,⁵⁵ iñi^ε/nñınık pla^ε/ku⁵² ğaqi^ε/tilınau.⁵³
 mean- into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.
 while
- "Qi^ε/yme^ε/wun, i^ε/ya^εn⁷¹ ğači^ε/malın." Va^ε/yuk Piči^ε/kala^εn ğewñivo^ε/len,⁵⁶
 "Impossible, heaven is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

²⁵ Stem in initial position *vuyal* medial *wyql*; *yv* verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)
ga-lın nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 73).

²⁶ Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).

²⁷ Stem *mał* GOOD; *a-tča* negative (§ 114, 4).

²⁸ Subjective in *-nak* (§ 39).

²⁹ Stem *ıu* TO TELL; *-ñıv* TO BEGIN; *ga-lınat* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).

³⁰ Stem *mał* GOOD; *tva* TO BE; *q-ğıtrık* imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).

³¹ Absolute form (§ 58, p. 726).

³² *ya-* future.

³³ Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).

³⁴ *tıya-* 1st pers. sing. future; *-ñın* 3d pers. sing. object.

³⁵ Absolute form (§ 56).

³⁶ 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.

³⁷ *qına-latık* imperative, YE—ME; *ı(a)-ñ* TO MAKE (§114.2); *ınu* PROVISIONS.

³⁸ Stem *plak* BOOT; *-lñın* (§ 52); *-u* PLURAL; more frequently *pla^ε/ku*.

³⁹ Stem *taiki* TO MAKE; *ga-lınau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).

⁴⁰ Stem *lqat* TO GO; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).

⁴¹ Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO STAY; *-ñıvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴² *ğıñ* BASE (§ 101.21), locative.

⁴³ *ye-* DESIDERATIVE; *nu* TO EAT; *-ıku* intensive action § 110.67; *-ñıv* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴⁴ Stem *ñıto* TO GO OUT; *-ñıvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴⁵ *-ıti* allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).

⁴⁶ Stems *aqa* BAD; *ılqa* TO SEE; *yp* TO PUT ON; *ñıvo-ykin* as in note 44.

⁴⁷ *ya^ε/lqıu*, Ch. *re's qıu* TO ENTER; derived form.

⁴⁸ Stem *ıu* TO SAY; *a-ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *a* contracted with *i* to *i*.

⁴⁹ Stem *ıi*; *-ñıvo-ykin* as in note 44.

⁵⁰ Stem *vuyql* in medial position *wyql*; *-at* (§ 110.70) (see note 25).

⁵¹ *yalqıu* TO ENTER (see note 47); *ga-lın* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁵² *ımi* ALL (§ 113.6); *-u* plural (§ 34).

⁵³ *qıl* FROZEN; *ga-lınau* nominalized verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 73).

⁵⁴ *plak* BOOT; *ğıñ* BOTTOM; *-ıti* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

⁵⁵ *ačā* URINE; *-ñıvo* TO BEGIN; *n-qın* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁵⁶ Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.

“Toq, ginya⁵⁷ qmalatva’ti⁵⁸—“Q’iyime⁵⁹en, gr’niw⁵⁹ gū’mma³⁵
 “Oh, thou now make it well!” — “Impossible, like to thee I
 tryanto’ykin,⁶⁰ plakgeñe’tiñ⁶⁴ tiyaa⁶¹čaño’v’kin?⁶¹ Gewñivo’lenau⁶²
 shall go out, into the boots shall I urinate? He said to them
 Quyqinn’aqu’nak,²⁸ “Qalqala’tik,⁶³ kitta’ñ aña’wtiñka!⁶⁴ Va’yuk
 Big-Raven “Go away, there unmarried!” Then
 gewñivo’len,⁶² “Atau’-qun.” Qo’la⁶⁵ ača’pil⁶⁶ ga’kimiñ,⁶⁷ qalte’nñin,⁶⁸
 he said, “Well now,” Some small fat he took,” a stopper,
 wūlpa’pel,⁶⁹ ga’lqañ⁷⁰ e’e’ti,⁷¹ gayi’ñalin,⁷² gala’lin,⁷³ iya⁵⁹kin⁷⁴
 a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, he came, the sky’s
 čema’tiñ⁷⁵ qalte’nña⁷⁶ gai’pilen,⁷⁷ ača’pil⁶⁶ ee’tiñ⁷¹ gani’ñalin,⁷⁸
 cleft with the stopper he closed, little fat to the sky he threw;
 piče’ gama’lalin.⁷⁹
 for a it grew better.
 while

Gū’młañ gayai’tilen,⁸⁰ gū’młañ gawyal’yo’len.²⁵ Na’nyen³³
 Again he went home, again there was a snowstorm. That
 qalte’nñin⁶⁸ ganqu’lin⁸¹ yaya’rko’i’tiñ,⁸² nepplu’qin⁸³ mi’qun. E’wañ,⁸
 stopper came out into the house, small one even. He said,
 “Q’iyime’wun. I’ya⁵⁹n⁷¹ gači’malin.” Quyqinn’aqu’nak²⁸ qalte’nñin⁶⁸
 “Impossible. The sky is broken.” Big-Raven the stopper
 va’sqin gatai’kiliñ³⁹ nima’yiñqin⁸³ gei’liñ,⁸⁴ a’čin⁶⁸ o’pta nima’yiñqin⁸³
 another one he made a large one he gave it, fat also large
 gei’liñ.⁸⁴ Ga’lqañ⁷⁰ gū’młañ, panenai’tiñ⁸⁵ gayi’ñalin.⁷² Gala’lin,⁷³
 he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,
 pa’nena⁸⁵ na’nyen³³ qalte’nñin⁶⁸ mal-kit⁸⁶ ga’npilen,⁸⁷ tala’wga⁸⁸
 that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

⁵⁷ *gin-* thou; *-yaq* indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.

⁵⁸ Stems *mal*, *tva* WELL, TO BE; imperative.

⁵⁹ Second person personal pronoun *gin-* (§ 56; 129, p. 878 under *yaq*).

⁶⁰ *tiya-* I, future; stem *ñito*, medial *nto*; derived form.

⁶¹ See note 55, 1st pers. sing. future, derived form.

⁶² See notes 29, 56; here 3d pers. pl. instead of dual.

⁶³ Stem *lqat* TO GO; *qa-latik* imperative, dual.

⁶⁴ *a-ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *ñaw* WOMAN.

⁶⁵ Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).

⁶⁶ *ača* FAT; *-pil* SMALL (§ 100.15).

⁶⁷ Stem *akmit*; *ga-lin* nominalized verb (§ 74).

⁶⁸ Absolute form (§ 30).

⁶⁹ *-pil* small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.

⁷⁰ Stem *lqat* TO GO (see note 63); *ga-lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁷¹ Absolute form *i’ya⁵⁹n* SKY; *-ñti* allative.

⁷² Stem *yña* TO FLY UP; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

⁷³ Stem initial *ti*la, medial *l*a TO MOVE, TO GO; *ga-lin* as before.

⁷⁴ Belonging to the sky (§ 47).

⁷⁵ Absolute form.

⁷⁶ Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).

⁷⁷ Stem *qip* TO STOP UP, CLOSE; *ga-lin* as before, here with ablaut.

⁷⁸ Stem *itla* (Ch. *ñti*) TO THROW; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

⁷⁹ Stem *mal* GOOD.

⁸⁰ Stem *yai* (allative of *ya* HOUSE) TO GO HOME.

⁸¹ Stem *yiqu*, medial *nqu* TO COME LOOSE, TO COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).

⁸² Stems *yaya-* HOUSE; *-ñiku* INSIDE; *-ñti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

⁸³ *plu* SMALL; *n-qin* (§ 49) *ma’y(ri)* LARGE.

⁸⁴ Stem *yil*, medial *gli* TO GIVE; *gei’liñ* instead of *gai’liñ* irregular.

⁸⁵ *panina* before, former; absolute form *pa’nin*; adverb *pa’nena* AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; *ñti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

⁸⁶ *mal-kit* WELL, ALL RIGHT (Ch. *met-ki’ikit*, *met-ki’it* SOMEHOW); *mal* (Ch. *meč*, *mel*) see § 113.10 and 11; (Ch. *ki’ikit*, adverb, A LITTLE).

⁸⁷ *yip*, medial *-np* TO STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; *ga-lin* with ablaut.

⁸⁸ Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem *tala* TO STRIKE.

gata'lalen, ⁸⁸ he struck it,	ña'nyen ³³ that	a'čín ⁶⁶ fat	e'e'tiñ ⁷¹ to the sky	gani'ñlalin, ⁷⁸ he threw it,	gũ'mlañ again	ä'lälä ⁸⁹ with snow
ga'lmelin ⁹⁰ he shoveled	qoql'o'wičñin, ⁹¹ the hole;	qo'npũ altogether	gama'lalen. ⁹² it became better.			
Gala'lin; ⁷³ He came;	ña'nyen ³³ that	Valvi'mtĩ ^ε an Raven-Man	aga'nn'u ⁹³ to hate	ga'ččrlin. ⁹⁴ they had.	Miti'nak ⁹⁵ At Miti's	
eñyei'ña near	vaga'lekin, ⁹⁶ he was sitting,	newñivo'ykin ²² she said to	Valvi'mtĩ ^ε an, Raven-Man,	"Meñqañqa'če ⁹⁷ "How		
enñ'ivo'ykin, ⁴⁹ it happens to thee,	nime' quite	a'latčrñvo'ykin? ⁹⁸ thou smelltest of excrement?"	"Mi'qun, ⁹⁹ "Why,	ui'ña not	yu'laq ¹⁰⁰ a long time	
akle'woka ¹⁰¹ without bread	tina'lrk." ¹⁰² I have been."	Gewñivo'len ⁵⁶ She said,	"I'n'ač, "Enough,	ga'lqata! ¹⁰³ go away!	Ui'ña Not	
mi'qun even	amalatva'tča ¹⁰⁴ not making better	i'ti! ¹⁰⁵ thou wert!"	Ga'lqaiñ. ⁷⁰ He went.	Piči'qala'nak ²⁸ Little-Bird-Man	ña'nyen ³³ that	
Yini'a-ñawgut Yini'a-ñawgut	gama'talen. ¹⁰⁶ married.					
Toq, Oh,	gala'ulin, ¹⁰⁷ summer came,	inya'wut then	gamuqai'ulin. ¹⁰⁸ it was raining.	Valvi'mtĩ ^ε an Raven-Man		
ti'ykitiy ¹⁰⁹ the sun	gaya'luplin. ¹¹⁰ took in mouth.	Qači'n So	qo'npũ altogether	niki'ta night	gana'len. ¹¹¹ it became.	
Va'yuk Then	gewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ they said,	"Čan'ai', "Čan'ai',	qaimũ'ge! ¹¹² fetch water!"	— —	"Me'ñqač "How	mi'qun even
mai'mrk? ¹¹³ let me draw water?"	Va'yuk Then	gewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ they said,	"Me'ñqan "Why	nime' quite	miti- we	
pa'iai'kinen. ¹¹⁴ are thirsty.	Va'yuk Then	missavi'yala." ¹¹⁵ we shall die."	Ga'lqaiñ ⁷⁰ She went	qaičayiči'ña, ¹¹⁶ groping,		
Enña'an thus	wũs'qũ'mčrku, ¹¹⁷ in the dark,	va'yuk then	ga'ñvĩlin, ¹¹⁸ she stopped,	ga'ño'len ¹¹⁹ she began		

⁸⁹ Subjective as instrumental; absolute form *ä'lälä*, *a'lälä*.⁹⁰ Stem *a'lme*.⁹¹ Absolute form as object.⁹² Stem *mał* GOOD.⁹³ *aga'nn'u* in hate, stems probably *aq* BAD, *a'n-ñlin* ANGER; designative form in *-u* (§ 94).⁹⁴ See § 114.4.⁹⁵ Locative form (§ 42).⁹⁶ Stem *vagał*, medical *tvagał* TO SIT DOWN.⁹⁷ Stem *mik* WHERE; *-qača* NEAR (§ 101.26).⁹⁸ Stem *ač* EXCREMENT; *-lč* TO SMELL OF.⁹⁹ Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 726).¹⁰⁰ Stem *yuł* LONG; *-aq* adverbial suffix (§ 112, 79).¹⁰¹ *a-ka* negation (§ 114, 4).¹⁰² Stem *nał* TO BECOME (§ 77).¹⁰³ Verbal noun in *-a* used as imperative (§ 95, p. 787).¹⁰⁴ From *a-ka* negation (§ 114, 4); *mał* GOOD; *tva* TO BE.¹⁰⁵ Stem *it* TO BE (§ 75).¹⁰⁶ Stem *mał* TO TAKE, TO MARRY.¹⁰⁷ *ał* A SUMMER; *-yu* suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71).¹⁰⁸ *muqa* RAIN; *-yu* as in note 107.¹⁰⁹ Reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).¹¹⁰ *yału* TO CHEW; *yop* TO PUT ON (see Note 46); *yałup* A QUID.¹¹¹ Stem *nał* TO BECOME (§ 77); *ga-ñlin* nominalized verb (§ 78); *ł < l + l* (§ 18).¹¹² Stem *aim* TO DRAW WATER; *q-ge* imperative.¹¹³ Subjunctive (*a*), 1st pers. sing.¹¹⁴ Derived form, 1st person pl.¹¹⁵ Future, without ending *-mik* (§ 65).¹¹⁶ Verbal noun in *-a* expressing modality (§ 95).¹¹⁷ Stems *wũs* DARKNESS; *-črku* INSIDE (§ 101.24); *ũm* is an unusual form of the connective vowel (see § 18, 1); the parallel form *wũs'qũ'mčrku* is found in Chukchee.¹¹⁸ Stem *ñuv*, medial *ñv* TO STOP.¹¹⁹ Stem *ño* TO BEGIN.

grya'pčak. ¹²⁰ singing.	E'wañ, ⁸ "All She said,	"r'min qai-vai'amti ¹²¹ the little rivers	alñā'we ^ε ye." ¹²² are stingy."	Va ^ε yuk Then
gani'kalin ¹²³ it did so	enkai'ti ¹²⁴ to that place	vai'ampiliñ, ¹²⁵ a small river	gañvo'len ¹¹⁹ began	čilala'tik. ¹²⁶ bubbling.
Gayi'čcalin ¹²⁷ She filled	milh-u'kkam, ¹²⁸ a Russian vessel,	yaite'ti ¹²⁹ to the house	ga'lqalin, ⁷⁰ she went,	milh-u'kkam ¹²⁸ a Russian vessel
gemtei'pilin; ¹³⁰ she carried on her back;	qla'wul a man	gala'lin. ⁷³ came.	Gapkau'len, ¹³¹ She could not (carry),	e'wañ, ⁸ "Gümna'n, ⁹ he said, "I,
gümna'n I	mi'mtin." ¹³² will carry it."	Gayai'tilen ⁸⁰ She came home	wüs'qū'mčiku. ¹¹⁷ in the dark.	Na'nyen ³³ That one
galimñena'len ¹³³ followed	vai'am. the river.	Gewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ She was told,	"Eni'n ma'ki?" "That one who?"	E'wañ, He said,
"Gūmma ³⁵ "I	Vaiamenai'-güm. ¹³⁴ am the River.	Gümna'n ⁹ I	yai'vaču ¹³⁵ pity	ti'tcin ¹³⁶ had
grya'pčala ^ε n." ¹³⁷ singer."	Gañvo'len ¹¹⁹ They began	ñawa'kak ¹⁰ daughter	kitai'ñak. ¹³⁸ scolding.	Na'nyen ³³ That one
Vaia'minak ²⁸ River	gama'talen. ¹⁰⁶ married her.			
To, va ^ε yuk Oh, then	qo'npū altogether	wüs'qū'mčiku ¹¹⁷ in the dark	vañvolai'ke. ¹³⁹ they remained.	Gewñivo'len ⁵⁶ He was told
Vai'am, River,	"Me'ñqañ ⁹⁷ "Why	niki'ta ¹⁴⁰ in the night	mititvañvolai'kin?" ¹⁴¹ we remain?"	E'wañ, ⁸ "Men'qañ ⁹⁷ He said, "Why
mi'qun?" indeed?"	Lawtiki'lčičñin ¹⁴² Head-band	vi'tvitin ¹⁴³ of ringed seal thong	gai'pilen, ¹⁴⁴ he put on,	ganto'len, ¹⁴⁵ he went out
kvan least	gaqayičhlanñivo'len; ¹⁴⁶ a small light began to be;	vantige'ñin ¹⁴⁷ dawn	gato'mwalen. ¹⁴⁸ was created.	Va ^ε ' Then
yuk they talked,	gewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ they talked,	"Me'ñqañ ⁹⁷ "How	mi'ntin?" ¹⁴⁹ shall we do it?"	Yini'a-ña'wgut Yini'a-ña'wgut

¹²⁰ Stem *gryapča*; verbal noun, locative form (§ 95, p. 785).

¹²¹ *qai*- SMALL, related to Chukchee suffix *-qāi* (§ 98.4); *-ni*, after terminal *m* of *vaiam*, *-ti* dual (§ 34).

¹²² 3d pers. dual (§ 65) instead of plural; stem *alñ* STINGY.

¹²³ *nika* SOMETHING (§ 60); *ga-lin* verbalized.

¹²⁴ *-iti* allative (§ 58).

¹²⁵ Diminutive in *-pū*, absolute form in *-ñ* (§ 30).

¹²⁶ Stem *čilal-at* TO BUBBLE; verbal noun, in *-k*, dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 138, 150).

¹²⁷ Stem *yrič* TO BE FULL.

¹²⁸ *milh* STRIKE-A-LIGHT, FIRE (see Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); *u'kkam* VESSEL.

¹²⁹ *yait* TO GO HOME (see § 95); verbal noun allative.

¹³⁰ Stem *imt*, *imti* TO CARRY; *-yop* TO PUT TO; *ga-lin* with ablaut.

¹³¹ Stem *pkau* TO BE UNABLE.

¹³² Stem *imt* TO CARRY; subjunctive (*a*) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing. object.

¹³³ Stem *limñena* TO FOLLOW.

¹³⁴ Stem *vaiam* RIVER; *-ena* suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pers. sing. (§ 73).

¹³⁵ *yai'vač* TO HAVE PITY WITH; designative in *-u* (§ 94).

¹³⁶ *t-in* I-HIM (§ 65); stem *-ič* (§ 79).

¹³⁷ Compare note 120.

¹³⁸ Verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 150).

¹³⁹ Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE; *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-laike* 3d pers. pl., derived form.

¹⁴⁰ Stem *niki* night; probably verbal noun in (*t*), although the verb has usually the suffix *yu* expressing phenomena of nature. (Ch. *niki-ru-rkin* NIGHT COMES).

¹⁴¹ Stem *tva* TO BE; 1st pers. pl., derived form.

¹⁴² Compound noun *lawt* HEAD, *ki'lčičñin* BAND (from *kili* TO TIE (§§ 53; 106.44)).

¹⁴³ Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in *-in* (§ 29, p. 690, note).

¹⁴⁴ Stem *yop* TO PUT ON.

¹⁴⁵ Stem *nto*, in initial position *ñnto* TO GO OUT.

¹⁴⁶ *qai*- SMALL; *ičh* TO DAWN, TO LIGHT *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

¹⁴⁷ Stem *vant* TO DAWN; *ge'ñin* (§ 106.44).

¹⁴⁸ *tomwa* TO BE CREATED.

¹⁴⁹ Stem *yt*, in medial position *ni* TO DO, MAKE (§ 80).

gañvo'len ¹¹⁹ began	tenma'witčuk, ¹⁵⁰ preparing,	Valvımtıla'yıkıñ ¹⁵¹ to Raven-Man	gała'lin. ⁷³ she reached.	"Mai, "Halloo,
Valvı'mtıla'ēn Raven-Man	va'ykin? ¹⁵² is staying?"	Va'čvi-ñā'ut ¹⁵³ Raven-Woman	e'wañ, ⁸ said,	"Va'ykin." "He is."
Gewñivo'len He was told	Valvı'mtıla'ēn, Raven-Man,	"As's'o' qati', ¹⁵⁴ "Since you left,	qo'npū a'ıva tıtvā'ñvok. ¹⁵⁵ altogether wrong I was."	
Gayo'olen ¹⁵⁶ She found	Valvı'mtıla'ēn, Raven-Man,	gewñivo'len, he was told,	"Gı'ssa ¹⁵⁷ "Thou really not	qa'čık uı'ña really not
al'va a'tvaka? ¹⁴⁸ wrong wert?	Qe'nñivo? ¹⁵⁸ Wilt thou stay so?"	Qa'pten ¹⁵⁹ The back	gayı'l'tilen, ¹⁶⁰ he turned,	yai'na ¹⁶¹ to the front
yılı'ykimn. ¹⁶² she turned him.	Gū'mlañ . Again	qa'pten the back	li'ykin. ¹⁶³ he turned.	Va'yuk Then
čičhi'ñık ¹⁶⁴ in the armpits	yıyigčha'wik, ¹⁶⁵ tickling,	gačēcheñqatvıñvo'len, ¹⁶⁶ putting her hands in his armpits;	čake'ta ¹⁶⁷ the sister	
gewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ said,	"Quya'qı? ¹⁶⁸ "What is the matter with thee?	I'nač! Enough!	E'nnu mał-ñā'wıtkata. ¹⁶⁹ This one a good woman."	Va'yuk Then
enkai'tı ¹²⁴ there to	gañvo'len, ¹¹⁹ he began,	"Gm, gm, gm!" "Gm, gm, gm!"	Qo'yıñ ¹⁷⁰ To the other side	yıleñvo'ykimen. ¹⁷¹ she turned him.
Va'yuk Then	gaktača'čha'len, ¹⁷² he laughed aloud,	"Ga, ga, ga!" "Ga, ga, gal!"	Ti'ykitiy ¹⁰⁹ The sun	gačē'pñitolen, ¹⁷³ peeped out,
i'ya ¹⁷⁴ to the sky	ga'plin, ¹⁷⁵ it fastened itself,	qo'npū altogether	gečha'len. ¹⁷⁶ it became light.	

¹⁵⁰ Stem *tenm* TO PREPARE; verbal noun in -*k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 138); -*tč* intensity of action.

¹⁵¹ -*ytkıñ* a personal allative form (see §§ 41 and 44).

¹⁵² Derived form of stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE.

¹⁵³ *Va'čvi* < *Valvi* (§§ 16.3; 122).

¹⁵⁴ Stem *ıqat* TO WALK, in initial position *qat*; 2d pers. sing.

¹⁵⁵ Stems *tva-ñvo* TO BE-TO BEGIN, *tı-k* 1st pers. sing.

¹⁵⁶ Stem *yoc* TO VISIT.

¹⁵⁷ Absolute form (§ 56).

¹⁵⁸ Stem *ıt* TO BE *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *q (u)*—(§ 68), no personal ending.

¹⁵⁹ Absolute form.

¹⁶⁰ *yıl'tı* TO TURN; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

¹⁶¹ *yaina* TO MEET; adverbial: face to face.

¹⁶² *yı*—causative; *lı* TO TURN; derived form, HE—HIM.

¹⁶³ Stem *lı* TO TURN; derived form.

¹⁶⁴ Locative.

¹⁶⁵ *yı*—*aw* causative; *yıgıčh* TO ITCH.

¹⁶⁶ Stems *čičhiñı* ARMPITS; *qatv* TO PUT IN; -*ñvo* TO BEGIN.

¹⁶⁷ Subjective as subject of transitive verb.

¹⁶⁸ *yag* WHAT; predicative form (§ 82); second person (§ 68).

¹⁶⁹ *mał* GOOD; *ñaw +ıqat* WOMAN; here subjective.

¹⁷⁰ *qo'yıñ* allative of *qoyo'*. (See § 43, p. 705.)

¹⁷¹ See note 162; the same form with added *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

¹⁷² Prefix *kt*—VERY (§ 113.22); *ačačhat* TO LAUGH; *ga—lin* with ablaut.

¹⁷³ Stem *kıep*, medial *lep*; for *čep*, see § 16.3; 122. *ñıto* TO GO OUT.

¹⁷⁴ Locative (see note 71).

¹⁷⁵ Stem *ap* TO FASTEN ITSELF.

¹⁷⁶ Stem *qčh*, *ıčh* TO DAWN (see note 146).

